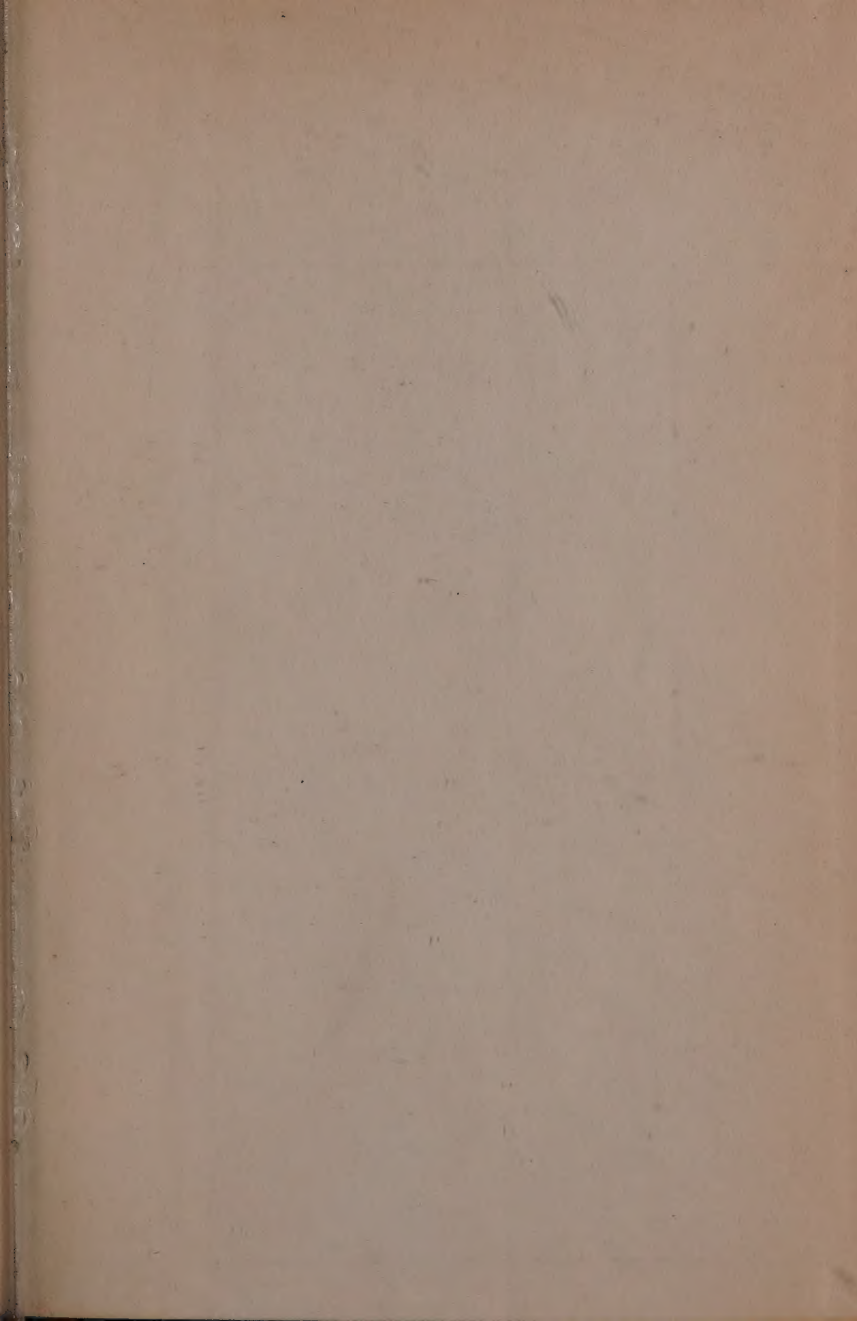
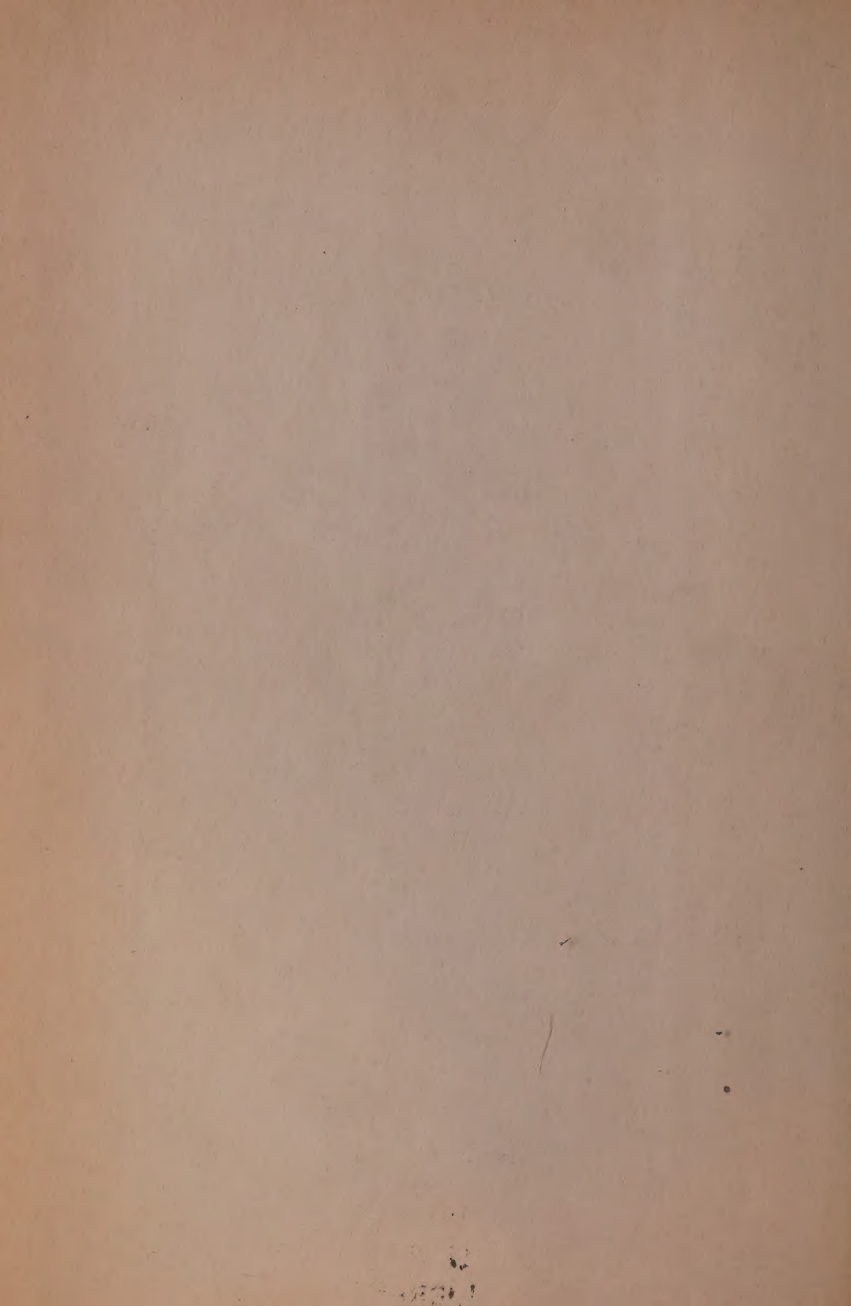


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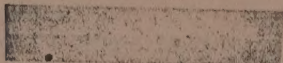






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ACADEMIC FREEDOM IN AMERICA

WM. DEW. HYDE, *Bowdoin College.*

The last decade of the nineteenth century has raised the question of academic freedom in several cases: at Brown University, Chicago University, Kansas State Agricultural College, and Leland Stanford Junior University. It is not my purpose to discuss any of these cases. For every college president knows that there are many things on the inside of such questions which cannot be made to appear to the public as they really are. What one of us has not, time and again, been compelled to hold his peace while the public was making all sorts of unjust criticisms, simply because telling the whole truth would do more harm to the institution and to other persons than the criticism could do to us!

This question of academic freedom did not arise so long as the colleges were content to teach Latin, Greek, mathematics, and a little science and philosophy, for the simple reason that nobody cared much, one way or the other, what was taught about these things. Most of these subjects were so formal and dead that serious difference of opinion about them was impossible. No one cared to interfere with the liberty of a professor to translate a passage of Virgil, to solve an equation, or to demonstrate a proposition in any way he might please. Interference with liberty comes only when the subjects taught are those for which the people care. When people felt that theological questions were

most vital to their welfare, they hedged about their theological seminaries with creeds, and bound professors to teach according to the letter of the creed. In times of intense political activity, as in the Revolution and the Civil War, political opinions were the battle-ground of academic freedom. Now that economic and social questions have come to the front, it is with these that troubles have arisen. It is no accident that all four cases cited above arose in connection with utterances on economic and social questions. Theological persecutions we have inherited in connection with creeds, fast growing incredible, to which chairs of instruction are tied. The troubles at Union and Andover came from this source; and soon or late every seminary that is tied to a creed will have to face that kind of trouble. If there is less persecution of heretics to-day than formerly, we have reason to fear that indifference to the issues is the cause. Political persecution we have spasmodically in political campaigns; but the storm of protest which such persecution raises is so intense that the persecutors suffer more damage than the persecuted.

Social and economic questions, however, are destined to divide the public more sharply than ever before. Unless we can come to a clear understanding as to the mutual duties and rights of the several parties to university instruction, professorships of economics and sociology will be as perilous positions in a democracy as chairs of politics ever were under an absolute monarchy, or chairs of theology in the palmy days of papal power.

Who, then, are the parties to university instruction? The parties to this partnership are six. First, the founders, donors, and benefactors. Second, the State. Third, the trustees, regents, or overseers. Fourth, professors and instructors. Fifth, the students. Sixth, the constituency of the college; that portion of the public from which money and students come, and to whom the institution must look for interest, guidance, and support. The most important element in this portion of the public which I have called the constituency of the institution, is the institution's own alumni.

To assign to each of these six parties to university instruction

their respective rights and duties, is the problem which we must try to solve. First, the rights and duties of founders, donors, and benefactors, the men from whom the money comes. The founder has a right to determine the general purpose and scope of the institution which he founds, subject to the approval and acceptance of the State. He has the right to select the first trustees, and to outline in a general way the policy and procedure the new institution shall adopt. Subsequent donors and benefactors have the obvious right to satisfy themselves as to the efficiency of the trustees, and the wisdom of the policy of the institution to which they give their money. They also have the right to determine to what particular departments, within the general scope of the institution, their special benefactions shall be devoted. This is the limit of the donor's right. He may give or he may not give; but when he has given his money, it should be as completely beyond his individual control as is a thrown stone after it has left the hand. A donor has no more right to dictate what views an institution shall teach than a stockholder of a steamship company has a right to direct the pilot how he shall steer the ship to which a thousand lives have been entrusted. The moment a donor has given his money, he has entered into a partnership with the five other parties to an institution, and his rights must be limited by the rights which belong to them. Neither may he legitimately draw up a creed or statement of opinion which the professors in the institution shall be bound to teach. To do that would be like sending a boat to sea with the tiller lashed in position, and with instructions to the sailors on no account to touch it, even though the boat might be making straight for the icebergs or the rocks. The attempt of a donor to dictate the views which a professor shall teach is to arrogate to himself the attributes of omniscience, omnipotence, and immortality, an arrogance of which no mortal man would care to be guilty. This limitation of a donor's rights may seem severe and extreme, yet it is the foundation stone on which academic freedom rests. The college must treat every donor, actual and prospective, as a certain wealthy benefactor of Harvard humorously complained that President Eliot treated him.

"He comes to me," he said, "for my money and my advice, and like the women in the Scripture, the one is taken, and the other left."

A donor may indicate the general purpose to which his gift shall be devoted. He has no right to dictate the specific views which shall be inculcated under that general purpose. Wherever founders, donors, or charters have ventured to prophesy, evil has resulted. Wise as was Johns Hopkins, and great as was his gift, how much wiser he would have been, and how much more useful would have been his gift, had he not tied his institution to the uncertain fortunes of the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad. Much as Clark University under its able president has been able to accomplish, it would have done five times as much if the founder had merely given his gift in cash, and turned over all questions of building, equipment, personnel, and curriculum to the president and the very competent board of trustees whom he selected. Other institutions have failed to get financial support because the founders have been supposed to carry the keys of the safe in their pockets.

Financial interference, however, is the least serious of the errors of founders and benefactors. For, as a rule, finance is the one thing in which such founders are experts. Their interference becomes intolerable and fatal the moment they attempt to dictate the specific opinions which shall or shall not be taught. It were better that a million dollars should be sunk in Boston Harbor, Lake Michigan, or San Francisco Bay, than that the donor of it should influence, in the slightest degree, the utterance of a professor at Cambridge, Chicago, or Berkeley. For an institution of learning is a partnership; and the determination of precisely what shall or shall not be taught rests chiefly with the other partners.

The second of the six partners in the university is the State. The contribution of the State consists in exemption from taxation, which increases by one third the value of productive funds, and the degree conferring power, which gives to the graduates of the university official recognition and standing in the community.

It is the duty of the State to protect the public against misdirection of funds and the cheapening of degrees. An institution founded for the propagation of alchemy, astrology, palmistry, theosophy, or Christian science would have no claim to exemption from taxation or the conferring of degrees. For some of these subjects have been proved to be without foundation; and others, to say the least, have yet to make good their claim to public confidence. There is no reason why the public at large should contribute to the support of such institutions, or place confidence in their graduates. Consequently a charter granting exemption from taxation and the degree conferring power to institutions of this kind would be a partnership of the State in purely private interests. Furthermore, the State should refuse charters to institutions which propose to duplicate means of instruction which are already adequate. The State should not support ten colleges when five are adequate to serve its educational needs. Again, charters should be refused to institutions which fail to give promise of adequate means for the prosecution of the work they undertake. Some indulgence doubtless is necessary to struggling institutions in new communities. On the frontier, an institution may be founded on a lot of land given to it as a means of booming the town; the buildings may be built by mortgaging the land; the professors may be employed with money raised by a mortgage on the buildings; and finally the money to prevent foreclosure may be raised from generous and credulous donors in the East. I once visited such a college and inquired of the janitor, who was a student in the institution, as to the financial basis and prospects of the institution. He told me that it had no president, but four professors; and that it had thirty-two students. When more closely questioned, he confessed that of those thirty-two students, thirty were in the preparatory department. I asked him if there were any other competing institutions, and he replied that there was a State university in the city, and that a Presbyterian college was in process of erection. When asked as to the financial support of the institution, he replied that it had the entire denomina-

tion of the State behind it. I asked him how strong the denomination was in that State, and he replied that there were nine churches in the State, of which two were self-supporting. In new communities it may be necessary to encourage such infant industries by granting charters with great freedom, trusting to natural selection to weed out, in due time, the feebler ones; but in established communities it is the duty of the State to assure itself that a proposed institution will have sufficient means to give the instruction which it offers by approved methods and under competent instructors. Where strong institutions are so numerous and easily available as they are in most of our Eastern States, it is a great wrong to the community to encourage the establishment of educational weaklings, which give an inferior education to the deluded students who resort to them, and which eke out a precarious existence by systematic begging. It is the duty of prospective donors and benefactors to discriminate against these feeble and struggling institutions. The wise donor will see that the dollar which he gives is multiplied by every dollar that the institution to which it is given already has. To give to an institution which has only one or two hundred thousand dollars of endowment, is to make his gift of much less educational value than if it were given to an institution which had several millions. "To him that hath shall be given," is a law which wise friends of education should strictly observe in their gifts.

The State should refuse to grant charters for the promulgation of individual opinions and prejudices. It should not allow an institution to bind itself to teach either free trade or protection; the gold standard or the free and unlimited coinage of silver at the ratio of sixteen to one; either imperialism or anti-imperialism; either private or municipal ownership of public service corporations; either trinitarianism or unitarianism; either universal salvation or the endless punishment of the wicked; either free will or determinism; either socialism or individualism; either sacerdotalism or the independence of the local church. These are matters on which competent persons disagree. One side of these questions has as much right to be impartially presented as

the other. The public, as such, has no peculiar and exclusive interest in either one; consequently the State should not enter into partnership with either party to these and kindred controversies. There is, however, a way in which the views of special parties may be legitimately taught under the protection and sanction of the State. As has already been said, the founders and donors have a right to select the trustees who are to execute their trust. The State need not inquire into the views of the donors or of the trustees whom they select. The State deals with both donors and trustees as citizens; it does not inquire whether they are individualists or socialists, protectionists or free traders, Catholic or Protestant, orthodox or liberal; it deals with them simply as citizens. If they are sufficiently intelligent and competent to administer the trust imposed upon them, the State asks no questions about their views. Consequently, it is perfectly possible for Catholics to establish a Catholic university, controlled by Catholic trustees under the sanction of the State. The State does not thereby become a partner in their peculiar views, as it would if the requirement to teach those peculiar views were embodied in the charter of the institution. Furthermore, where the character of the institution is determined by men rather than by a document, there is ample opportunity for change with changing conditions. This method of securing the teaching of special views is well recognized among us. In future charters this should be the only method of propagating special opinions which is tolerated and sanctioned by the State.

The third partner in an educational institution is the board of trustees. It is their duty to invest the funds and to devote the income of the institution to the needs for which it is established. The expert financier is an indispensable member of every such board of trustees; for the waste or misapplication of funds is absolutely fatal to the life and work of the institution.

Next in importance to the expert financier on a board of trustees is the man of broad educational ideas. This is the prime qualification of the president of the institution. It is a serious mistake to put the mere financier, or the ornate figurehead, or

the man of popular gifts, or the prominent ecclesiastic at the head of an institution. These other qualities are, indeed, desirable, but not essential for a president. The expert financial ability may be supplied from the trustees; but the trustees as a whole can never give the educational direction to an institution. That should be centred in one person, and that person should be the president. The president should, at the same time, be at the head both of the governing board and the faculty of instruction. Wherever the board of government and instruction is not thus united in one head, there is sure to creep in all the inefficiency and indirection which is represented to our minds by the word "lobbying." Our theological seminaries which have not been connected with universities have, as a rule, been organized on this basis of mutual exclusion. As a result their management has been far below the level of the efficiency and the mutual understanding and good will which characterize other institutions of learning. Tied to creeds and governed by trustees who have known comparatively little of the inner working of the institution committed to their charge, these theological seminaries have lagged far behind other institutions of learning in the efficiency and harmony of their administration.

It is the duty of the trustees to elect a president and professors. In this election they are under obligation to lay aside their private interests, prejudices, and predilections, and, with due regard to the known purposes of founders and donors, to select the best available men for the chairs of instruction. This is one place in the world where influence and patronage should never be permitted to enter. In the selection of professors, the judgment of the allied departments of instruction should have great weight. The views of the faculty as a whole should be consulted; but the final authority should rest with the trustees, and should be exercised on the recommendation of the president. As a rule, a man who is endorsed by the professors in the same or closely allied departments, who is approved by the faculty as a whole, and who is recommended by the president, should be elected by the trustees almost as a matter of course; for the president and the pro-

fessors in allied departments are presumably experts in technical matters of education, while a board of trustees composed of men whose chief attention is given to business and professional life are presumably not educational experts. At the same time, the trustees always have the right to refuse to elect persons so nominated for good and sufficient reasons. While they may reject a nominee, however, it would hardly be within their province to select a candidate of their own and force him upon the faculty over the protest of the president. The ultimate responsibility for the educational conduct of the institution rests with the president. He cannot expect to have everything which he desires done by the trustees, but he has a right to insist that no professor shall be imposed upon him against his will. The election of a professor or instructor whom the president did not approve would be equivalent to a vote of want of confidence in the president, and would naturally be followed by his resignation. In municipal affairs, the tendency is more and more toward the centralization of power. This is even more desirable in the conduct of educational institutions. The men who have clear views of educational policy, who have a just sense of proportion between the several departments of instruction, who are able to judge men not merely for their individual attainments, but for their capacity to fit into a complicated intellectual machine, and contribute to the whole the most which this particular position, under the given circumstances, is able to render, are not numerous. Either a president is such a man, or he is not. If he is such a person, the wisest thing a board of trustees can do is to trust him implicitly. If he is not such a person, the sooner they get rid of him the better. Autocracy tempered by assassination is the ideal college government. By autocracy I do not mean arbitrariness or conceit or caprice. The educational autocrat should consult the reasonable claims of students, seek the advice of the faculty individually and collectively, confer with members of his board of trustees, get the views of experts in other institutions as to the qualifications of his candidate. But when his mind is made up as a result of these many inquiries and varied considerations, he has

a right to expect his judgment to carry more weight than that of merchants or judges or clergymen, who, however eminent in those fields to which they have given special attention, cannot in the nature of the case have given as much consideration to the particular problem in hand as it is his prerogative and duty to do. The president has a right to have each professor in the institution one whom he has either accepted from his predecessor when he took the office, or whom he has personally approved at the time of his election. There are great risks in trusting so much power to any individual. In the hands of an unwise man such power may harm an institution for a generation; but the policy of divided counsels and appointments without expert approval is an even greater risk, and will ruin an institution forever.

The fourth partner in a university is the Faculty. It is the duty of a professor to be the master of his department. He must know his subject. Knowledge is not an aggregate of isolated propositions; it is not merely an amount of information. It is the apprehension of the whole system of relations which his department includes, and ability to see each fact in the light of all the other facts to which it is intimately related; the power to grasp the whole system to which the facts belong; the capacity to bring all that is known about a subject to bear upon any problem that may arise within the department of knowledge to which it belongs. A professor must be able to teach the whole subject whenever he teaches any part of it; to answer off-hand any ordinary question that may arise in connection with it, or at least, if he cannot answer it, to point the inquirer to the sources where the answer may be found, if it is answerable. The professor is the man through whom a department of knowledge lives and thinks and speaks. If the oracle is dumb, if he evades legitimate questions or gives wrong answers without promptly acknowledging his error, he is not a real professor at all; he is unfit for his place, and he should be removed at once. Again, if a professor knows a subject but cannot impart it as a living whole, so that it will live and grow in the minds of honest and earnest students; if he teaches the words of the book, or the

mere letter of his own lectures, or the equally dead contents of his verbal memory, he is incompetent, and should be discharged. The students in our American institutions are very keen and competent critics on this point. Disorder in the classroom springs from this source more frequently than from any other. The students render a valuable service to education in helping to weed out these incompetent professors. As Dr. G. Stanley Hall says, "Youthful sentiment is right. There is nothing more worthy of being the butt of all the horse-play of ephebic wit or practical joke than an instructor from whose soul the enthusiasm of humanity has vanished, who has ceased to know and grow, and who serves up the dry husks of former knowledge and peddles second and third hand information, warmed up from year to year, rather than opening new living fountains in which the burning thirst of youth can be slaked. The latter's instincts are far wiser than they know, for iconoclasm is never better directed than against the literalist, formalist, and sophronist." It must be frankly confessed that as a rule American students, in time past, have been better judges than presidents and boards of trustees, of the fitness or unfitness of professors for their places; and that they have shown a courage, enterprise, and efficiency in the discipline of incompetent professors which presidents and trustees have sadly lacked. Like all forms of natural selection, this discipline of incompetent professors by students is merciless; but it is in the long run beneficent. It protects the colleges from a horde of morally good but intellectually weak, dull, dry, dead professors. At last the presidents themselves have discovered a way of solving this problem which combines efficiency with apparent tender-heartedness. They take advantage of the elective system to introduce young and inspiring instructors, offering courses that compete with the courses of the dead professor. It is expensive, involving temporary duplication of salaries. But in time it proves effective. The man who in open competition fails to draw his fair proportion of students, and that without resorting to "snap" courses, has the propriety of his resignation pointed out to him in terms which everybody else can read, if he

cannot. And in due time the desired resignation is forthcoming. In the application of this principle, proportion, not numbers alone, has to be considered. For courses in advanced mathematics or physics never can appeal to numbers as do elementary courses in literature, history, and economics. It is noticed that wherever this automatic natural selection of professors is applied through the elective system, there is an immediate falling off, if not an absolute discontinuance, of the artificial selection by irritation and horse-play and practical jokes on the part of the students.

Removal of professors for incompetence is a duty of trustees and presidents which they have never half lived up to. To shift this duty on to students as has been done in the past, or on to the elective system, as is being done at present, is cowardly negligence. The incompetent man should be dismissed at the first opportunity. Academic freedom demands it. For the truth has a right to be uttered through a voice competent to proclaim it. Kindness to the incompetent is treason to the truth; a betrayal of the rights of the students. Not one applicant in ten for a college professorship is fit for the position for which he applies. The most ominous sign in American education to-day is the fact that a certain class of institutions are filling up their chairs with men who have indeed met the technical requirements of graduate study; men who are capped in a thesis and gowned in a doctor's degree, but who lack the grasp of their subject as a living, growing whole.

So much for a professor's duty to his subject and to his students. His next duty is to his college. Egotism and individualism are inconsistent with the harmonious working of a faculty. Unless a man can be courteous and generous in his relations with his colleagues and can coöperate with them harmoniously and goodnaturedly in common work, he has no place on a college faculty. This matter is much more important in small colleges than in large universities. The egotist who would make interminable trouble in the small circle of a country college may be swallowed up and utilized to good advantage in a university which

is large enough to ignore the personal equation of the individual. The first few years of a professor's appointment should be regarded as strictly provisional and temporary; and if incompatibility of temper develops in these early years, it is safe ground for refusal to renew the appointment. Unless a professor is prepared to do a good deal of unrewarded drudgery, and to coöperate with others in plans of which he does not altogether individually approve, and to be at times the agent of policies to which he cannot give his hearty personal assent; above all if he cannot recognize that other people have as much right to their point of view as he has to his own, he never will make the most useful member of a college faculty.

Finally, a professor is under obligation to respect the constituency of the college. Precisely what is meant by this constituency will be considered later. A professor has no right, deliberately and intentionally, to offend the friends and supporters of the institution which he is employed to serve. If he is a believer in the gold standard, he has no right to denounce the advocates of free silver as thieves and robbers. If he is a believer in free trade, he has no right to call protectionists robbers and plunderers of the poor. If he is an anti-imperialist, he has no right to call expansionists hard names. For the adherents to these views to which he is opposed, have certain rights in the institution to which he belongs. They contribute indirectly, through its exemption from taxation, to its support. They send their children to it for education. They look to it, and to its graduates for counsel in professional, and guidance in public affairs. He has no right to become an agitator in behalf of views and measures which are repugnant to considerable portions of the constituency of the institution. No right, I say, to do these things as a professor. If he wishes to do them as an individual, he of course has a perfect right to do so. But he should first hand in his resignation. In a free country every man has a right to be a martyr to any cause which he believes to be worthy of his individual sacrifice. But no professor has the right to lay the institution which he serves upon the altar of his own martyr zeal. An

institution stands for the accumulated wisdom of the world. To set that wisdom forth in due proportion is its prime purpose. To sacrifice its chief function for the sake of some special view which an individual may desire to advocate, is a wrong to the institution which no individual has a right to inflict.

In placing this limit on the utterance of professors, there is involved no unreasonable restriction of liberty. As has been said, if a man feels called upon to become an agitator, he is free to leave the university, and do so. More than that, every professor is at perfect liberty to give dignified and moderate expression to whatever views on political and social questions he may hold. In private conversation, in response to inquiry from the newspapers, even in a public speech, he is at liberty to set forth whatever views he holds and feels called upon to express. In doing so, however, he should never forget the dignity and impartiality and courtesy which his position as an intellectual servant of the public must always impose upon him. The question of academic freedom, at this point, is generally more a question of manners than of morals; more a matter of tone and temper and emphasis than of conviction. The distinction which Mr. Cleveland attempted to draw between a member of a party and an offensive partisan, is one which applies to this question of a professor's freedom of speech. Membership in a political party and frank avowal of one's views on political and social questions are perfectly consistent with the position of a professor. Neither president nor trustee nor donor has the slightest right to inquire into a professor's views for the purposes of discipline or removal, nor to prevent the reasonable and moderate expression of such views. On the other hand, a president and a board of trustees have both the right and duty to suggest to a professor that the immoderate and aggressive and vituperative reiteration of views which are repugnant to a large portion of the constituency of an institution, are inconsistent with his largest usefulness as a professor; and if he persists in such utterances, to notify him to choose between the career of an agitator and a professor. Every relationship implies both rights and duties. A

professor has duties to an institution as well as rights in it. It is the duty of the president and trustees of an institution to protect a professor in his reasonable rights, and to insist on his regard for the duties and obligations which his membership in the institution involves.

The fifth partner in a university is the body of students. Academic freedom is as necessary to the students as to any other party in the university. In early college days, no provision was made for the free life of the students; accordingly they created such a sphere for themselves. By robbing the hen-roosts of neighboring farmers; translating live stock to the roofs of college buildings and establishing them in the recitation rooms; by greasing blackboards and barricading lecture rooms; by tormenting tutors and annoying freshmen,—the students made for themselves an artificial world in which they found the freedom that the rigid curriculum and the paternal discipline of the college refused to provide for them. A few of the wiser presidents of those days recognized the educational and spiritual necessity of such a vent for youthful spirits, and were content to perfunctorily deplore such acts, without being too strenuous in punishing culprits; but no one was wise or strong enough to provide the real freedom which alone could supersede it.

The necessity of freedom to student life has at length gained official recognition. Dr. William T. Harris in his "Psychologic Foundations of Education" says:—

"Wherever there is much pressure laid on the individual, there the reaction is violent, and pupils in a governed school must have their forms of reaction. In a college, where the pressure of prescription is far greater, the reaction produces secret societies, college songs, hazing, initiations, pranks on the citizens, etc. The study of a dead language, abstruse mathematics, and the discipline far removed from the ordinary life of the age, produces self-estrangement; and the student preserves his elasticity in the meantime by forming Greek letter societies wherein he caricatures his daily studies, mocks them with inextinguishable laughter, and forms for himself the consciousness of a new life; a college life of his own creation. He hazes the members of the lower classes, and initiates them into the artificial college life by rites well planned to shock the traditions of civil order."

In more recent years, improved laboratory facilities, the increased use of the library, the introduction of the elective system, and the advent of athletics have brought into student life a real freedom, and to that extent have superseded the necessity of that artificial freedom which, in former days, the students were compelled to carve out for themselves. No man can grow in character unless he is doing freely and gladly something which he likes to do,—something into which he can put the whole energy of his will, the whole enthusiasm of his heart. The modern university provides this freedom in study, in athletics, and in a more dignified and enjoyable social life of the students among themselves. The elective system allows and encourages the student to throw his whole energy into congenial intellectual tasks; athletics afford him a sphere in which he can do something as well as it can be done, and reap the glory of it for himself and for his university; life in chapter houses and college clubs gives the youth a sense of proprietorship and responsibility for the conduct of his own affairs which he never felt so long as he lived in dormitories erected by the college, and ate his meals at long tables in the college commons. If the disorders which used to mark the college dormitory life with the attendant breaking in of doors and smashing of furniture; if the rude manners and biscuit battles, like that at Harvard in which the historian Parkman so nearly lost his eyesight, have disappeared,—it is not because they failed to perform an absolutely indispensable educational function in the college of their day, but because a wiser educational policy has provided spheres of freedom by which these rougher disciplines in independence have been superseded. We can never make men out of the boys who come to us unless, in some form or other, we give them a career in which to freely work out what is in them. Wherever prescription and paternalism undertake to domineer the life of the students, there we are sure to find either lawlessness, rebellion, and all manner of boisterous mischief, or else the product of such an institution will be a lot of good-for-nothing, effeminate, namby-pamby weaklings. The only way to escape this alternative is to pro-

vide for the students a physical, intellectual, and social life which shall be not merely what the mature, decorous judgment of their elders declares it ought to be, but, first of all, what the students earnestly and enthusiastically and freely make for themselves and cherish as their own. The question of athletics is not the question of whether this or that particular form of exercise is intrinsically good or bad, nor how it will affect the symmetry of the body as expressed on the anthropometric chart; the question of the elective system is not the question whether a student will always choose a wiser course than a professor could mark out for him; the question of chapter houses, society halls, and university clubs is not the question whether these things are more expensive or clannish than accommodations which the college authorities could provide in dormitories and commons. All these questions are mere phases of the deeper question whether the university shall hold its students in a state of tutelage as a benevolent empire rules its conquered provinces; or whether it shall give to them the largest liberty in the conduct of their personal affairs which is consistent with their reasonable progress in the studies they come to the institution to pursue; just as a republic grants to its constituent States the largest measure of local self-government that is consistent with the efficiency and dignity of the nation.

The sixth and final partner in a university is its constituency. This is a broad term including the students and the homes from which they come; the geographical area from which the students are largely drawn; the social class or denominational body with which the institution is most closely allied; and, above all, the alumni of the institution, who bear its name, and whose affections and interests are bound up with its reputation and welfare. The rights of this sixth partner to the university have already been partially indicated in setting forth the duty of the professor to respect them. One of the chief duties of the constituency is to keep the institution abreast of the times. The other partners in the university incline to conservatism. Founders and donors die. Foundations and charters remain unchanged. The State is con-

servative alike by instinct and necessity. Trustees grow old, become absorbed in other interests, and unconsciously think of an institution's needs in terms of their own experience of forty years ago. The faculty is always divided into two camps. One type of professor is content to give the same lectures, read the same passages, and teach the same subjects in the same way in which he fell into teaching them within the first five years of his professional life. The professor of this type can make a professor's chair the easiest and softest sinecure to be found in the whole range of salaried positions. Another type of professor is always living on the frontiers of investigation and research; pushing forward the boundaries of the known, and penetrating into the confines of the unknown beyond. This type of professor probably does more and harder work for the money he receives than any class of men in the whole economic world. It is the duty of the constituency of an institution to watch those subtle tendencies that bring institutions into decrepitude and premature decay; to give their cordial appreciation and approval to every effort to push the institution to the front; to insist that dead wood shall be mercilessly cut out; that new methods shall be adopted; new equipment secured; new policies attempted as soon as educational progress elsewhere, or the consensus of educational opinion, demands them. The students are always a great help in this matter, though, as has been previously indicated, their help is often rendered in rude and brutal ways. The alumni, especially the young alumni, can render their alma mater the greatest service at this point. They should compare the courses of study in their institution with the best courses that are offered elsewhere. They should watch with jealous interest every new election and appointment, and know precisely what the election or the appointment means; whether it is on the side of retrogression or progress; whether it means improvement or decline.

The increasing representation of the alumni on boards of government in our universities and colleges is a most healthy and wholesome sign, though, of course, it needs to be guarded. The selection of alumni representatives should be made after careful and

deliberate canvass, and full discussions of the qualifications and policies of candidates. No more intelligent and devoted service can be found than that which is freely and generously rendered by the representatives of the alumni of our colleges and universities. It is for the alumni, and the friends whom they can interest, to supply our institutions of learning with the material equipment which they need, and with the productive funds for their adequate maintenance. Most enthusiastically and generously this work is being done. There is no more hopeful feature of American life to-day than the generosity with which the alumni and friends of our colleges rally to their support in time of need. Magnificent buildings, splendid equipments, munificent endowments, are being given to these institutions every year; partly by men who have gained their own education from them and gladly repay the debt they owe; and partly by men who have appreciated the worth of education through their own privation of it and generously desire to give to others what they have personally known only through the sense of loss.

Academic freedom is not the simple question of whether a professor teaches or refrains from teaching this or that. As Plato says of justice, that it is the harmonious working of the several constituent elements, whether in the State or in the individual; so academic freedom is the harmonious working of the six constituent elements of the university. An institution is enslaved when any one of these parties encroaches on the rights of others. Its slavery may come from either of the six sources:—meddlesome founders and dictatorial donors; a State that is either too lax or too severe in its supervision; a president and trustees who are either arbitrary and partial, or negligent and incompetent; professors who regard their mission as agitators in behalf of their own peculiar views as prior to their obligation to the interests of the institution and the proportions of truth; obstreperous and lawless students, and, lastly, indifferent and easy-going alumni, who forget the duty they owe to their alma mater, and permit her, without protest, to lapse into fossilization.

A free institution, on the other hand, is one founded and main-

tained by benefactors who add to their gifts the greatest gift of all, a modest self-abnegation which recognizes that truth is larger than their private vision, and refuses to place personal preference above expert judgment ; fostered by a State which is jealous for its efficiency ; administered by trustees who are as single minded in the selection of the best men for its chairs of instruction as they are for the most safe and profitable investment of their funds, and by a president who has sufficient authority to select whatever men and adopt whatever measures he finds essential to the maintenance of a consistent educational policy ; manned by professors who love the truth and the institution and the students first, and themselves and their private fads last ; frequented by students who are intensely interested in intellectual, social, and athletic pursuits of their own selection and creation ; watched over by an alert body of alumni and a vigilant public, ever insisting that what has proved good elsewhere shall be instantly adopted, and that their own institution shall take its fair share of the risks of such educational experiments as are essential to educational advance.



THE EVOLUTION OF THE MAMMALIA

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It is one of the most hackneyed of scientific commonplaces that the theory of organic evolution has completely and profoundly changed all of the natural sciences, and has marvelously stimulated their growth. Yet, as so often happens, progress in one direction must be paid for by loss in another. As Minot well puts it: "In many respects, the naturalist had a broader conception of zoölogy than now prevails, for to him the earth was a whole, in which rocks, animals, and plants all had their parts and mutual relations, and the comprehension of these relations was the ideal for the attainment of which he strove. * * * From these illustrations one preserves an impression of loss which has befallen us through our surrendering too fully to the biological tendencies and fashions of our day." The English naturalists, in particular, paid great attention to the adaptations of living things to their surroundings, and, in a very interesting passage, Brooks has pointed out that this careful study of "fitness" by the older school of English zoölogists, was one very important element in Darwin's success in solving the great problem, as contrasted with the failure of his continental predecessors.

While the new opinions have thus been accompanied by some drawbacks, they have brought far more important gains.

One of the greatest services which the theory of evolution has rendered to the natural sciences is the manner in which it has unified them, has given them a common point of view, and has showed that they all deal with different aspects of the same great problem. In preëvolutionary days the various branches of zoölogy were entirely independent of one another, and could have had, at best, but an ideal or metaphysical connection. Morphology was one science, descriptive zoölogy another, geographical zoölogy a third, and palæontology a fourth. As long as it was believed that every species of animal was practically unchangeable and had been separately created, no history or explanation of a species was possible, nor could any rational account of its geographical distribution be given. Why certain regions of the world resembled each other in their animal and vegetable productions, and differed widely from other regions was an unanswerable question, which was not to be explained by a reference to the fossils; for the fossils, like the living organisms, had been themselves immutable, and could have had no material connection with modern types. Palæontology, indeed, was merely the dry and lifeless record of successive creations that had only an ideal relation with one another. That fossils became more and more like existing organisms in proportion as the recent epoch was approached, could have only a metaphysical significance, and afforded no explanation of the present order of things. In short, the Linnæan dogma of the immutability of species acted as an impassable barrier to any real understanding of the living world. Creation was an ultimate fact, beyond which it was not possible to penetrate.

The general acceptance by naturalists of the theory of evolution as a working hypothesis changed all this as if by the stroke of a magician's wand, and reduced the apparent chaos of uncorrelated parts to an orderly array. Granting that species have arisen naturally by descent with modifications from older species, it at once becomes evident that all the sciences dealing with life are but parts of one great whole, their common task being the explanation of the present order of things, the determination of

the manner in which, and of the factors by which, that order has been brought about.

At first, it seemed possible to accept the theory of evolution only as a general principle explanatory of broad classes of facts, and, in a very few instances, of concrete cases. It is one thing to be convinced that John Doe had ancestors living in the tenth century, but another and very different thing to determine just who those ancestors were. In the same way, we may be morally certain that a given animal is descended from a species which flourished in Eocene Tertiary times, without being at all able to point out the ancestral type, or to identify the successive steps of change which have led up to the modern form.

The problems which the acceptance of the theory of evolution set before the naturalist were very many and very difficult, amounting in sum to the working out of the whole history of life. It is not to be expected that these problems can ever be solved in their entirety, but already a surprising amount has been accomplished, and we cannot set any limit beyond which knowledge shall never be able to advance. Progress is slow but steady, and it is impossible to predict how far it may eventually lead us.

A fundamental one of these problems, and one of the first to be attacked, was the construction of "genealogical trees" which should display the descent and mutual relationships of certain animal groups, after the analogy of the family trees that the genealogists make. Here, the most obvious difficulty (and one that has by no means been removed) was ignorance as to the possibilities of development and of the modes of its operation. No naturalist ever suggested that butterflies were derived from bees, or horses from dogs, but to this day there is little agreement as to the kind and the amount of change which may take place in any line of descent. Hence, the genealogical trees made by different investigators for the same group of animals differ from one another, and often radically, simply because there is no general consensus of opinion as to the manner in which evolutionary changes take place. What one writer regards as almost axiomatic, seems to another impossible and even absurd.

The genealogical problem for animals is precisely analogous to that of the science of language. In both sciences the attempt is made to trace the development of the modern from the ancient, to demonstrate the common origin of things now widely separated and differing in all apparent characteristics, and to make clear the manner in which this evolution and differentiation have been effected. It is regrettably true that, at the present time, biology still lags far behind philology with regard to the solution of these analogous problems, and is, indeed, in much the same stage of progress as was etymology when it called forth Voltaire's famous sneer, "Etymology is a science in which the vowels count for nothing and the consonants for very little." Of the genealogical trees and tables constructed to exhibit the mutual relationships of animals few have any better foundation than the "guessing etymologies" of the eighteenth century, and for exactly the same reason. The old etymologists had no test to distinguish a true derivation from a false one except a likeness in sound and meaning in the words compared, and the modern zoölogist is likewise without any criterion of the relationship of animals, except certain likenesses and unlikenesses of structure. How great a value is to be allowed to a given similarity and how far this is offset by an accompanying dissimilarity, we have, as yet, few means of determining. Those laws of organic change are still to be discovered which shall render to zoölogy the same service as Grimm's law has done to the study of the Aryan tongues. Etymology was established upon a firm, scientific basis by laboriously tracing back the changes of words, step by step, from their modern forms to their ancient origins. The same principle must be adopted in zoölogy, and until a certain number, at least, of animal series can be traced back to their far distant ancestors, the law of change must remain conjectural and largely a matter of individual judgment.

The principal methods by which the genealogical problem may be attacked are comparative anatomy, embryology, and palæontology. Each of these branches of zoölogy has its own particular advantages, but each has also its especial limitations and

drawbacks. It is only by a combination of all of them that definite and final results are to be attained.

Comparative anatomy lies at the very foundation of the whole zoölogical structure, and an accurate knowledge of it is an indispensable prerequisite to any intelligent use of the other methods. Unaided and alone this method has achieved many notable triumphs in the demonstration of the mutual relationships of animals, and in the hands of the great masters it has often seemed to be an all-sufficient means of inquiry. But not every one can bend the bow of Ulysses, and, even under the most favorable conditions, finality cannot be reached by this method. It suffers from the very important defect that it possesses no sure and certain criterion by which to distinguish between the similarities that result from actual relationship, due to a common descent, and those which have been independently acquired (parallel or convergent development). It thus fails to determine with certainty the taxonomic value of a given likeness or unlikeness in structure. A very common fallacy in zoölogical reasoning is the assumption that, because a number of allied animals display a certain structure, their common ancestor must also have possessed it and have transmitted it to the diverging groups of descendants. This may have been the case, but it is almost as likely not to have been, because the structure in question may have been independently acquired many times. For example, if we compare the skeleton of the horse and the camel, representing two distinct orders of hoofed animals, we find that they agree in a number of details in which each differs from its nearer allies, the members of its own order. What is the significance of those resemblances? Were they found in the far distant common ancestor of horses and camels? and have they been lost and suppressed in other hoofed animals? or, on the other hand, were these likenesses of detail independently acquired in the evolution of the two groups? The comparative method alone would not render any certain answer to these questions, and, in fact, the only sure method of answering them would be to study the extinct members of the series which have led to the existing camels and horses. A study of

these extinct members at once reveals the fact that the detailed skeletal resemblances were not found in the common ancestor, but have been separately acquired in the two lines.

Comparative anatomy deals only with the assemblage of animals now existing, a very small fragment compared with the vast host of living things that have altogether vanished from the earth. In this lies the difficulty of reaching firmly fixed conclusions as to animal relationships by the comparative method alone. It is like attempting to work out the derivations of the words in a language which has no written literature to register its changes. Obviously, the etymology of such a language would be well-nigh impossible.

The second method of attacking the genealogical problem is embryology. No department of science received a greater impulse and stimulus from the theory of evolution than this, for it was long regarded as the final arbiter in questions of homology and relationship. It was believed that the development of the individual from the egg (ontogeny) repeated the history of the species (phylogeny). This was the "recapitulation theory," or the "fundamental biogenetic law" of Haeckel, and according to it, embryology rendered other methods of investigation all but superfluous. As is the case with most fashions, scientific or otherwise, this theory was pushed a great deal too far, and has lately fallen into discredit. It was early seen that nearly allied animals had often quite different modes of development, and that embryological results were frequently in direct contradiction with each other, and the climax was reached by the discovery of Brooks and Herrick that one and the same species of the crustacean genus *Alpheus* displayed several quite different methods of development. The adults of this species are alike, and yet, in three different localities, three different modes of development have been observed, two of them quite radically unlike. It has been attempted to break the force of these facts by assuming that the embryological record had been obscured, and to some extent falsified by the omission of stages and by the introduction of new features, which had been imposed upon, or substituted for, those

due to ancestral inheritance. This assumption made the interpretation of embryological evidence and the sifting of the old from the new a matter for the individual judgment; and, in the absence of any generally accepted canons of interpretation or standard of value, there has been little harmony of result. To use a concrete illustration: embryology fails to show that the horse and the sheep are descended from five-toed ancestors, and gives a quite false impression as to the manner in which the extremely complex molar teeth of the horse have arisen.

Professor E. B. Wilson has stated the case forcibly and in terms that will compel assent from most impartial minds: "It must be evident to any candid observer not only that the embryological method is open to criticism, but that the whole fabric of morphology, as far as it rests upon embryological evidence, stands in urgent need of reconstruction. For twenty years embryological research has been largely dominated by the recapitulation theory; and unquestionably this theory has illuminated many dark places, and has solved many a perplexing problem that without its aid might have remained a standing riddle to the pure anatomist. But, while fully recognizing the real and substantial fruits of that theory, we should not close our eyes to the undeniable fact that it, like many another fruitful theory, has been pushed beyond its legitimate limits. It is largely to an overweening confidence in the value of the embryological evidence that we owe the vast number of the elaborate hypothetical phylogenies, which confront the modern student in such bewildering confusion. The inquiries of such a student regarding the origin of any of the great primary types of animals, involve him in a labyrinth of speculation and hypothesis, in which he seeks in vain for conclusions of even approximate certainty."¹

To recur to the comparison with the science of language, embryology resembles dealing with an ancient literature which has been preserved only in abstracts and abbreviations, and has been vitiated by many changes and forgeries, only the

(1) *Wood's Holl Biological Lectures*, 1895, p. 103.

grossest and most palpable of which may be readily detected.

The third method of prosecuting genealogical research is that of palæontology, or the study of fossils. This method, while by no means free from difficulties and drawbacks, has certain pre-ëminent advantages which admirably fit it to supplement the deficiencies of the other methods, just as the latter, in their turn, supplement the deficiencies of palæontology. What are some of these deficiencies? There is, in the first place, the incompleteness of the geological record. Palæontology cannot hope to reconstruct the whole history of life upon the earth, or even the greater part of that history, for many of its chapters are irretrievably lost, while others are so fragmentary as to be unintelligible. Nearly the whole recorded history of life is contained in rocks which were laid down under water and especially those which were accumulated in the bed of the sea, and the preservation of a land animal under such conditions is simply a lucky accident. We have every reason to feel assured that the land was covered with a luxuriant vegetation ages before the date of the oldest known fossil land plant. Even in an uninterrupted series of marine deposits, representing vast periods of time, there are sure to be gaps in the record of life, even for the restricted area. Changes in the depth of water, in the character of the bottom, or in the configuration of the adjoining land will drive away one set of animals and bring in another set that is not derived from the former, while the first set may return upon a renewal of the old conditions.

Again, many kinds of animals are quite incapable of preservation in the fossil state, save under the most exceptional conditions,—conditions which recur so seldom and so widely separated both in space and time, as to render useless any attempt to construct a continuous story from them.

In the second place, those animals which are fossilized are, in almost all cases, very incompletely preserved. Except under exceedingly rare circumstances, in late periods of the earth's history, only the hard parts, such as shells, bones, teeth, and scales, are preserved. It is rare to find even a whole skeleton, and great numbers of fossil animals are known only from a few teeth or scat-

tered bones. The proper association of the various parts of a single skeleton may require the laborious efforts of many workers for years. In this work of piecing together the dry bones ludicrous blunders have been made, even by competent men, because of the extraordinary and unexpected character of many of the extinct animals. In one instance, the various parts of a single species, found at different times and places, were referred to no less than three distinct mammalian orders. The reason for this was that, prior to experience, no one could have ventured to predict the association in a single animal of such apparently incompatible characteristics. This example is by no means an isolated one.

It is on account of this incompleteness of preservation that much which we should wish to learn concerning the structure of extinct animals cannot be determined. The soft parts, including the muscles, the viscera, the brain, the nerves, and the blood-vessels, are entirely lost, and can be inferred only from indirect, and often insufficient evidence. There are several groups of very ancient fossils which are so entirely unlike anything now living that no one has succeeded in interpreting the parts which are preserved, or in comprehending the organisms or their place in the scheme of classification.

In the third place, the apparent order of succession of animals in the geological scale must not be too implicitly and uncritically accepted as a matter beyond doubt or dispute. One assemblage of animals may be of undeniably later date than another found in the same region, and yet the newer series may not have been derived from the older or have any direct connection with them. Any species of animal distributes itself as widely as possible from its place of origin, until stopped by some impassable barrier. Changes of climate, or in the connections between continental masses, may open at any time a way to the extension of an old type to new regions, and a great migration may occur. These migrations have been in progress for countless ages past, and they sometimes greatly confuse the record, when we attempt to read it in terms of evolutionary descent. A newer species which appears to have descended from an older one of the same region,

may have had, as a matter of fact, an entirely different ancestry and have migrated half-way around the globe to the place where it is found. The sudden appearance of an entirely new type in regions where no hint of an ancestry for them can be discovered, is usually to be explained by a migration of this sort.

The reader might be easily led to infer from this discouraging account of the difficulties and limitations of palæontology, that that science could afford no real help in the solution of genealogical problems, but any such inference would be altogether unjustified, for the other side of the case has yet to be heard. Several of the limitations are but partial, not applying to particular cases, while others are difficulties that are slowly yielding to continued investigation and the exploration of new regions. The opening up, geologically speaking, of our own West has added wonderfully to our knowledge of life in the earth's past history, and the exploration of South America, even now in progress, is bringing to light a still greater wealth of new and valuable material. When the whole earth is as well known geologically as Western Europe, the palæontological record, it may be confidently expected, will prove to be of inestimable value to the zoölogist.

As we have seen already, there is no prospect of our ever being able to reconstruct an unbroken life-history of the earth, but, on the other hand, certain chapters of that history have been preserved in an astonishing degree of fullness and detail. For example, the series of fresh-water deposits in the Western United States extends with hardly a break from the lower Eocene into the Pliocene, and every stage has yielded an abundance of well preserved fossil vertebrates, especially of mammals. Under such conditions, palæontology becomes a most useful supplement to comparative anatomy and embryology. Its preëminent advantages are as follows:—

In the first place, palæontology gives us, in many cases, the members of the actual genealogical series, and in the true order of their succession in time. In many groups of animals such series have already been recovered, so full, so complete, that no observer

can hesitate to accept them as representing actually, or very nearly, the successive steps of evolutionary change and in the order in which those changes took place. Even with abundant material these series must be reconstructed only step by step, tracing each form back to its immediate progenitor, or forward to its immediate descendant. An unbroken series of documents is not more essential to the genealogist than continuous series of well-preserved fossils to the palæontologist. Neglect of this principle has led to no little hasty and ill considered work, which has been a hindrance rather than a help to progress.

The notion that the palæontologist must laboriously reconstruct his genealogical series, and must spare no pains to obtain perfect specimens of fossils will doubtless surprise many readers. It is firmly rooted in the popular mind that the palæontologist needs only a single bone, or tooth, or scale, from which to reconstruct all the missing parts, and no pseudo-scientific illustration recurs more persistently in literature, in spite of repeated exposures of its utter absurdity. As a matter of fact, such ideal reconstructions are not of the smallest scientific value. If such easy-going methods could be used, palæontology would not be worth attention, for it could teach us nothing.

It is a fortunate circumstance that the well-defined genealogical series which have already been worked out recur in many and widely separated groups of animals, such as mammals, reptiles, molluscs, brachiopods, etc. If, on comparing these different series, they are found to agree in their modes of evolutionary change, it may be inferred that such modes will prove to be of general application and validity. In these genealogical series each characteristic structure may be followed from its incipient stages to its full development, and thus it becomes easy to distinguish between those resemblances which are due to community of descent and those which have been independently acquired in different series. In fine, the fossils represent at least fragments, and sometimes very extensive ones, of the various literatures which register the changes of language. What is of capital importance is that these portions of the literature are preserved in the

original documents, which bear evidence of their true dates and of their order of succession, and, however incomplete they may be, they have not been falsified by late interpolations and forgeries. If the analogue of Grimm's law is to be found anywhere in the animal kingdom, it will surely be deduced from a study of these well-defined genealogical series of fossils. Indeed, a number of paragraphs of such a law may already be so deduced. It is true, these paragraphs have not yet found general acceptance among zoölogists, but that is because very many zoölogists ignore palæontology and seem to think that it has nothing of importance to offer them.

It would not be worth while, even if the limitations of space permitted, to consider all the deductions as to modes of evolutionary change which have been suggested by the study of genealogical series of fossils, but two or three principles should be mentioned which are of especial importance, and which are established to a very high degree of probability.

(1) Evolution is ordinarily a continuous process of change by means of small gradations, which sometimes require a vast period of time to secure a relatively small advance. This does not imply that the rate of change was always uniform,—it probably was not,—or that a sudden alteration in the conditions of the environment may not bring about a discontinuous, or "*per saltum*" development. It means that the usual and normal mode of advance is by continuous, small changes.

(2) Evolution is, in most instances, direct and unswerving. The rise of new forms and the decadence of old ones usually take place by relatively straight paths, not in zigzag or meandering lines. Indeed, on looking over a long series of fossils, it is often difficult to resist the somewhat fantastic belief that the animals were making for a consciously selected goal, so steadily do the successive members of the series keep to the prescribed path. A path once taken may, of course, be diverged from, but in that case the original path is not regained. This steadiness of development is a general truth, applicable to the organism as a whole; in minor details of structure more latitude of variation seems to be admissible.

(3) A very large number of similarities between different animal groups have been independently acquired (parallel development), and are not due to genetic relationship. This most important principle is tacitly or explicitly denied by many zoölogists, but the palæontological series demonstrate it in the most unequivocal manner, nor can any rearrangement of the series produce a different result. Lists of such parallelisms in single characters might be multiplied to an indefinite extent, but they may go further and involve the entire structure. For example, the camels have a great many points of resemblance to the true ruminants, and yet it may be conclusively shown that most of these resemblances are not due to inheritance from common ancestors. Even more remarkable is the case of the horse-like animals which Ameghino has discovered in the Miocene of Patagonia, and which he believes to be ancestral to the modern horses. In these creatures may be observed a most wonderful likeness to the true ancestral horses of the northern hemisphere, in the structure of the teeth, skull, vertebræ, and limbs, and yet a careful study of them shows that they can only be most distantly related to the horses, and that they belong to a different order of hoofed animals. One is tempted to think that nature had at her disposal only a limited number of patterns of teeth, skulls, feet, etc., so often are these repeated in widely different groups.

These innumerable cases of parallel evolution greatly increase the difficulty of determining the genealogical series, a work which would be very much easier if every obvious resemblance could be at once accepted as a proof of relationship. They emphasize the utter absurdity of the "single bone method" of palæontology and the necessity of tracing the series in the most cautious manner, step by step. They show, too, how arbitrary and unnatural every scheme of classification must be that is founded upon a single character, and that such schemes must employ the totality of structure to be even approximately successful.

In the second place, palæontology is in a position to make valuable contributions to the discussion of the factors or efficient causes of evolution and of the facts of heredity, which are inseparable

ably connected with these factors. However, as this paper is to be a genealogical study, an attempt to set forth the present state of knowledge concerning the evolution of the Mammalia, these wider and more general problems must be passed by.

In the third place, palæontology holds the key which unlocks the mysteries of the geographical distribution of animals. Any rational theory of evolution must explain not only the origin and history of animal groups, but also why they happen to occur in certain regions and not in others. The problem is not to be dismissed by assigning everything to the causal efficiency of climate. Climate is a very important factor, it is true, in controlling distribution, but it is only one factor. While a given animal cannot exist where the climate is unfavorable to it, yet a favorable climate cannot, of itself, produce the animal, as is plainly seen when an animal is artificially established in a new region, where it flourishes inordinately and may even become a dangerous pest, like the rabbits introduced into Australia. The fauna of any region is the outcome of its whole past history, and that history is recorded in palæontology.

Each of the great land masses of the globe has been the scene of an evolution of forms more or less peculiar to itself, or to use Osborn's expressive phrase, they have each been the centre of an "adaptive radiation of types." Of these centres the principal ones are Eurasia, North America, South America, Africa, and Australia. Each of these systems of adaptively radiating types of animals possesses members more or less resembling those of other systems, a fact which has brought great confusion into the schemes of classification, but the resemblances are deceptive and are due to the independent acquisition of similar characters, not to any close relationship. Those types which have been evolved through a long line of ancestry in a given region constitute the strictly indigenous element in the fauna of that region, but in addition every continent contains a larger or smaller element which has migrated thither from other regions. For the migrations of land animals it is essential that a land connection between the regions should persist for a longer or shorter period. Hence

those continents which have been most lately connected are those which have the most similar faunas, while those that have been longest separated are those that differ most. The great zoölogical peculiarities of Australia, for example, are to be explained by its long isolation from other regions.

The influx of a mass of immigrating species into any region greatly modifies the conditions of the struggle for existence in that region, and it may result in the more or less complete destruction of the indigenous types, or the latter may continue to hold their own and only a few of the invaders be able to gain a foothold. South Africa is believed to be an example of the first kind, much the greater part of its present mammalian fauna having been derived from the northern continents. South America is an example of the second kind, its mammalian fauna being very largely indigenous and the immigrant element less important. In that continent the sloths, armadillos, and ant-eaters, and the very numerous kinds of porcupine-like rodents are indigenous, while the carnivorous animals, the llamas, peccaries, and tapirs, are migrants from the north, and reached South America at a relatively late date. In North America the two elements are quite evenly balanced.

This long introduction on the subject of methods of investigation is necessary, in order that the reader may see how extremely difficult is the task of reconstructing animal genealogies and why such different results should have been reached by different observers. Progress seems very slow and laborious, but in reality it is encouragingly steady, and twenty-five years ago few would have ventured to predict such an immense increase in the amount and exactitude of knowledge as has been gained in this last quarter of the century. If it seems that undue weight has been given to palæontology, that is simply because that science is less commonly known and appreciated, and because it is precisely the one which has the best prospects of rapid advance.

Naturally, the first question that presents itself in our inquiry is that concerning the origin of the Mammalia, as a whole. From what group or groups of the lower vertebrates are the mammals

descended? Are the mammals monophyletic, i. e., were they all derived from a single stock? or polyphyletic, i. e., derived from several stocks? Unfortunately, these questions cannot yet receive a conclusive answer, for the evidence is yet insufficient, and, in particular, the origin of the class is still veiled in complete obscurity. Its history extends back to the Triassic period, the oldest of the three divisions of the Mesozoic era, but Triassic mammals are so excessively rare (only three or four specimens have been found) and so imperfectly preserved, that they give us very little information. In rocks older than the Triassic no fossils have been obtained which can be regarded as ancestral to mammals, but a highly important and suggestive group of reptiles is found in the Permian period, which just precedes the Triassic. This group, long entirely extinct, is known as the Theriodontia, and many of its members are surprisingly like mammals. Some of them, indeed, were referred to the mammals with little hesitation, when they were first discovered and imperfectly known. The theriodonts were long limbed, terrestrial forms, very widely separated from all other known reptiles, but in the character of the skull, limbs, and teeth approaching very near to the mammals. While no known theriodont can be regarded as ancestral to the Mammalia, some small, unspecialized forms which were so ancestral may well have existed and these hypothetical forms may be discovered at any time, and then the problem will be solved, in part at least.

As just suggested, even the discovery of the hypothetical theriodonts may not clear up the problem of mammalian ancestry, because of the doubt as to the mode of their descent, whether from one group, or from more than one. If the latter was the mode (polyphyletic origin) then it might prove that while some mammals were derived from theriodonts, others were descended from some very different group, which may not have been reptiles at all. The lowest of existing mammals, the monotremes, which include the duck-billed mole, and spiny ant-eater of Australia, reproduce by means of an egg, the young not being born alive, and these eggs greatly resemble those of reptiles. In very many

other respects the monotremes are so very different from all other mammals that several authorities believe that they must have descended from a different ancestral group of lower vertebrates, from that which gave rise to the other mammals. It should be noted, however, that the tendency of recent investigation does not favor the diphyletic origin of the mammals; and if it should eventually prove that the monotremes have the same origin as the higher mammals, it will materially strengthen the opinion that the class has had its origin from a reptilian group.

While the palæontological evidence, fragmentary and inconclusive as it is, seems to point to the reptilian origin of the Mammalia, the evidence of comparative anatomy and embryology points rather to another conclusion; namely, that the ancestors of mammals are to be looked for among the Amphibia, a conclusion which seems to have been reached first by Huxley. The evidence for this view, while undoubtedly strong of its kind, cannot well be exhibited in an untechnical way. Palæontologically it has no support, for no known group of fossil Amphibia at all fulfills the necessary conditions.

The conclusion of the whole matter then is, that the question of the origin of the mammals is still an open one; the class may have been derived from reptiles, from amphibians, or, perhaps, from some unknown class which was neither reptilian nor amphibian. Future discoveries must be awaited before the difficulties can be removed.

Much the same uncertainty obtains as to the mutual relationships of the three great types of mammals, the monotremes, the marsupials, and the placentals. For a long time the prevalent opinion was that of Huxley, that these three groups represent three stages of mammalian descent, the monotremes having given rise to the marsupials, and the latter to the placentals. Of late, however, this view has given way to the opinion that the three groups are not ancestral, one to the other, but represent three diverging branches of one, or at most, two stocks. At all events, it is clear that the marsupials and placentals are very much more closely related to each other than either group is to

the monotremes, which are the remnant of an extremely ancient type. It follows from this that Huxley's division of the mammals into three sub-classes must be discarded in favor of Gill's arrangement into two sub-classes, the Prototheria (monotremes) and Eutheria (marsupials and placentals); an arrangement which conforms better to the facts.

Throughout the whole of the Mesozoic era the mammals continued to be very rare, very small, and very inconspicuous, at least in the regions which are geologically known. They were completely overshadowed by the reptiles, which, in such astonishing numbers and variety dominated the land and the sea and even the air. It is, of course, possible that in some region of the world, in the later Mesozoic, the mammals may have been much further advanced in size, in numbers, and in differentiation than the fossils of Europe and North America would lead us to expect. Indeed, there is some reason to believe that such was actually the case, and that the wonderful expansion and development of mammalian life, which characterized the older Tertiary times of the northern hemisphere, was due rather to immigration than to evolution within that hemisphere.

Even in the northern hemisphere, however, the mammals made considerable progress during the Mesozoic era. Most unfortunately, all of the fossils yet obtained are so fragmentary, consisting almost entirely of isolated jaws and scattered teeth, that they teach us comparatively little concerning themselves or their relationships. Almost all of minute size, their extreme rarity is not to be wondered at. Hence conjecture plays a large part in the deductions which are drawn from the study of these most interesting but unsatisfactory fossils. Judging from the best evidence now available, it would appear that within the limits of the Mesozoic era both of the mammalian sub-classes, the Prototheria and the Eutheria, had become established, and further, that the two primary divisions of the latter, the marsupials and placentals, had already been separated. It is even probable that the beginnings of several of the modern mammalian orders date back to the latter part of the Mesozoic.

The passage from the Mesozoic to the Tertiary was marked by widespread and very important changes in the physical geography of the northern hemisphere and by an extraordinary change in the life of the earth. Vegetation had attained almost its modern state, but the geographical distribution of plants has been greatly altered since that time, owing to the great changes of climate which have occurred. The huge and bizarre reptiles of the Mesozoic had all disappeared, while the mammals come to the front in an astonishing outburst, as it may fairly be called. Henceforth the mammals were to be the dominating type, taking the place of the dethroned reptiles.

Much of mammalian history has been preserved in the fresh-water deposits of Tertiary age in various parts of the world, but in no region yet known with such fullness as in the western part of the United States, where are found deposits covering almost the whole of Tertiary time. These great rock masses, of different dates, cover thousands of square miles, and were laid down in various ways. Some were accumulated in lake-basins, others were spread by sluggish streams over their flood-plains, others may have been heaped up by the winds in semi-deserts. The rocks thus accumulated entombed the bones of innumerable animals, the fossil remains of which are not only extraordinarily abundant, but are preserved in a degree of completeness found in very few other parts of the world. Many entire skeletons have already been recovered, and exploration is continually bringing others to light. These Tertiary fresh-water rocks are almost all soft and some of them quite loose and incoherent; in the arid regions where they occur they are little or not at all protected by vegetation, and are rapidly carved by the atmosphere into those areas of fantastic and weird topography known as the "bad lands."

The principal horizons of the Western Tertiary deposits are grouped in the following table, and in the order of their succession, the oldest at the bottom, and the newest at the top. It will be necessary to refer constantly to these formations by name in tracing out the history of the mammalian groups.

| | | |
|------------|--------------------|---|
| QUATERNARY | <i>Pleistocene</i> | Sheridan Beds |
| | <i>Pliocene</i> | Blanco |
| | <i>Miocene</i> | { Loup Fork { Nebraska { John Day { Deep River |
| TERTIARY | <i>Oligocene</i> | White River { Protoceras beds { Oreodon beds { Titanotherium beds |
| | <i>Eocene</i> | Uinta Bridger { Washakie { Bridger Wind River Wasatch Torrejon Puerco |

The oldest North American faunas of Eocene date (the Puerco and Torrejon), and those of France of approximately equivalent date (Cernaysian formation) are very peculiar and, for the most part, utterly unlike those of later times. A number of Mesozoic types persist and others which seem to be descended from Mesozoic ancestors abound, while a third element, for which no such ancestry can yet be assigned, is apparently composed of immigrants from some unknown region. The next Eocene formation in the ascending scale, the Wasatch of North America and its equivalent the Suessonian of France, has a very much more advanced and differentiated mammalian fauna, and one which, evidently, to a great extent, has been recruited by immigration. The Torrejon and Wasatch faunas are so unlike that, judged by ordinary standards, we should believe them to be separated by a great lapse of time. For reasons which cannot well be discussed here, there probably was no such great interval, and the suddenness of the change was almost certainly due to migration.

From the Wasatch to the present, the evolution of many of the mammalian types can be followed in a most satisfactory way, but there is a great difference between the various orders in this regard, due to the mechanical conditions of fossilization. Thus, very small animals with fragile bones are less apt to be

preserved, or if preserved, to be found in a much less complete state than those which are larger and have bones which are better able to resist crushing. Gregarious animals, living in herds, are, from their greater individual numbers, much more likely to be fossilized than animals of solitary habit, and thus hoofed animals are more numerous as fossils than flesh-eaters or insectivores. Arboreal animals escape many of the catastrophes which overwhelm the species that live on the ground, and flying forms are especially fitted to escape them. Bats are, therefore, very rare as fossils, and their history is almost unknown. For these reasons, the history of the hoofed animals, and especially of those of considerable stature, is the best known of all.

One of the most striking and significant results of the study of the later Mesozoic and earliest Tertiary mammalian faunas, is that the higher or placental mammals are seen to be converging back to a common ancestral group of clawed and carnivorous or omnivorous animals, now entirely extinct, to which the name of Creodonta was given by Cope. The creodonts are assuredly the ancestors of the modern flesh-eaters, and, very probably, of the great series of hoofed animals also, as well as of other orders. From this central, ancestral group the other orders proceed, diverging more and more with the progress of time, each larger branch dividing and subdividing into smaller and smaller branches, until the modern condition is attained. Many a stately branch that at one time seemed full of vigor and promise of long life has withered and dropped from the trunk, while insignificant twigs have expanded into great and ramified branches. The vicissitudes of the history are many and surprising, and, in many instances, quite inexplicable from the standpoint of present knowledge.

The stem-group for the hoofed animals and that which serves to connect the latter with the creodonts, is the Condylarthra, an extinct group which also was discovered and named by the late Professor Cope. The Condylarthra probably began their career in the late Mesozoic; at all events, they are numerous in the Puerco and Torrejon, and die out in the Wasatch. Though the connection has not yet been

demonstrated in all cases, it seems highly probable that the Condylarthra represent the common stock whence nearly or quite all the orders, of hoofed animals were derived. Of these ungulate orders, none has a more interesting history than the Perissodactyla, an order which is now verging towards extinction, and which, at the present time, is represented by three families only; the horses, tapirs, and rhinoceroses. It probably will not be many centuries before the two latter families will have disappeared and then the horses (using that term to include all horse-like animals, the asses, zebras, etc.,) will be left alone to represent the Perissodactyla. The order first appears in the Wasatch and rapidly increases and diversifies, becoming in the middle and upper Eocene (Bridger and Uinta) the most abundant and important ungulate order. After maintaining this dominant position for a time, the Perissodactyla began slowly to decline, as other hoofed animals came forward to take their places. This decline is exhibited not only in the entire loss of many perissodactyl series, but also in the restriction of the geographical range of those which persisted.

Of the various perissodactyl families, none has left so clear and full a record of its history in the rocks as have the horses, (*Equidae*) which was first worked out, in its main outlines, by the late Professor Marsh. Disregarding a probable but insufficiently known ancestor in the Torrejon, the history begins in the Wasatch with some little animals hardly larger than domestic cats, which, though far more primitive and less specialized than the modern representatives of the family, yet have something about them which stamps them immediately and unmistakably as ancestral types of the horses. However, the observer would perhaps hardly venture to call them such, if he could not trace them step by step to their very different descendants of the present time. These little creatures differ especially from the modern horses, which have but one functional toe on each foot, in having five toes in the fore foot and four in the hind foot. The limbs, and particularly the feet, are relatively quite short, and the two bones of the forearm (ulna and radius) and of the lower leg (tibia

and fibula) were entirely free and separate from one another. The neck is short, and the head relatively small; the cranium is narrow and of proportionately small capacity, and the brain is small, and only simply convoluted; the orbit for the eye is but partially enclosed by bone, and is placed quite far forward over the molar teeth, so that the face is short. The teeth are very short crowned, early forming roots, and, at first sight, seem to be utterly different from those of existing horses; the front teeth (incisors) are simple and chisel-shaped, not having the deep pit which horse-men call the "mark"; of the grinding teeth, the anterior four (premolars) have a much less complex pattern than the posterior three (molars). The latter have a grinding surface made up of six small, and nearly conical tubercles, arranged in two transverse rows. Many other minor differences may be noted between these ancient horses, as they may fairly be called, and their modern descendants, but lack of space forbids a consideration of them here.

In the Wind River, Bridger, and Uinta stages we find the horses gradually and steadily advancing, but we may pass over these genera and compare the White River representative of the series (*Mesohippus*) directly with its Wasatch ancestor, always remembering, however, that the genera which have been omitted from consideration make a complete and perfect transition from the older to the newer form. In *Mesohippus* quite marked advances may be noted. The most obvious one is the increased stature, the White River genus being as large as a sheep (and some of its species still larger); it is thus quite double the size of its Wasatch predecessor. The grinding teeth have become decidedly more complex; the tubercles have coalesced to form sharp crests, and all but the most anterior one have acquired the same pattern and size. These grinding teeth are, however, still very low crowned, and indicate that these animals, like their forerunners, still continued to feed upon soft and succulent vegetation. A very interesting feature is the appearance of a shallow depression, or cup, upon the upper incisors, the first beginnings of the "mark." The face is somewhat lengthened, the orbits commencing to shift

backward, and the growing postorbital process more nearly encloses the eye with a bony rim. The brain case is much enlarged, and the brain itself is not only larger, but is much more abundantly convoluted than in the Eocene genera of the series. The neck has grown longer, and its vertebrae have already assumed many of the peculiarities seen in the modern horses. The limbs, especially the hinder ones, are relatively much longer than in the preceding genera of the line, and the feet have lengthened proportionately even more than the limbs as a whole, and are thus in very marked contrast to those of the more ancient genera. In the forearm the radius has been much enlarged, and carries most of the weight of the body, while the ulna is much reduced and very slender; the two forearm bones have already begun to co-ossify. Similarly, in the leg the tibia is enlarged at the expense of the fibula, the shaft of which has become a mere thread of bone, while the two ends have coalesced with the tibia. The fore foot has lost the fifth toe, which is reduced to a mere nodule; the median digit (no. iii. of the original five) has grown much larger, and carries most of the weight, while the lateral digits (nos. ii. and iv.), though still complete and still functional, are much reduced in thickness and are evidently on the way to disappear. The median hoof has now assumed an unmistakable resemblance to that of the horse, while the two lateral hoofs have become very narrow and slender. Similar changes have taken place in the hind foot. In short, *Mesobippus*, of the White River beds, as compared with the genera of the Wasatch and Bridger, has made very notable progress, in all parts of its structure, in the direction of the modern horses.

Through the White River and John Day beds the advance of evolution continues in the same steady fashion, a gradual increase of size being the most conspicuous feature of the change within the limits of these formations. In the Deep River beds the change has become so marked that a new generic term becomes necessary. This genus (*Desmatippus*) still closely resembles its ancestral type in most characters of skull and skeleton, but it displays one very significant change; namely, in the constitution of

the grinding teeth. These are beginning to elongate and grow more before forming their roots, though this elongation is far less than it became in subsequent genera; at the same time the valleys and irregularities of the crown are covered with a thin deposit of true bone, which is called "cement," when developed upon the teeth. The limbs and feet are somewhat heavier and stouter than in *Mesobippus*, but otherwise there is little change.

Desmatippus leads into the characteristic Loup Fork genus, *Protobippus*, which carries the advance one stage further. In this genus, which is larger than its predecessor, the whole appearance of the skeleton is so like that of the horse, as to require a careful examination to note the differences. All the teeth have become much higher crowned, though still lower than in existing horses, and the grinding surfaces, while very complex, are somewhat simpler than in the latter. This change in the character of the teeth, which is repeated in many other groups of mammals, has been explained by the great spread of the grasses, which occurred at this period. Grasses contain much flint and rapidly abrade the teeth, and this abrasion is compensated by the persistent growth of the teeth for a longer time. To return to *Protobippus*, the skull is thoroughly equine in appearance, and the orbit is completely encircled in bone; the neck is elongated and heavy, and the limbs have nearly the same proportions as in the horses. The feet, however, still have three toes each, though the lateral digits are now so reduced that they scarcely touch the ground, and must have been mere dew-claws. In stature *Protobippus* about equals a pony or donkey and is thus larger than most of its predecessors and smaller than most of its successors.

The change from *Protobippus* to the existing genus *Equus* is a comparatively small one, and occurred in the early Pliocene. An increase in height and weight of body, in the length of the teeth and in the complexity of their grinding surfaces are features of this change, but most marked is the nearly complete reduction of the lateral digits, the rudiments of which are now entirely concealed beneath the skin, and by horsemen are called "splints." The whole weight of the body is now supported by the enlarged

third digit of each foot, and the modern horses are thus functionally monodactyl, the splints remaining as evidence that these animals are descended from ancestors which had at least three toes.

The geographical relations of the horses are of much interest. It is not possible to say in just what part of the world the line took its origin, for the early genera of the series are found both in North America and Europe, and they evidently migrated backward and forward, for at that period Bering Sea was a land bridge connecting America and Asia, and the mild climate was no barrier to a northward range. The principal development of the series, however, took place in North America, for here the line is unbroken, each geological stage having its own characteristic genus, while in the European upper Eocene, Oligocene, lower and middle Miocene, no representative of the direct line has yet been discovered. In the Pliocene and Pleistocene the family had acquired an immense geographical range, extending into all the continents except Australia. The true horse, in the restricted sense of the term (species *Equus caballus*), was not developed in North America and appears never to have reached this continent, until brought here by the European settlers. The Pleistocene horses of North America, some of which were exceedingly large, had, so far as the skeleton is concerned, a greater resemblance to the asses, zebras, etc., than to the true horses. South America, which received its horses very late, when the great Pliocene migration came in from the north, developed some extremely peculiar types of horses, which have not yet been found in any other continent. For reasons which can hardly be even conjectured, the horses disappeared entirely from the western hemisphere before the discoveries of Columbus, and continued to exist only in Eurasia and Africa.

We have followed only the main line of equine descent, which leads up to the modern types. In addition to this main series or trunk, branches were given off from time to time, which, after a longer or shorter career, died out without leaving any successors behind them. One of these branches is that of the peculiar

family of the palæotheres, which separated at a very early date from the main stem and became very abundant and varied in the upper Eocene and Oligocene of Europe, but never sent any representatives to the western hemisphere. A peculiar interest attaches to these forms, for they were among the first to be discovered and described by Cuvier at the end of the eighteenth century, who thus laid the foundations of palæontology as a distinct science, and who startled the world by proving that whole races of animals had become extinct. The palæotheres were long believed to be the direct ancestors of the horses, but this view has been abandoned in favor of the one explained above. They were short limbed and short footed animals which were incapable of any very radical change of structure, and, therefore, eventually gave way under the competition of more adaptable forms.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]



AMERICAN QUALITY

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In his effort to explain himself, man is compelled to apply to his task the method of interpreting nature which is current in his time. So long as the doctrine of immediate creation was universally held, there was no way open by which to account for the features of living beings except by the will of the Creator. In considering the peculiarities of the races or smaller groups of human kind, a certain measure of variation could be allowed as due to the influence of the devil. When the eighteenth century Renaissance, unhappily known from its great, but least characteristic, incident as the French Revolution, enlarged the thought of Western Europe, it brought with it a new view as to the way in which organic species were produced. This hypothesis of Lamarck is, in effect, that every animal is moved by its desires to novel deeds; that through this effort to new accomplishments, certain parts, both bodily and mental, are varied to fit the demands imposed upon them. These variations are, according to this view, transmitted to the creature's offspring and accumulated by generations of like endeavor. Thus, the long neck of the giraffe is accounted for on the supposition that for ages this species has been insistently striving to crop the leaves of trees, and its peculiar shape is a monument of this continuous endeavor.

If we could fully accept the Lamarckian view as to the origin of variations among animals in general, we should have no great

difficulty in accounting for the peculiar qualities of diverse peoples. We should have only to suppose that, moved by their peculiar conditions, each had been led to certain desires, and that their bodies and minds had been shaped accordingly. We should, in a word, have to reckon only with environment, will, and heredity in our effort to explain the variations of men. It is, however, certain that the problem cannot be thus explained. The Darwinian theory of accidental, or we better say incidental, variation, with the natural selection of the profitable varieties, does not allow that the will of the individual has anything to do in shaping its body in such manner that the changes can be transmitted to its progeny. The hypothesis of Weismann positively affirms that no variations of form or habit which are acquired by any animal, man included, can be transmitted to the offspring; all such changes being the result of happenings dependent on conditions that were established in the process of generation, and the accumulation of those seeming accidents in the selective way. And these views have weight with all who are entitled to an opinion on the question.

Although the two views above noted, as to the manner in which changes in the living world are brought about, are still under discussion,—each with many advocates who have convinced themselves that the formula they swear by is the sole means of explaining this tangle of life,—there is reason to believe that both are in large, but undetermined, measure right; and that we shall have, in time, to blend these opinions, mayhap with many another not suggested, to explain even in the merest outline the vast complex of actions which shapes the simplest creatures. We have, therefore, to deal with the problem of human quality as it pleases the true naturalist to do, with a mind ready to consider all probable explanations as to its origin, but with an immediate interest in the actual facts. But for this love of the actual, the student of nature may be a philosopher, or what Louis Agassiz termed a “scientific lawyer,” but not a naturalist, to whom nature is ever more interesting than any explanations of its mysteries.

In approaching the question of national quality in the manner of the naturalist, we need to begin the inquiry by noting what peculiarities creatures of the same race exhibit when they are quite in separate fields. It needs, indeed, but a glance at the facts to show us that in plants and animals alike, members of the same species, separated for even a few generations from a common station and lodged on parts of the earth which differ, be it but little, in their nature become unlike. We see this most distinctly in the domesticated creatures, which are taken about the earth and forced to reconcile themselves as best they may to a great variety of conditions. To them there comes in each region a quality of form, or it may be of habit, which distinguishes them from the parent stock. Often these differences are so slight that they elude description, though they may be very real. Thus, as between the horses of this country and England, there are indescribable distinctions which are yet so clear that if a hundred from each country were mingled in a herd, an expert would be able to separate them with but a trifling amount of error. The fruits and even the silk-worms grown in California have their distinct stamp. The wine of one vineyard is unlike that of another which may adjoin it. Look where we may, we find the imprint of locality on all the creatures, which we can clearly discern.

When we examine into the qualities of men, we find that the geographic differences we note in the lower animals and in the plants as well, are equally manifested, and much in the same manner as in the lower life. The local variations in the character of the body are alike in size, color, or in that indefinable expression which has been noted as distinguishing American from European horses. Noting the fact that the higher the organization of animals in general, the greater these differences and the more rapidly they are established, we are not surprised to find that in man they are far more distinct and apparently more readily made than in the lower creatures. Thus, in any of the groups of men termed races, even those in which we have no reason to suppose a mixture of diverse stocks, as, for instance, in

Africa, we find geographic variations in form and other features greater than occur in the other mammalian species inhabiting the same region. We shall much better understand the true value of this, when we consider that man is very properly reckoned, as regards his body, to be perhaps the least variable of the mammals. Notwithstanding the vast, diversifying influences which he has encountered in the hundred thousand years of experience as man, in an exceeding variety of conditions, his body so far retains its original impress that the extremest variations hardly warrant the name of separate species. It is thus evident, that whatever be these influences that make for local variations, they are strong and ever at work.

Distinct as are the qualities that we find in the frame of man, they are of small moment as compared with those which are developed in his mind. With a body which varies slowly with changes of environment, in his mental parts man is marvelously the creature of circumstances. It is, indeed, not unlikely that the relative unchangeableness of his body has enforced the variation of his intelligence. It is hardly worth while to cite the host of examples which go to show that almost any measure of isolation of a human group inevitably leads to a differentiation of their character. History is replete with these instances; it might well be said that it exists by virtue of them. A glance at the story of the Hebrews, or that of the Grecian states will make this point clear. The facts warrant the statement that the generality of local variation in his mental quality is characteristic of man; it deserves to be accounted a marked feature of his kind. We may, therefore, approach the study of separated peoples with the conviction, that if we observe them closely we shall find marks of the individualizing process which obtains so generally among men. The question is not as to the existence of a definite quality, but as to the proportions of it and the ways in which it may be measured.

It is evident that in determining the peculiarities of a people derived, as is our own, from many branches of the Aryan race, and with one seventh of the folk from an utterly foreign, African

stock, it will not be possible to obtain valuable results by any kind of general inspection, such as may serve fairly well in estimating the quality of homogeneous societies. Such a judgment as we might make of Scandinavia, with its relatively unmixed blood, would, unless it were limited to particular parts of this country, have no value whatever. The only promising method of inquiry is that which takes account of motives involving the body of the people, in a national way, and are expressed in deeds in a manner admitting comparison with those of other communities.

The most important, because the most fundamental, of problems concerning the quality of the American man, concerns his physical condition, as compared with that of his kindred beyond the seas. As to this point the evidence is so clear that it needs little discussion. It is evident that the American Indians, a race evidently on the ground for many thousand years before the coming of the Europeans, had found the land hospitable. For savages they were remarkably well developed, and though unfitted for steady labor, their bodies were well made and enduring. Taking their place, the North Europeans, representing a wide range of local varieties, English, Irish, Highland Scotch, Germans, Scandinavians, Normans, French, and many other groups of old world peoples, have, since their implantation a hundred years or more ago, shown that the area of the continent from the Rio Grande to the far north is as suited to our kind as is any part of the earth. This is sufficiently proved by the statistics of American soldiers gathered during the Civil War; the American white man of families longest in this country, is, on the average, larger than his European kinsman; the increase being mainly in the size of head and chest. It is further indicated by the endurance of these men in the trials of the soldier's life and by the remarkable percentage of recoveries from wounds. This endurance of wounds was regarded by the late Dr. Brown-Sequard as a feature common to all the mammals of this continent, being, as he claimed on the basis of an extensive experience, as characteristic of American rabbits as of American men. Moreover, the statistics of life insurance companies doing business in this country,

appear to indicate that the expectation of life is greater here than in the old world.

The hospitable character of the American environment to man is further shown by the results of that most extraordinary experiment in acclimatization which African slavery brought about, whereby most characteristically tropical peoples were planted on this continent. Never before nor since, so far as we can discern, have folk from equatorial countries been established beyond the tropics. For a thousand years, or more, negroes were brought to Europe as slaves, but there appears to be no trace of their survival in that part of the world, while in North America, in freedom as well as in slavery, they have remained as vigorous as they were in their native realm. In the strenuous climate of the middle South, where the winter's cold is often as severe as in northern continental Europe, the negro has flourished amazingly in the conditions of slavery, and holds his own even in the unhappy social state which his so-called freedom has inflicted upon him.

It is also to be noted, that while North America has from its living forms contributed a number of domesticated species to the uses of man, as, for instance, maize, the potato, tobacco, etc., it has probably given no new disease to man. Syphilis, which by some experts has been debited to South America, may at one time have existed among the Indians of Florida, but it evidently did not spread thence to Europe, and if carried from the new world, which is quite improbable, went from the west coast of South America; so, too, yellow fever has been charged to South America, but it was more likely imported from Africa. It is tolerably clear that it is to Asia and northern Africa that we owe the most of the contagious diseases.

Accepting the conclusion that the bodily condition of our race is, in this country at least, as good as in the continent whence they came, we will now turn to the questions as to their moral and intellectual development in the new land. First of these to be considered, is that which relates to the attitude of the individual man towards his fellows of the commonwealth. However we may state this question, it is likely to appear to be of a shad-

owy nature; seen clearly, however, it will be recognized as of fundamental importance. It were best approached by a comparison of the usual state of mind of communities in Europe as regards other groups of the same race and country, from which they are separated, as are people dwelling in neighboring villages. Having journeyed much afoot in England and continental Europe, I have often had occasion to remark the very general lack of confidence which the common men of any place have in those who, though dwelling nearby, are personally unknown to them. Traces of this humor may be found in England and northern Germany, where it may commonly be noted in a good natured contempt for the unknown compatriot. Further southward this limitation of sympathy becomes more definite. Ancient hatreds between the citizens of neighboring communes find expression in legends and songs that continue the bitterness to this day. In Italy this partition of the people in spirit goes so far that the pedestrian who has become friendly with those who dwell in any little rural society will often be warned that he will be in danger as soon as he comes among the dreadful folk who dwell on the other side of the divide.

To an observant American who journeys in Europe in a way that brings him in contact with its people, this "morcellement" of states into little bits which are united not by any common direct sympathy, but only by the bond of a common rule, is not only very evident, but in singular contrast to what he has been accustomed to in his own country. Though from its familiarity it escapes the attention of most people, it is one of the most noteworthy social phenomena of the new world, that the citizen of Maine accepts, as by a kind of instinct, his fellow man of Texas or California as a real compatriot, as a person who feels and acts as he does himself. It is evident that this is no recently acquired state of mind; its existence clearly antedates the formation of our government; it, indeed, made the Federal union possible. For a half century slavery limited the extension of the motive, though it did not altogether part the people of the North and South. This habit of confidence in the neighbor, however

remote, which is at the foundation of the quality of our people, goes beyond the national limits. It has effectively made an end of the rancors which once existed towards the mother country. Watch as one may the talk of our people, we now hear nothing indicating more than a good humored quirk concerning John Bull and his ways.

At first sight it may seem as if this confidence in the fellow man, which is the foundation of American quality, is but a manifestation of their prevailing good nature. That it is other and more than this is fairly well shown by many incidents occurring in and after the Civil War. Those who remember that mighty clutch will recall how in its worst days the soldiers of the contending armies trusted one another much as they would their own comrades. It is said that in the Fredericksburg campaign a number of Federal soldiers spent Christmas with a Confederate regiment with whom they had made acquaintance in the campaign. All the hard usage of war could not sweep away the neighborly trust between men who were yet ready for the bitterest fighting to accomplish their objects.

This feature of confidence in the essential likeness of the fellow man which holds among our people is, perhaps, best shown in the closing incidents of the Civil War. There was at the time much talk about guerrilla warfare, such as the Dutch have waged in South Africa; but when it became evident that effective national resistance was no longer possible, the subjugated people turned to their conquerors as to their fellow citizens, with a measure of trust in their quality such as under like conditions the world had not before known. Owing to an unhappy series of political accidents and much actual knavery, the trust of the Southerners in the quality of their Northern brethren seemed for a time ill-founded. During the so-called reconstruction period, the States which had revolted were subjected to a very oppressive rule. Yet, through it all, the people trusted, happily not in vain, to the American quality of their sometime enemies to set them right. So, too, in the last step in the work of reconstruction, when the Northern people found the Southern undoing,

in an indirect way, that provision of the Constitution which gives the negro the ballot on the same terms with the white man; the acquiescence of the Republican party in this course finds its explanation in the general conviction that the Southern people are doing about as well as can be expected with a problem of exceeding difficulty. The history of secession and reconstruction discloses a consensus among the citizens of this country such as may be sought in vain in any other.

It is easy to see that the American's belief in the unseen neighbor as like unto himself is not only the foundation of his true democracy, but the basis on which rests certain other important elements of his quality. To it is due the exceptional range and activity of the sympathetic motives, such as led to the war with Spain, and to the almost preposterous welcome of the captured officers of the Spanish fleet; and such now moves so many of our folk to protest against the doings of this nation in the Philippines. It is also marked in the constant sympathy with suffering, whencever comes the cry. Not that this accord with the fellow man is peculiar to Americans; it is, indeed, a part of modern life, but the effect of it is evidently felt by a larger part of our people, is more national with us than elsewhere. This quality of sympathy is, indeed, near to being, if it be not in fact, a national weakness. Too little limited by reason, it led to the war with Spain for the rescue of Cuba, with the common consequence of war, a series of difficulties of which no man can see the end.

A most important result of this belief in the essential likeness of men is the eminently kindly quality of the American. The proof of this on a large scale is again to be had in the history of the Rebellion. Though this contest, like all war whatsoever, was replete with brutality and horror, it was singularly distinguished from all like contentions by the mercy shown to non-combatants, by the care for women and children, and by the leniency with which the subjugated leaders were treated. The evidence to support these statements cannot be here given in any detail. To exhibit it fitly would require an extended study of the matter; I cannot, however, forbear to set forth a few incidents which came

to my knowledge at the time, and which served to illustrate the temper of our people in conditions which bring out the worst qualities of men.

Shortly after the close of the Rebellion, I questioned many persons who had been in the most sanguinary contests, to find whether they had observed any instances where prisoners, taken in the heat of battle, had been harmed. As the result of this inquiry, which was made of over one hundred ex-soldiers, I learned of one or two cases where prisoners had been shot by members of a rabble home guard, men generally of a much lower grade than the embodied troops and without adequate control by officers. Among disciplined troops, there was but one example of cruelty, if such it may be called, where a Federal soldier, as he clutched the musket of a surrendering Confederate, slapped him on the face; and he was at once put under arrest for his brutal conduct.

In the campaign of 1862, between the armies of Buell and Bragg for the possession of Kentucky, movements which led to the fiercest action of the war, the conditions were such as have elsewhere always brought vast suffering to non-combatants. It was a more truly internecine struggle than occurred in any other part of the great field. The State was divided against itself, communities and families were rent. In instances, probably numbering thousands, brothers, or fathers and sons, were in opposing armies. It is doubtful if in any other time have people of our race been so moved by fury to the foundations of their souls. Yet at the end of it, I recall that none of the many I questioned knew of harm having come to woman or child; that whenever a flag of truce gave the chance of meeting, there was expression of a mutual anxiety to "keep the fighting clean," and a determination to insure this end by slaying all offenders against decency.

The evidence of good nature afforded by the treatment of the leaders of the Rebellion is so general and well-known that it needs no setting forth. One such came under my eyes when, just after the war, Alexander Stephens, the ex-vice-president of the

ex-Confederacy, because he was a cripple, was, by general consent, allowed to select his seat in the hall of the House at Washington, before the other members drew lots for their places. There were some marring deeds, as, for instance, the execution of Wertz, and the chaining of Jefferson Davis, an unoffending prisoner; but the conduct of our people at the end of the Rebellion, indeed we may say the whole conduct of that vast struggle, displays their eminently merciful quality.

In the interchange of wit and humor, wherein men show their quality in an unpremeditated way, we have a chance to discern another evidence of the singular confidence of the American as to the likeness of the fellow man to himself. Among other peoples this instinctive criticism of life is commonly turned upon the personal differences between men, those of individuals, classes, or races. It usually exhibits an essentially narrow, hedonistic motive. In this country, on the other hand, the criticism most often assumes the similarity of men, and finds the amusement in larger features of identity and contrast of situations. Thus, the humor of the Mississippi Valley, especially that of the frontiersman, has a sympathetic motive which is not found elsewhere. It is apt to relate to the insufficiencies of mankind rather than to the defects of particular men; not rarely it takes the fine allegorical form, wherein much apparent profanity does not hide the really high moral tone. Thus it comes about that the American is by no means witty as compared with the Frenchman; from that point of view, he may fairly be termed dull; but in him there is characteristically an inextinguishable spirit of humor. Like his prototype, Mercutio, even the wound that ends him is a fair subject for a quirk. Like the other accidents of life, " 't is not so deep as a well, nor so wide as a church-door; but 't is enough, 't will serve." If this view be true, our much discussed American humor is a very natural product of our assumption as to the intimate kinship of men.

Turning from the simpler emotions which lie at the foundations of human nature, let us consider what evidence is to be had that shows us something concerning the permanent ideals that

have been developed among our people. So far as ideals relate to the home, they appear to be, with slight exceptions, essentially those that were transmitted to us from the mother country; the difference being that the head of the house is far less its master than in the old world. Here, again, we have the primary concept of democracy, that of the essential likeness of human beings, working to break down the ancient idea as to the rightful power of the father over the family, with the result that the normal American household is a type of the democracy of which it forms a part. It is not likely that this change of view has, in any measure, weakened the hold of parents on their children; but to it is probably due, in some degree, the rapid increase of the divorce rate, which, as is well known, is higher in this than in any other country.

The ideal of the commonwealth came to us, with that of the family, by inheritance; the name itself is an importation, but there is an evident change in the contents of the conception. Until our government was founded, there was no instance in which men had developed patriotic instincts relating to such a complex as the United States presents. In the old world, except in some measure in Switzerland, for all the experiments in governing that have there been essayed, men have not proved themselves able to maintain a divided allegiance, such as is required of American citizens, and by them effectively rendered, in the love and duty they give to the State and the Union in which they are included. In all experiments previously made, it was evident that the sense of obligation had to relate to one centre; with rare exceptions—in fact only in small oligarchies where the motives due to personal association of all the leaders existed—the reference of allegiance had to be to a sovereign, whether king or Cromwell, an evident leader beheld upon a throne. It is true that the American complex was the result of an accident of government which united several centres of growth, but it is none the less a remarkable fact that the system of allegiance within allegiance, with no reference to any devotion to individuals or dynasties and with no association with religious faiths, should have been accepted by

our people without debate except as to the mere details, and with no sense of the novelty of the conditions they were establishing. This course of action, apparently so spontaneous and immediate, indicates that the political sense of the American people had undergone an unrecognized development in the century and a half of colonial life before the Revolution. It is impossible here to essay an analysis of this growth. It may, however, be noted that, more than any other feature, it indicates the subtle effect of the conditions of the new world on the spirit of men.

The essence of the political allegiance of the American people is evidently not to a definite bit of the earth, nor to the memories of the past, which are to a great extent the basis of that motive in the old world, but to ideals of government. The people of France, for instance, and the same is true of most other countries, love their land and its traditions equally well, whatever kind of government manages to set itself over them. Here, however, as is well shown by the history of the Civil War, the affection is for the system of the commonwealth as a system, even more than for the results attained by it. Love of the land of a romantic kind, such as has been the basis of so much that is noble as well as unhappy in other realms, is evidently not a leading motive with us. It is true that slavery, in an immediate way, brought about the war of secession, but the question which was debated, which moved the people as men have rarely if ever before been moved, concerned the relative weight of the allegiance the citizen owed to his State and to the Nation. It is conceivable that the Americans might be transplanted to some other land, and that the deportation would bring with it little if any sense of exile, provided his political order went with him. But for this order he is prepared to do battle to the end.

It appears like a contradiction to say that the love of our people for their government does not include a devotion to the instruments which set it forth. We are much given to patching our constitutions and, at times, to juggling with them, but the essence of the motive appears to be love of a definite political order, an intense need of a distinctly stated body of negative laws

which will permit the largest possible measure of liberty. The clinging to the system of States in a nation apparently rests on the conviction that under that system the maximum of freedom may be attained.

Although it may be well argued that the American is not the freest man in the world, there can be no doubt that his soul so hungers for liberty of action, that law, which with his forefathers of the old world was something in itself to worship, is to him little more than a device for securing freedom. He knows the value of these rules of conduct, but he uses them to attain his ends with little or no sense of sanctity pertaining to them. Thus it comes about that while he is dutifully law-abiding, so long as the machine works to his satisfaction as an effective engine of government, he will put it aside to accomplish what seems to him just. It is probably here that we find, at least in part, the explanation of those always lamentable, often hideous, exhibitions of mob fury which American lynchings afford. These outrages appear to be essentially limited to this country. They are not morally akin to such excesses as are to be noted in French revolts. They are always related to some brutal offence, commonly an offence against women. The avengers are usually decent men of American, law-abiding type. They could be relied on for any citizenly duty, and in their common life are far from cruel: they may be, indeed, of the gentler type. The psychology of these performances is puzzling, and on its interpretation depends an important element in our estimate of American quality. I shall, therefore, set forth my own conjectures as to its nature, based on some chance observations which appear to me of value.

Recurring to the fundamental instructive postulate, so well developed in the American, that the other man, known or unknown, is essentially like himself, a pretty decent fellow, with a real horror of certain abominations, let us suppose that people of this humor catch a brute who has outraged and murdered a woman. To all other than brutes such an act cries for vengeance, for the wholesome smiting which has uplifted mankind by extirpating its beastly parts. But to the American the

wrong is not only against humanity, but against his conception that the other man is like himself. There is a fearful surprise in the revelation which appears to destroy all sense of the humanity of the criminal. So that what is done upon him is not done as upon a fellow being, but on a fiend. Such, so far as I have been able to discern, is the state of mind of certain good citizens, as shown by the accounts they gave me in their share of such lynchings. In other countries men of like quality, having the sense of the law as something extrinsic, to be revered as a majesty, and having no such obstinate general hypothesis that other folk are themselves in other hides would be shocked by the villian's deed, but would not be moved swiftly to avenge it. The American, at least in his most characteristic quality, because the crime makes a singularly intense impression on him, and because he carries his court of last resort within himself, and perhaps in part, because for all his schooling there is a good deal of the primitive man left in him, acts in the outward manner of the savage.

I am not in the least disposed to apologize for lynching: hateful enough in the distant view, it is disgusting on the nearer seeing. But if we critically examine the matter, considering it as we should a legal execution with the conditions that led to it, we see that this rude law is not the sign of real lawlessness, nor of a people given to savage outbursts of fury. It is the mark of a folk in a curious adjustment to their concept of law and of the nature of their fellow men. It cannot be taken as a sign of a low moral estate, but rather of a rude though high conception of the measure of protection owed to the defenceless, and above all to women, and of a new, possibly transient, but more likely permanent, loss of the ancient and noble idea of justice as something set over and apart from man, and to which he owes reverence. So far as I have been able to judge the state of mind of lynchers, it is useless to talk to them concerning the dignity of the law, for they really feel that they are its most effective agents. The only serviceable arguments are as to the need of the methods of the court to prevent miscarriages of justice, and the effect of

such spectacles in embruting the beholders. It is to these considerations that we must look for the cure of this national shame. We may dismiss this unpleasant matter with the caveat that it is not fairly to be taken as indicating a degradation of our people.

The most indicative feature in American quality is that which is expressed in the religious freedom which has been attained in this country. In a rude, imperfect form this ideal existed in the Elizabethan time. Evidently it was not brought from the old world, for the colonies began with the ancient intolerance. This motive was variously expressed, sometimes in a brutal manner, again with a milder accent, but it was essentially universal. At the time the Federal union was formed, religious freedom or at least the understanding that the law had no right to dictate religious beliefs, was well established. Since then the development of this quality has been continued until it has so far penetrated the minds of men, that the barriers of faith have little effect in limiting social relations. Even the ancient dislikes of Roman Catholics and Jews has nearly passed away; what is left of it relates rather to race hatreds than to religious prejudices. It may fairly be claimed that the effacement of sectarian rancors is the greatest and most unique accomplishment of our people. It is evident that this gain has also been due to the fundamental belief of our people as to the likeness of men to one another.

The ideal of public education, like the many other elements of American quality, came to us from the mother country. Except, however, in the fancies of idealists the projects of instruction which were developed in the old world were not intended to apply to all sorts and conditions of men, but to a chosen few. Although in the several colonies the motive which led to the development of educational systems differed much in intensity, it appears in some degree to have existed in all, and to have been active in the minds of the hardest pressed of their frontiersmen. Thus, with the first settlers of Kentucky, who were facing the trials and perils of an unknown wilderness, we find among the brief proceedings of their first parliament, held in 1775 under a tree, a provision for the establishment of a school. Another of

these memorable enactments provided for the suppression of profane swearing; yet another for the improvement of the breed of horses,—all of which goes to show how the ideal and the practical went together in the minds of our pioneers, whether they were of Massachusetts Bay or of the Virginia plantations.

Beginning doubtfully in the colonial period, the ideal of public education has grown with the growth of the fundamental concept of democracy, that of the essential likeness of men, and with the sympathetic bond which this view of life creates, until it is one of the most characteristic elements of the quality of our people. It has commanded a share of devotion such as has been given to no other feature of our public life. It has so far entered into their hearts that the greediest of fortune seekers may be said to dream of founding schools. It is to be noted that this desire that the youth be adequately trained, has little relation to the economic results of such training. So far from desiring that the end to be attained shall be instruction in crafts or professions, the intent of our people has ever been that their schools shall lead towards culture; to enlargement rather than to more immediate profit; to the quality of the citizen rather than to that of the artisan. It has, indeed, been difficult to obtain from public money or from private gifts the means imperatively demanded for instruction in applied science. It is in the character of the educational system which has been developed in this country that we find the most indisputable evidence as to the essential quality of the American man. Seen in his money-hunting form, he seems to the ordinary observer as devoid of all ideals as was the Indian he has replaced. Considered in the light of his lofty devotion to the interests of the unborn, we gain another and better view of his complicated nature. It may be granted that these schools are in many ways most imperfect, but the concept on which they are founded and the devotion with which they have been supported tell much of American quality.

Looking at the social organization of this country in a broad way, we may note another feature, exhibited in very legible facts, which deserves our attention. This is the ease with which this

society has taken in, and, as we may say, assimilated a vast body of very foreign people, very generally converting them or their immediate descendants into characteristic Englishmen of the American variety. To see the nature of this accomplishment, we should first note that in the fifteen decades or so of colonial life our people had a chance to shape their society with relatively little disturbing invasions from other than English countries. The Dutch colonists, then, were near kinsmen to the Palatinate Germans of Pennsylvania, and those of North Carolina, though more remote, were akin in race and religion and bound to the English people by the memory of the help lent them in their extremity ; as were, also, the Huguenot French. Perhaps nine tenths of the folk at the beginning of the Revolutionary War were of English stock, and the remainder no hindrance to the prevailing race. It is evident that these colonies had attained to a social organization which was singularly efficient in making a common serviceable product out of the odds and ends of humanity that immigration began to bring to the new nation in the early part of the nineteenth century. For near a hundred years, the tide of foreigners has poured into the United States with increasing volume. To many good observers it has appeared impossible that grave changes in the quality of the country should not be brought about by this invasion. Yet this material, so far as it is of European origin, has been effectively, if not completely, Americanized.

It is true there has been no considerable adoption of the aborigines into the commonwealth, but this failure is due to the nature of the Indian. It is also true that the adjustment of the African is yet to be brought about, but there is some reason to believe that it may be accomplished. But, so far as the progress of our own race is concerned, the entrance of foreigners into our life, while here and there highly disadvantageous, has not been disastrous. In one or two generations, even where they retain, as in the case of the Pennsylvania Germans, their native speech and customs, they are, in all important regards, completely naturalized. This swift digestion of the millions from countries of a spirit

very alien to its own indicates what we may term the organic intensity of American society; in other words, the eminently political quality of the association. Into this invisible, intangible, yet most real, social whole the ardent quality of its citizens so enters that it can quickly efface the imprint of the ages upon those who come to it from foreign lands, and stamp them as its own.

It has been the purpose of this writing to consider only those elements of American quality of which we have evidence in recorded or evident facts. Only by such limitation can we avoid those highly romantic speculations as to the character of our folk which so fill the pages of would-be observers from abroad. In summing up the story, it seems not unreasonable to consider what is to be the future of the evidently novel type of Englishman; we might, indeed, term him this spiritually new variety of man. It is clear that his most eminent quality consists in his detachment from the control of the past, his self-sufficiency in the better sense of the term. He has learned to feel, beyond others of his kind, the value of his individuality. It is, perhaps, as a reflection of this sense that he places a like high rating on his neighbor. He feels the bond of human brotherhood in a curiously intense degree. As all the coöperative work of man depends upon this sense of human kinship, his large measure of it should carry the American far,—in just what direction it is not easy to foretell.

It requires no analysis to see that the fundamental judgment of democracy, that of the essential likeness of men, though a truth of vast import, is but a half truth. True for the primary qualities which should determine the rights of all, it is profoundly untrue as regards those secondary features of the intelligence which give to human minds a range and variety of capacity really greater than the differences in the frames of men. An apparent consequence of this excessive idea of common likeness in his kind, is the comparative absence of critical ability in the American people. In a large sense of the term, criticism rests upon a conception of the very great difference of one individual from another. As applied to life, it leads to an understanding of its vast complication, of its far-reaching interdependencies, of its splendors and its shames.

In the field of morals, it teaches that there are herds and leaders ; that men have won the heights because they knew their prophets, or have gone to the deep because they knew them not.

It is evident that the path on which this America-shaping and America-shaped man has journeyed separates him from the critical state of mind. Yet he has so prospered in his journey on it, has gained such a measure of will and discernment, that the critic would not really know his cautious trade if he ventured to forecast his limits. The most reasonable judgment concerning this essentially new form of strong man is, that on this deep and broad foundation of his sympathies and understandings he will, in time, build all that his friendly critics could wish him of enlargement.



THE VATICAN IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

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Notwithstanding the reputation for unchangeableness and immovability that is imputed to the Vatican, the twentieth century finds even this institution somewhat different from what it was at the beginning of the nineteenth, both in spirit and in form. To make good this assertion, we need merely to glance at the Sacred College and at the manner of its composition. Out of the seventy cardinals who form the plenum of this body,—which, however, has never been reached since 1753,—there are now only fifty-five, of whom thirty are Italians and twenty-five of other nationalities. This shows how the efforts of Leo XIII. tend to balance the number of Italian and foreign princes of the church; thus taking away from the Papacy the narrow character of an institution that is monopolized by a single nationality, and making it truly universal. Such a tendency appears even more evident if we compare the present composition of the Sacred College with that of the last fifty years. At the end of the pontificate of Gregory XVI., out of fifty-nine red hats, only seven were worn by foreigners, and these honors were due to the fact that it was already the established custom that foreign bishoprics should be headed by cardinals. These were the Archbishops of Milan (then under Austria, and thus with an Austrian cardinal), Seville, Malines, Arras, Lyons, Rouen, Salsburg; four of which, as is seen, were French. In 1854, when Pius IX.

returned from his exile at Gaeta, to which he had fled on the proclamation in Rome of the Republic of Mazzini and Garibaldi, the Sacred College was almost complete,—numbering sixty-seven members, of whom, however, only fifteen were foreigners; and even then the predominating nationality among them was French. This notable superiority on the part of France is still maintained, since, of the present twenty-five foreign wearers of the purple, seven are French, five Spanish, four Austrian, three German, and one each English, Irish, Portuguese, Belgian, American, and Australian. The influence of this foreign element, which has entered in so large a proportion into the highest directing body of the Roman Church, will be especially evident when at the death of Leo XIII. the Conclave will proceed to the most important function of the Papacy, that of choosing the next occupant of the chair of St. Peter. All now points to the fact that the foreign cardinals will be the masters of the situation, and will with their weight decide the election, as a division is inevitable among their Italian colleagues.

Even with such high ecclesiastical dignitaries as the cardinals and in such a body as the Sacred College, though generally considered beyond the reach of base and mundane passions, political considerations and likes and dislikes among nations have their influence; and it may be taken for granted that the cardinals will group themselves according to the relations that exist between their respective countries. Notwithstanding the present perfect health and strong constitution of Leo XIII., a Conclave cannot now be far off; and as the international situation cannot then be much changed from what it now is, it is supposed that the foreign cardinals will divide themselves into two groups, one of which will comprise the seven French, five Spanish, the Irish, Portuguese, and Belgian, and the other the four Austrian, three German, and the one English, American, and Australian. It is not difficult to understand that the first group of fifteen, headed by the French, will support the election of an intransigent candidate, hostile to Italy, and ready to continue the francophile policy that was inaugurated and followed, with a constancy worthy of a better

return, by Cardinal Rampolla, Papal Secretary of State. The other group, the Anglo-German-American, will give its votes, it is supposed, to a candidate who would inaugurate an attitude of moderation towards Italy, and would put religion high above politics. After the death of Pius IX., the party favorable to conciliation with the Peninsula had their candidate in the person of Cardinal Canossa, who belonged to one of the most aristocratic families of Italy, and was Archbishop of Verona. He refused to leave for Rome for the Conclave until he had celebrated a solemn funeral mass for the repose of the soul of King Victor Emanuel II., who had died one month previously. However, when the time of voting came, he was left almost without supporters, and in the three ballots which took place before the choice fell on Cardinal Pecci (Leo XIII.), he received only one vote, that of Cardinal Amat, who remained faithful to him until his death one month later.

Although Leo XIII., as I said before, more than any other pontiff since the fourteenth century, when the papal court had its seat at Avignon, has done his best to balance more evenly the number of foreign and Italian cardinals, there seems to be no chance for the elevation of any other than an Italian to the supreme dignity. This is due to the conviction, so deeply rooted in the majority of Catholics, that, given the everlasting conflict between church and state in the Peninsula over the loss of the temporal power by the Papacy, an Italian pope is better fitted to represent and uphold the rights of the Holy See. Besides, as appears evident from the above mentioned division among the foreign cardinals, the other countries could never agree on a candidate not Italian; so diverse and conflicting are the interests involved. It is now about four centuries since there has been a foreign pontiff. The last was Adrian VI. of Utrecht, who reigned but a little more than a year, from January, 1522, to September, 1523, and was so disliked by the Romans because of his austerity that when he died some one wrote on his physician's door, "You are the saviour of the country." Of the 263 popes who, since the coming of St. Peter from Antioch to

Rome, have occupied the papal throne, 106 have been Romans, 107 Italians of other provinces, and only fifty foreigners,—of whom sixteen were Greek, fourteen French, seven German, five Levantine, three Spanish, two African, one Dutch, one Portuguese, and one English.

Another innovation, worthy of mention, that has been introduced by Leo XIII. is that of raising to the dignity of the purple prelates still relatively young, such as the Spanish Capucine, Vives y Tuto, who was forty-five years old when made cardinal; the Italians Ferrari and Rampolla, who were both forty-four, and the Italian Svampa, who was one year younger, etc. It would seem as though the present Pontiff desired to make a Sacred College which would be subject to less frequent changes, since he himself has seen that, during a pontificate of twenty-three years, 136 cardinals have died. At present only three of those created by Pius IX. survive. As is known, it is now over three centuries since the time of Sixtus V., who promulgated a famous bull that forbade the conferring of the red hat on any one under the age of thirty years. We of this epoch can hardly realize the necessity for such a measure, but in those days the popes learned wisdom in governing the church through sad experience. For instance, Benedict XIII. raised to the purple his favorite Niccolò Coscia, a mere youth, who had been convicted of a crime under the preceding pope, and although four fifths of the cardinals opposed him. Ferdinand, son of Philip III. of Austria, was made cardinal at the age of ten, and more scandalous still, a son of the House of Pamphili had that honor when six years old. The celebrated Pope, Leo X., Giovanni Medici, entered the Sacred College when only fourteen, and, on coming to the chair of St. Peter, made the French Bishop of Cambray cardinal, although he was only nineteen.

If Leo XIII. has done much to equalize the Italian and foreign elements in the Sacred College, what is still to be done, in order to give a better proportion to these two elements in all the other branches of the church, is immense, and it will require a strong and determined reformer pontiff to undertake and carry out so

difficult a measure. With the exception of the Conclave for the election of a new pope, the foreign clergy have very little influence in all the business of the Roman Church. For instance, to begin with, the cardinals of the Curia—that is to say, those who, owing to their residence in Rome, can exercise more direct weight—are now twenty-four, almost half of the Sacred College; but of these only four are foreigners, two German, one French, and one Spanish. Only the Germans are at the head of offices: Cardinal Ledochowski, who is Prefect of the Propaganda Fide, and Cardinal Steinhuber, Prefect of the Congregation of the Index. All the other important appointments, the Prefectures of the Roman Congregations, which deal with the governing of the church, and which correspond to so many great ministries in secular government, are in the hands of Italians. Of the 942 archbishoprics and bishoprics which exist throughout the Catholic world, Italy alone has as many as the rest of Europe, as the following table will show:—

| | CATHOLICS. | ARCHBISHOPRICS. | BISHOPRICS. |
|---------------------|------------|-----------------|-------------|
| FRANCE | 36,000,000 | 17 | 67 |
| HUNGARY | 28,000,000 | 12 | 46 |
| SPAIN | 17,000,000 | 9 | 45 |
| SWITZERLAND | 1,160,782 | 5 | 45 |
| GERMANY | 17,000,000 | 7 | 21 |
| IRELAND | 4,000,000 | 4 | 25 |
| ENGLAND | 2,000,000 | 1 | 4 |
| SCOTLAND | 350,000 | 1 | 4 |
| RUSSIA ¹ | 9,000,000 | 2 | 15 |
| PORTUGAL | 5,000,000 | 3 | 8 |
| BELGIUM | 5,000,000 | 1 | 5 |
| HOLLAND | 1,439,137 | 1 | 43 |

(1) Mostly in Poland.

Thus in Europe (except Italy), with a population of about 125,000,000 Catholics, there are fifty-seven archbishoprics and 257 bishoprics, while Italy alone, with about 30,000,000 Catholics, has forty-nine archbishoprics and 226 bishoprics. It is clear that in an Ecumenical Council which, as in the past, would be held in Rome the Italians would preponderate, because of the difficulties of reaching the Eternal City from other countries. Beside the above mentioned dignitaries, who being at the head of dioceses are called "*residenziali*" (residential), there are archbishops and bishops designated as *in partibus*; for they either help their senior colleagues, or are sent on special missions as Apostolic Vicars, Delegates, etc. They number altogether 359, of whom 101 are Italians, so that of the 1243 archbishops and bishops living in all parts of the world one third is Italian. Such a plethora of the higher clergy in the Peninsula leads to several inconveniences: first of all, that of having some dioceses with only about 20,000 inhabitants, which in other countries would scarcely make a large parish; then that of a superabundance of lower clergy, which are set apart to every diocese; and finally the overproduction of young priests, badly and narrowly educated in the seminaries attached to each diocese, and which necessarily, from lack of means, are in most cases incomplete, inefficient, and entirely unfit to give to youth the instruction and training required for so high a calling. Naturally, so many clergy means, in many cases, small salaries, and altogether an enormous disproportion between one and another, which is most unfair.¹ And to this end the Italian Government has several times tried to have the revenues of the different heads of the dioceses divided more equally, but has always encountered an insurmountable opposition from the Vatican.

(1) To begin at the lowest, thirty-seven Bishops receive about \$600 a year; seventy-six about \$1,500; forty-one from \$2,400 to \$3,600; twenty-one from \$4,000 to \$5,000; seven from \$6,000 to \$7,000; four from \$10,000 to \$12,000; and others go as high as \$14,000, \$16,000, and \$18,000, up to the Archbishop of Catania, who has an income of \$26,800 a year.

With regard to the Conclave, there is another feature which will very likely be allowed to lapse in the twentieth century, that is, the so-called "right of exclusion," a kind of privilege enjoyed by the Catholic Powers,—Austria, France, and Spain,—which consists in showing, during the ballot for a new pope, disapprobation of a candidate by vetoing his election. Even so recently as the elections of Pius IX. and Leo XIII., this privilege was exercised by Austria, but her envoy in both cases spoke too late, as the veto must be entered before the necessary majority of votes is reached. At one time, when the Papacy was a political power, the "right" was of immense advantage and was jealously maintained, but now that the Holy See is a spiritual kingdom only, its benefits are much restricted, and it will very probably be allowed to drop. In fact, given the present international situation of the Holy See, its loss of the temporal power, no country has any longer cause to fear the influence which the head of that institution was able, before 1870, to exercise in the secular affairs of Europe. This has been felt so keenly by the present Pope that he has centred all the political action of his pontificate in maintaining, at any cost, good relations with all the Powers, except, of course, Italy. He evidently considers that to maintain his status and importance as a Sovereign would render easier the resuming of his lost rights, when, sooner or later, these are more or less reconquered. Thus we have seen the Pope, in the pursuance of this policy, shutting his eyes to the action of Austria in allowing Italy to enter the Triple Alliance, which has represented, for about twenty years, the strongest safeguard of the young kingdom; overlooking the discourtesy of Emperor William when he came to Rome the first time as a guest of the Quirinal; becoming a Republican in France and a Muscovite in poor Catholic Poland; opposing the Irish claim to please England and repudiating the Carlists in Spain; on friendly terms with the Sultan, even after the horrible Armenian massacres, and opening negotiations with the Celestial Empire to establish a Nunciature in Peking. The efforts of Leo XIII. have been in their immediate intent to a certain extent successful, as

he has been able to reëstablish diplomatic relations with all the Powers, including Russia,—which refused to listen for twenty-eight years,—with the exception of England in Europe and the United States in America. That all this work and sacrifice, however, does not really reach the ultimate object for which Vatican diplomacy struggles, was recently proved on the occasion of the International Peace Conference at The Hague, where, notwithstanding the most energetic pressure, the papal representative was not admitted; thus denying the Pontiff that position of ruler on which he lays so much stress, and which was extended even to the King of Roumania.

The last time the “right of exclusion” in the Conclave was used successfully was in the case of Cardinal Giustiniani in 1835, who was just on the point of obtaining his majority when Spain stepped in, and declared that he was *persona non grata* to her,—an opposition which produced so strong a revulsion of feeling in the disappointed candidate that he became dangerously ill. Among the other Catholic Powers, Portugal has always claimed this privilege, but without success, and Italy might do so also, since the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies, now a part of her, enjoyed the same; but she has never taken any such steps, as she wishes to avoid the least appearance of what might seem an act of aggression against the liberty of the church.

This earnest determination of Italy to leave the church quite free, is so sincere and so well known, that it exercised its influence even on the Conclave for the election of Leo XIII., in that it prevented the Catholic Powers from mixing themselves in any way in the work of the cardinals assembled to elect the new pope. Señor Silvela, Minister of Foreign Affairs in the Canovas del Castillo Cabinet, at the time of the death of Pius IX., declared to the Italian Minister in Madrid that his nation had perfect confidence that the Government of Rome would respect, and make respected, the entire liberty of the Conclave, adding that the Spanish Government, in its turn, if it made use of the “right of veto,” would do so only “to facilitate the election of a conciliatory pontiff,” that is, one who might come to an agree-

ment with the Italian state. The note of the French Minister of Foreign Affairs, M. Waddington, on that occasion, was of such importance that the Italian Government thought it advantageous to communicate it to Berlin, Vienna, Lisbon, and Madrid. "France," it ran, "desires that the Conclave should meet in Rome and that the election of the new pontiff should be held in the most free and regular way and according to tradition, in order that in no case the validity of the election may be contested. The French Government desires also that the new pope should be a man of moderate sentiments, who may render conciliation with Italy possible, and that he should be an Italian. I do not know as yet, within what limits our right of veto may be practically exercised, and do not conceal the difficulty of maintaining such a right, but I believe that in certain cases we should not hesitate to revive it, and particularly in the case in which there is danger of seeing a non-Italian pope elected." Count Andrassy, Chancellor of the Austria-Hungary Empire, as soon as he was informed of the measures adopted by the Italian Government to guarantee the independence of the provisory government of the church, and the liberty of the Conclave, sent Count Robilant, Italian Ambassador, a note in which the most memorable passage was as follows:—

"The imperial and royal cabinet has taken note with the keenest satisfaction of this important communication.

"It has, for the rest, never doubted either the sincerity of the assurances made so repeatedly and spontaneously on this score by the Cabinet of the Quirinal, or its power to realize them."¹

There is another thing one may be almost sure will not be repeated at the death of Leo XIII., namely, the attempt, made twenty-three years ago, to have the Conclave meet out of Italy. At the first Congregation held, out of thirty-eight cardinals only

(1) "Le cabinet impérial et royal a pris connaissance avec la plus vive satisfaction de cette importante communication.

"Il n'a d'ailleurs jamais mis en doute ni la sincérité des assurances données itérativement et spontanément à cet égard par le Cabinet du Quirinal ni son pouvoir de les réaliser."

eight voted for the meeting in Rome, while all the others thought it best that the election of the new pope should be abroad; the places advocated being especially Spain, Munich, and Malta. Of those cardinals only four now survive, one, the actual Pope, who wished to go to Malta; another, Oreglia di Santo Stefano, at present dean of the Sacred College, and who was among the most vehement of those desiring to go abroad, no matter where; and the third and fourth, Ledochowski, now Prefect of the Propaganda Fide, and Parocchi, Chancellor of the Holy Church, were both for Spain. It suddenly occurred, however, to the noble cardinals that before going into a foreign country, it was at least necessary to have the full consent of that country, and also that no difficulty should be encountered on the part of Italy. Signor Crispi, who was then Minister of Home Affairs, when indirectly interrogated on the subject, immediately replied: "Not only will the Sacred College be free to meet abroad wherever they think best, but each cardinal will be considered by the Italian Government as a prince of the blood, and as such, escorted and protected as far as the frontier. But with regard to the return to Rome," added the shrewd politician, "I can promise nothing." The Sacred College understood too well that this meant that Italy, so long as the Papacy remained in Rome, was ready to carry out all her undertakings sanctioned by the Law of Guarantee, but that once away from the Peninsula she would consider herself free from a heavy burden, and would do nothing to lessen the difficulties which would certainly arise for a safe return. There is not one cardinal, I believe, even of the four survivors of the vote to go abroad, who is not convinced that it is principally from residing in the Eternal City that the Papacy acquires great prestige and influence, while several among the most enlightened acknowledge that the loss of the last inch of territorial domain has marked the starting point of the present extended spiritual power of the Roman Church. All her troubles, all her errors and weaknesses of the past, from Charlemagne to our day, arose especially from the desire to maintain and augment the temporal power. With the cessation of

this effort, the Pope, while presenting himself to the faithful or Christendom as despoiled, persecuted, and a prisoner, is in reality richer, freer, and stronger. Freer and stronger, because, in the full exercise of his spiritual ministry he has never enjoyed so much independence as at present, when he cannot be coerced with threats against his territory; the most eloquent proof of this being the famous "Kulturkampf" in Germany, which country, in other times, would certainly have ended the matter at once by an appeal to arms. Richer, because, since the popes have voluntarily shut themselves in the Vatican, the offerings of the faithful have reached proportions not dreamed of before. This advantageous economic situation is not the least among the reasons which will prevent the Vatican from coming to an understanding with the Italian Government. A conciliation, besides diminishing to a large extent the present political liberty of the Pope,—who would be obliged to keep himself within certain limits with regard to the Italian Government,—would certainly be a financial disaster. In fact, peace with Italy would imply the recognition of the famous Law of Guarantee, passed on May 13, 1871, which, while regulating the position of the Pontiff in the Eternal City as a Sovereign, establishes also for him an income of \$645,000 a year, to be paid by the state, but which, however, neither Pius IX. nor Leo XIII. has ever touched. This sum would become the yearly allowance on which the Pope would have to depend principally, since, although it is set apart for him as private income, the moment he ceases to be a prisoner and a martyr in the eyes of the faithful, and accepts it, the Peter's Pence—his chief source of income, and with which he now maintains the vast machinery of the Holy See—will certainly fall off enormously. The poor man who gives his five cents or dime with difficulty will argue that one who has more than thirteen times as much a year as the President of the United States will not miss *his* mite, and will keep it in his own pocket, not knowing or taking into consideration the fact that \$4,000,000 yearly are required to support the Vatican, and all that it implies, in working order.

An exceptionally large amount of offerings went into the papal coffers during the Jubilee inaugurated by Leo XIII. in the last year of the nineteenth century. By the way, it is interesting to note how certain words, in the march of ages, change their meaning. For instance, Jubilee, which once meant a period of rejoicing for the people, now signifies the apotheosis of one person, and, in the present case, was mainly intended to show the influence which the church still exercises. It would be difficult to find a man more adapted to lead, or at least to favor, such an enterprise than he who now, for about a quarter of a century, has sat in the chair of St. Peter. No one, in fact, could have inspired in Catholics more respect and admiration than Leo XIII., because of his elevated mind, vast culture, and spotless life.

However, the Holy Year with all the great ceremonies connected with it has, in reality, proved exactly the contrary to what the Clericals wished, and has more and more divided the Papacy from that past to which it is impossible ever to return. This Jubilee surpassed in importance that of Queen Victoria, ruler of the vastest and most powerful Empire in the world, because of its special character. It was the first Jubilee of its kind held by a Pope who has not a square foot of territory, no subjects, no army, no fleet, and who calls himself a prisoner in his own palace.

The Catholic manifestations of Holy Year, more or less spontaneous, more or less interested, have given—the greater they were, the more it is apparent—a new, eloquent, and indisputable proof of the complete liberty which the church enjoys in Italy for the full exercise of her spiritual mission, and also the steadiness that the new order of things has attained in the Peninsula, which does not feel offended or diminished in dignity by the demonstrations that foreign and Italian Catholics choose to make in favor of the Head of the Church. In other words, it has more firmly clenched the conviction that no temporal power is needed by the Papacy, either in the exercise of its religious functions in all parts of the world, or to live in Rome in com-

plete safety and freedom. If the Italians, strange as it may appear to foreign Catholics, were proportionately less numerous and less ardent in the homage which they paid to the Pope, the reason is not to be found, as the Vatican wishes it to appear, in the fact that the Pontiff has ceased to be a temporal Sovereign, but, on the contrary, because of his desire to have, and attempts to regain, temporal rule. This puts him in opposition to the actual and necessary constitution of the country in which he lives, and, at the same time, places the people in the dilemma of choosing between being good churchmen or good patriots ; and, naturally, the former generally gives place to the latter.

So gradually, even at the Vatican, they have somewhat modified their claims ; and while it is the very intransigents themselves who still demand complete restoration of papal "rights" over all the ancient territory of the Holy See, there are others who limit their pretensions to a strip of Italy from sea to sea, including Rome ; there are others, even milder, who desire only Rome, or even a road from the Vatican to the Mediterranean, and finally, there is a small number that would have the Law of Guarantee, which depends upon the will of the Italian Parliament, turned into an international protocol, signed by the Powers. As is easily understood, no one of the restitutions dreamed of by the different degrees of Clericals is possible ; the lesser ones being the most absurd, while with regard to the protocol, it is very doubtful whether the Powers would consent to sign it, as they have never done so for heads of other churches ; no independent country, even of much less importance than Italy, could or would allow foreign interference in her internal affairs.

All those who think of any restoration of the temporal power evidently do not take into consideration, among many other things, the change which has taken place in Rome since she became the capital of united Italy.

Rome, which in 1870 had about 220,000 inhabitants, in the last thirty years has increased in proportion more than any other town in Europe, numbering now somewhat over half a million people, while it is easy to foresee that in a near future she will

rival the largest foreign capitals. All this, of course, is due to her having passed from being the capital of a small state like that of the Pope, to her place at the head of a large country, which, according to late statistics, numbers over 32,000,000 inhabitants, and to the fact that the Government spends in Rome alone one fifth of the entire revenues of the nation. Let us suppose that the Papacy succeeded in regaining its state; having, for instance, the Latium, which is neither fertile, rich, nor abundant in any way. What would happen to Rome with a population almost equal to that of the entire state, which could certainly not provide the means for supporting so large a capital city? Would Rome suddenly return to what it was in 1870, or even to less?

These and many other difficulties encourage some on the side of both the church and the state to persist in their efforts to bring about a conciliation between the two. However, the Jubilee which is just finished, made clear another point, that in the thirty years since the King of Italy established the seat of the new Kingdom in Rome and the Pontiff shut himself up in the Vatican, not a single step, notwithstanding all the attempts, has been made towards this object, and the church and the state continue to live near together, remaining as antagonistic to each other as ever. Among the governments of the different Powers, including the non-Catholic, there is not one which ignored the Jubilee to the same extent as did the Italian and the House of Savoy. This state of affairs appears more striking when it is remembered that at the opening of the Holy Door, at the beginning of the Holy Year of 1825, the most prominent royal personage who assisted was the Dowager Queen of Sardinia, Maria Theresa of Savoy, widow of King Victor Emanuel I., with her two daughters,—the younger of whom reached great sanctity, has been created "venerable," and may soon be canonized.

The reason of all this is to be found in history, because the fall of the temporal power and the advent of layman liberal principles are not isolated events, but the consequence of seven centuries of struggle, after which the latter, embodied in

the Italian state, succeeded in triumphing over Guelfism. In fact, that it might not appear unmoved and indifferent at the display of Clerical forces which the Papacy was exhibiting during Holy Year, the Government devised as a counterpoise the apotheosis of the greatest of Ghibelline figures,—Dante. The Jubilee happened to be just at the time of the sixth centenary of his writing the “*Divina Comedia*,” which he conceived while in the Eternal City, during the first Holy Year, instituted by Boniface VIII. The great poet was in Rome as Florentine Ambassador to the Pope, and looked on at an immense fire from a window on the banks of the Tiber, which still exists, thus obtaining the first germ of his “*Inferno*,” in which he puts, among others, Boniface VIII. himself.

“The commemoration of Dante,” said, in effect, the Italian Government, “will be a reaffirmation of the secular unity of the country; he being not only a supreme ‘*Maestro*’ of poetry, but, as Balbo called him, the ‘*Italiano per eccellenza*,’ the symbol of the race, the ideal type of the people, the first light of civilization in the darkness which the barbarians and the church had brought upon the world after the fall of Imperial Rome. ‘The abolition of theocratic government,” they added, to complete their conception, “was the carrying out of the great Ghibelline idea; and the exaltation of Dante, in the face of the vain threats of Clericalism, will be a confirmation of the intangibility of Rome conquered by Italian civilization.”

The apotheosis of Dante has not yet taken place, but the exposition of the views thus expounded throws a true and exact light on the relative positions of the two parties.

RECENT WORK ON THE PRINCIPLES OF MATHEMATICS

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The nineteenth century, which prided itself upon the invention of steam and evolution, might have derived a more legitimate title to fame from the discovery of pure mathematics. This science, like most others, was baptized long before it was born; and thus we find writers before the nineteenth century alluding to what they called pure mathematics. But if they had been asked what this subject was, they would only have been able to say that it consisted of Arithmetic, Algebra, Geometry, and so on. As to what these studies had in common, and as to what distinguished them from applied mathematics, our ancestors were completely in the dark.

Pure mathematics was discovered by Boole, in a work which he called the "Laws of Thought" (1854). This work abounds in asseverations that it is not mathematical, the fact being that Boole was too modest to suppose his book the first ever written on mathematics. He was also mistaken in supposing that he was dealing with the laws of thought: the question how people actually think was quite irrelevant to him, and if his book had really contained the laws of thought, it was curious that no one should ever have thought in such a way before. His book was in fact concerned with formal logic, and this is the same thing as mathematics.

Pure mathematics consists entirely of asseverations to the effect

that, if such and such a proposition is true of *anything*, then such and such another proposition is true of that thing. It is essential not to discuss whether the first proposition is really true, and not to mention what the anything is, of which it is supposed to be true. Both these points would belong to applied mathematics. We start, in pure mathematics, from certain rules of inference, by which we can infer that *if* one proposition is true, then so is some other proposition. These rules of inference constitute the principles of formal logic. We then take any hypothesis that seems assuring, and deduce its consequences. *If* our hypothesis is about *anything*, and not about some one or more particular things, then our deductions constitute mathematics. Thus mathematics may be defined as the subject in which we never know what we are talking about, nor whether what we are saying is true. People who have been puzzled by the beginnings of mathematics will, I hope, find comfort in this definition, and will probably agree that it is accurate.

As one of the chief triumphs of modern mathematics consists in having discovered what mathematics really is, a few more words on this subject may not be amiss. It is common to start any branch of mathematics—for instance, Geometry—with a certain number of primitive ideas, supposed incapable of definition, and a certain number of primitive propositions or axioms, supposed incapable of proof. Now the fact is that, though there are indefinables and indemonstrables in every branch of applied mathematics, there are none in pure mathematics except such as belong to general logic. Logic, broadly speaking, is distinguished by the fact that its propositions can be put into a form in which they apply to anything whatever. All pure mathematics—Arithmetic, Analysis, and Geometry—is built up by combinations of the primitive ideas of logic, and its propositions are deduced from the general axioms of logic, such as the syllogism and the other rules of inference. And this is no longer a dream or an aspiration. On the contrary, over the greater and more difficult part of the domain of mathematics, it has been already accomplished; in the few remaining cases, there is no special difficulty,

and it is now being rapidly achieved. Philosophers have disputed for ages whether such deduction was possible; mathematicians have sat down and made the deduction. For the philosophers there is now nothing left but graceful acknowledgments.

The subject of formal logic, which has thus at last shown itself to be identical with mathematics, was, as every one knows, invented by Aristotle, and formed the chief study (other than theology) of the Middle Ages. But Aristotle never got beyond the syllogism, which is a very small part of the subject, and the schoolmen never got beyond Aristotle. If any proof were required of our superiority to the mediæval doctors, it might be found in this. Throughout the Middle Ages, almost all the best intellects devoted themselves to formal logic, whereas in the nineteenth century only an infinitesimal proportion of the world's thought went into this subject. Nevertheless, in each decade since 1850 more has been done to advance this subject than in the whole period from Aristotle to Leibnitz. People have discovered how to make reasoning symbolic, as it is in Algebra, so that deductions are affected by mathematical rules. They have discovered many rules besides the syllogism, and a new branch of logic, called the Logic of Relatives,¹ has been invented to deal with topics that wholly surpassed the powers of the old logic, though they form the chief contents of mathematics.

It is not easy for the lay mind to realize the importance of symbolism in discussing the foundations of mathematics, and the explanation may perhaps seem strangely paradoxical. The fact is that symbolism is useful because it makes things difficult. (This is not true of the advanced parts of mathematics, but only of the beginnings.) What we wish to know is, what can be deduced from what. Now, in the beginnings, everything is self-evident; and it is very hard to see whether one self-evident proposition follows from another or not. Obviousness is always the enemy to correctness. Hence we invent some new and difficult symbolism, in which nothing seems obvious. Then we set up

(1) This subject is due in the main to Professor Peirce of Harvard.

certain rules for operating on the symbols, and the whole thing becomes mechanical. In this way we find out what must be taken as premise and what can be demonstrated or defined. For instance, the whole of Arithmetic and Algebra has been shown to require three indefinable notions and five indemonstrable propositions. But without a symbolism it would have been very hard to find this out. It is so obvious that two and two are four, that we can hardly make ourselves sufficiently sceptical to doubt whether it can be proved. And the same holds in other cases where self-evident things are to be proved.

But the proof of self-evident propositions may seem, to the uninitiated, a somewhat frivolous occupation. To this we might reply that it is often by no means self-evident that one obvious proposition follows from another obvious proposition; so that we are really discovering new truths when we prove what is evident by a method which is not evident. But a more interesting retort is, that since people have tried to prove obvious propositions, they have found that many of them are false. Self-evidence is often a mere will-o'-the-wisp, which is sure to lead us astray if we take it as our guide. For instance, nothing is plainer than that a whole always has more terms than a part, or that a number is increased by adding one to it. But these propositions are now known to be usually false. Most numbers are infinite, and if a number is infinite you may add ones to it as long as you like without disturbing it in the least. One of the merits of a proof is that it instils a certain doubt as to the result proved; and when what is obvious can be proved in some cases, but not in others, it becomes possible to suppose that in these other cases it is false.

The great master of the art of formal reasoning, among the men of our own day, is an Italian, Professor Peano, of the University of Turin. He has reduced the greater part of mathematics (and he or his followers will, in time, have reduced the whole) to strict symbolic form, in which there are no words at all. In the ordinary mathematical books, there are no doubt fewer words than most readers would wish. Still, little phrases occur, such as *therefore*, *let us assume*, *consider*, or *hence it follows*. All

these, however, are a concession, and are swept away by Professor Peano. For instance, if we wish to learn the whole of Arithmetic, Algebra, the Calculus, and indeed all that is usually called pure mathematics (except Geometry), we must start with a dictionary of three words. One symbol stands for *zero*, another for *number*, and a third for *next after*. What these ideas mean, it is necessary to know if you wish to become an arithmetician. But after symbols have been invented for these three ideas, not another word is required in the whole development. All future symbols are symbolically explained by means of these three. Even these three can be explained by means of the notions of *relation* and *class*; but this requires the Logic of Relations, which Professor Peano has never taken up. It must be admitted that what a mathematician has to know to begin with is not much. There are at most a dozen notions out of which all the notions in all pure mathematics (including Geometry) are compounded. Professor Peano, who is assisted by a very able school of young Italian disciples, has shown how this may be done; and although the method which he has invented is capable of being carried a good deal further than he has carried it, the honor of the pioneer must belong to him.

Two hundred years ago, Leibnitz foresaw the science which Peano has perfected, and endeavored to create it. He was prevented from succeeding by respect for the authority of Aristotle, whom he could not believe guilty of definite, formal fallacies; but the subject which he desired to create now exists, in spite of the patronizing contempt with which his schemes have been treated by all superior persons. From this "Universal Characteristic," as he called it, he hoped for a solution of all problems, and an end to all disputes. "If controversies were to arise," he says, "there would be no more need of disputation between two philosophers than between two accountants. For it would suffice to take their pens in their hands, to sit down to their desks, and to say to each other (with a friend as witness, if they liked), 'Let us calculate.' " This optimism has now appeared to be somewhat excessive; there still are problems whose solution is doubt-

ful, and disputes which calculation cannot decide. But over an enormous field of what was formerly controversial, Leibnitz's dream has become sober fact. In the whole philosophy of mathematics, which used to be at least as full of doubt as any other part of philosophy, order and certainty have replaced the confusion and hesitation which formerly reigned. Philosophers, of course, have not yet discovered this fact, and continue to write on such subjects in the old way. But mathematicians, at least in Italy, have now the power of treating the principles of mathematics in an exact and masterly manner, by means of which the certainty of mathematics extends also to mathematical philosophy. Hence many of the topics which used to be placed among the great mysteries—for example, the natures of infinity, of continuity, of space, time, and motion—are now no longer in any degree open to doubt or discussion. Those who wish to know the nature of these things need only read the works of such men as Peano or Georg Cantor; they will there find exact and indubitable expositions of all these quondam mysteries.

In this capricious world, nothing is more capricious than posthumous fame. One of the most notable examples of posterity's lack of judgment is the Eleatic Zeno. This man, who may be regarded as the founder of the philosophy of infinity, appears in Plato's *Parmenides* in the privileged position of instructor to Socrates. He invented four arguments, all immeasurably subtle and profound, to prove that motion is impossible, that Achilles can never overtake the tortoise, and that an arrow in flight is really at rest. After being refuted by Aristotle, and by every subsequent philosopher from that day to our own, these arguments were reinstated, and made the basis of a mathematical renaissance, by a German professor, who probably never dreamed of any connection between himself and Zeno. Weierstrass,¹ by strictly banishing from mathematics the use of infinitesimals, has at last shown that we live in an unchanging world, and that the arrow

(1) Professor of mathematics in the University of Berlin. He died a few years ago.

in its flight is truly at rest. Zeno's only error lay in inferring (if he did infer) that, because there is no change, therefore the world is in the same state at any one time as at any other. This is a consequence which by no means follows; and in this respect, the German mathematician is more constructive than the ingenious Greek. Weierstrass has been able, by embodying his views in mathematics, where familiarity with truth eliminates the vulgar prejudices of common sense, to invest Zeno's paradoxes with the respectable air of platitudes; and if the result is less delightful to the lover of reason than Zeno's bold defiance, it is at any rate more calculated to appease the mass of academic mankind.

Zeno was concerned, as a matter of fact, with three problems, each presented by motion, but each more abstract than motion, and capable of a purely arithmetical treatment. These are the problems of the infinitesimal, the infinite, and continuity. To state clearly the difficulties involved, was to accomplish perhaps the hardest part of the philosopher's task. This was done by Zeno. From him to our own day, the finest intellects of each generation in turn attacked the problems, but achieved, broadly speaking, nothing. In our own time, however, three men—Weierstrass, Dedekind, and Cantor—have not merely advanced the three problems, but have completely solved them. The solutions, for those acquainted with mathematics, are so clear as to leave no longer the slightest doubt or difficulty. This achievement is probably the greatest of which our age has to boast; and I know of no age (except perhaps the golden age of Greece) which has a more convincing proof to offer of the transcendent genius of its great men. Of the three problems, that of the infinitesimal was solved by Weierstrass; the solution of the other two was begun by Dedekind, and definitively accomplished by Cantor.

The infinitesimal played formerly a great part in mathematics. It was introduced by the Greeks, who regarded a circle as differing infinitesimally from a polygon with a very large number of very small equal sides. It gradually grew in importance, until, when

Leibnitz invented the Infinitesimal Calculus, it seemed to become the fundamental notion of all higher mathematics. Carlyle tells, in his "Frederick the Great," how Leibnitz used to discourse to Queen Sophia Charlotte of Prussia concerning the infinitely little, and how she would reply that on that subject she needed no instruction—the behavior of courtiers had made her thoroughly familiar with it. But philosophers and mathematicians—who for the most part had less acquaintance with courts—continued to discuss this topic, though without making any advance. The Calculus required continuity, and continuity was supposed to require the infinitely little; but nobody could discover what the infinitely little might be. It was plainly not quite zero, because a sufficiently large number of infinitesimals, added together, were seen to make up a finite whole. But nobody could point out any fraction which was not zero, and yet not finite. Thus there was a deadlock. But at last Weierstrass discovered that the infinitesimal was not needed at all, and that everything could be accomplished without it. Thus there was no longer any need to suppose that there was such a thing. Nowadays, therefore, mathematicians are more dignified than Leibnitz: instead of talking about the infinitely small, they talk about the infinitely great—a subject which, however appropriate to monarchs, seems, unfortunately, to interest them even less than the infinitely little interested the monarchs to whom Leibnitz discoursed.

The banishment of the infinitesimal has all sorts of odd consequences, to which one has to become gradually accustomed. For example, there is no such thing as the next moment. The interval between one moment and the next would have to be infinitesimal, since, if we take two moments with a finite interval between them, there are always other moments in the interval. Thus if there are to be no infinitesimals, no two moments are quite consecutive, but there are always other moments between any two. Hence there must be an infinite number of moments between any two; because if there were a finite number, one would be nearest the first of the two moments, and

therefore next to it. This might be thought to be a difficulty ; but, as a matter of fact, it is here that the philosophy of the infinite comes in, and makes all straight.

The same sort of thing happens in space. If any piece of matter be cut in two, and then each part be halved, and so on, the bits will become smaller and smaller, and can theoretically be made as small as we please. However small they may be, they can still be cut up and made smaller still. But they will always have *some* finite size, however small they may be. We never reach the infinitesimal in this way, and no finite number of divisions will bring us to points. Nevertheless there *are* points, only these are not to be reached by successive divisions. Here again, the philosophy of the infinite shows us how this is possible, and why points are not infinitesimal lengths.

As regards motion and change, we get similarly curious results. People used to think that when a thing changes, it must be in a state of change, and that when a thing moves, it is in a state of motion. This is now known to be a mistake. When a body moves, all that can be said is that it is in one place at one time and in another at another. We must not say that it will be in a neighboring place at the next instant, since there is no next instant. Philosophers often tell us that when a body is in motion, it changes its position within the instant. To this view Zeno long ago made the fatal retort that every body always is where it is ; but a retort so simple and brief was not of the kind to which philosophers are accustomed to give weight, and they have continued down to our own day to repeat the same phrases which roused the Eleatic's destructive ardor. It was only recently that it became possible to explain motion in detail in accordance with Zeno's platitude, and in opposition to the philosopher's paradox. We may now at last indulge the comfortable belief that a body in motion is just as truly where it is as a body at rest. Motion consists merely in the fact that bodies are sometimes in one place and sometimes in another, and that they are at intermediate places at intermediate times. Only those who have waded through the quagmire of philosophic speculation on

this subject can realize what a liberation from antique prejudices is involved in this simple and straightforward commonplace.

The philosophy of the infinitesimal, as we have just seen, is mainly negative. People used to believe in it, and now they have found out their mistake. The philosophy of the infinite, on the other hand, is wholly positive. It was formerly supposed that infinite numbers, and the mathematical infinite generally, were self-contradictory. But as it was obvious that there were infinities—for example, the number of numbers—the contradictions of infinity seemed unavoidable, and philosophy seemed to have wandered into a “cul-de-sac.” This difficulty led to Kant’s antinomies, and hence, more or less indirectly, to much of Hegel’s dialectic method. Almost all current philosophy is upset by the fact (of which very few philosophers are as yet aware) that all the ancient and respectable contradictions in the notion of the infinite have been once for all disposed of. The method by which this has been done is most interesting and instructive. In the first place, though people had talked glibly about infinity ever since the beginnings of Greek thought, nobody had ever thought of asking, What is infinity? If any philosopher had been asked for a definition of infinity, he might have produced some unintelligible rigmarole, but he would certainly not have been able to give a definition that had any meaning at all. Twenty years ago, roughly speaking, Dedekind and Cantor asked this question, and, what is more remarkable, they answered it. They found, that is to say, a perfectly precise definition of an infinite number or an infinite collection of things. This was the first and perhaps the greatest step. It then remained to examine the supposed contradictions in this notion. Here Cantor proceeded in the only proper way. He took pairs of contradictory propositions, in which both sides of the contradiction would be usually regarded as demonstrable, and he strictly examined the supposed proofs. He found that all proofs adverse to infinity involved a certain principle, at first sight obviously true, but destructive, in its consequences, of almost all mathematics. The proofs favorable to infinity, on the other hand, involved no principle that had evil

consequences. It thus appeared that common sense had allowed itself to be taken in by a specious maxim, and that, when once this maxim was rejected, all went well.

The maxim in question is, that if one collection is part of another, the one which is a part has fewer terms than the one of which it is a part. This maxim is true of finite numbers. For example, Englishmen are only some among Europeans, and there are fewer Englishmen than Europeans. But when we come to infinite numbers, this is no longer true. This breakdown of the maxim gives us the precise definition of infinity. A collection of terms is infinite when it contains as parts other collections which have just as many terms as it has. If you can take away some of the terms of a collection, without diminishing the number of terms, then there are an infinite number of terms in the collection. For example, there are just as many even numbers as there are numbers altogether, since every number can be doubled. This may be seen by putting odd and even numbers together in one row, and even numbers alone in a row below :—

1, 2, 3, 4, 5, *ad infinitum*.

2, 4, 6, 8, 10, *ad infinitum*.

There are obviously just as many numbers in the row below as in the row above, because there is one below for each one above. This property, which was formerly thought to be a contradiction, is now transformed into a harmless definition of infinity, and shows, in the above case, that the number of finite numbers is infinite.

But the uninitiated may wonder how it is possible to deal with a number which cannot be counted. It is impossible to count up *all* the numbers, one by one, because, however many we may count, there are always more to follow. The fact is that counting is a very vulgar and elementary way of finding out how many terms there are in a collection. And in any case, counting gives us what mathematicians call the *ordinal* number of our terms; that is to say, it arranges our terms in an order or series, and its result tells us what type of series results from this arrangement. In other words, it is impossible to count things without

counting some first and others afterwards, so that counting always has to do with order. Now when there are only a finite number of terms, we can count them in any order we like; but when there are an infinite number, what corresponds to counting will give us quite different results according to the way in which we carry out the operation. Thus the ordinal number, which results from what, in a general sense, may be called counting, depends not only upon how many terms we have, but also (where the number of terms is infinite) upon the way in which the terms are arranged.

The true infinite numbers are not ordinal, but are what is called *cardinal*. They are not obtained by putting our terms in order and counting them, but by a different method, which tells us, to begin with, whether two collections have the same number of terms, or, if not, which is the greater. It does not tell us, in the way in which counting does, *what* number of terms a collection has; but if we define a number as the number of terms in such and such a collection, then this method enables us to discover whether some other collection that may be mentioned has more or fewer terms. An illustration will show how this is done. If there existed some country in which, for one reason or another, it was impossible to take a census, but in which it was known that every man had a wife and every woman a husband, then (provided polygamy was not a national institution) we should know, without counting, that there were exactly as many men as there were women in that country, neither more nor less. This method can be applied generally. If there is some relation which, like marriage, connects the things in one collection each with one of the things in another collection, and *vice versa*, then the two collections have the same number of terms. This was the way in which we found that there are as many even numbers as there are numbers. Every number can be doubled, and every even number can be halved, and each process gives just one number corresponding to the one that is doubled or halved. And in this way we can find any number of collections each of which has just as many terms as there are

finite numbers. If every term of a collection can be hooked on to a number, and all the finite numbers are used once, and only once, each in the process, then our collection must have just as many terms as there are finite numbers. This is the general method by which the numbers of infinite collections are defined.

But it must not be supposed that all infinite numbers are equal. On the contrary, there are infinitely more infinite numbers than finite ones. There are more ways of arranging the finite numbers in different types of series than there are finite numbers. There are probably more points in space and more moments in time than there are finite numbers. There are exactly as many fractions as whole numbers, although there are an infinite number of fractions between any two whole numbers. But there are more irrational numbers than there are whole numbers or fractions. There are probably exactly as many points in space as there are irrational numbers, and exactly as many points on a line a millionth of an inch long as in the whole of infinite space. There is a greatest of all infinite numbers, which is the number of things altogether, of every sort and kind. It is obvious that there cannot be a greater number than this, because, if everything has been taken, there is nothing left to add. Cantor has a proof that there is no greatest number, and if this proof were valid, the contradictions of infinity would reappear in a sublimated form. But in this one point, the master has been guilty of a very subtle fallacy, which I hope to explain in some future work.

We can now understand why Zeno believed that Achilles cannot overtake the tortoise and why as a matter of fact he can overtake it. We shall see that all the people who disagreed with Zeno had no right to do so, because they all accepted premises from which his conclusion followed. The argument is this: Let Achilles and the tortoise start along a road at the same time, the tortoise (as is only fair) being allowed a handicap. Let Achilles go twice as fast as the tortoise, or ten times or a hundred times as fast. Then he will never reach the tortoise. For at every moment the tortoise is somewhere, and Achilles is some-

where ; and neither is ever twice in the same place while the race is going on. Thus the tortoise goes to just as many places as Achilles does, because each is in one place at one moment, and in another at any other moment. But if Achilles were to catch up with the tortoise, the places where the tortoise would have been, would be only part of the places where Achilles would have been. Here, we must suppose, Zeno appealed to the maxim that the whole has more terms than the part. Thus if Achilles were to overtake the tortoise, he would have been in more places than the tortoise ; but we saw that he must, in any period, be in exactly as many places as the tortoise. Hence we infer that he can never catch the tortoise. This argument is strictly correct, if we allow the axiom that the whole has more terms than the part. As the conclusion is absurd, the axiom must be rejected, and then all goes well. But there is no good word to be said for the philosophers of the past two thousand years and more, who have all allowed the axiom and denied the conclusion.

The retention of this axiom leads to absolute contradictions, while its rejection leads only to oddities. Some of these oddities, it must be confessed, are very odd. One of them, which I call the paradox of Tristram Shandy, is the converse of the Achilles, and shows that the tortoise, if you give him time, will go just as far as Achilles. Tristram Shandy, as we know, employed two years in chronicling the first two days of his life, and lamented that, at this rate, material would accumulate faster than he could deal with it, so that, as years went by, he would be farther and farther from the end of his history. Now I maintain that, if he had lived forever, and had not wearied of his task, then, even if his life had continued as eventfully as it began, no part of his biography would have remained unwritten. For consider: the hundredth day will be described in the hundredth year, the thousandth in the thousandth year, and so on. Whatever day we may choose as so far on that he cannot hope to reach it, that day will be described in the corresponding year. Thus any day that may be mentioned will be written up sooner or later, and therefore no part of the biography will remain permanently

unwritten. This paradoxical but perfectly true proposition depends upon the fact that the number of days in all time is no greater than the number of years.

Thus on the subject of infinity it is impossible to avoid conclusions which at first sight appear paradoxical, and this is the reason why so many philosophers have supposed that there were inherent contradictions in the infinite. But a little practice enables one to grasp the true principles of Cantor's doctrine, and to acquire new and better instincts as to the true and the false. The oddities then become no odder than the people at the antipodes, who used to be thought impossible because they would find it so inconvenient to stand on their heads.

The solution of the problems concerning infinity has enabled Cantor to solve also the problems of continuity. Of this, as of infinity, he has given a perfectly precise definition, and has shown that there are no contradictions in the notion so defined. But this subject is so technical that it is impossible to give any account of it here.

The notion of continuity depends upon that of *order*, since continuity is merely a particular type of order. Mathematics has, in modern times, brought order into greater and greater prominence. In former days, it was supposed (and philosophers are still apt to suppose) that quantity was the fundamental notion of mathematics. But nowadays, quantity is banished altogether, except from one little corner of Geometry, while order more and more reigns supreme. The investigation of different kinds of series and their relations is now a very large part of mathematics, and it has been found that this investigation can be conducted without any reference to quantity, and for the most part, without any reference to number. All types of series are capable of formal definition, and their properties can be deduced from the principles of symbolic logic by means of the Algebra of Relatives. The notion of a limit, which is fundamental in the greater part of higher mathematics, used to be defined by means of quantity, as a term to which the terms of some series approximate as nearly as we please. But nowadays the limit is defined quite differently, and the series which it limits

may not approximate to it at all. This improvement also is due to Cantor, and it is one which has revolutionized mathematics. Only order is now relevant to limits. Thus, for instance, the smallest of the infinite integers is the limit of the finite integers, though all finite integers are at an infinite distance from it. The study of different types of series is a general subject of which the study of ordinal numbers (mentioned above) is a special and very interesting branch. But the unavoidable technicalities of this subject render it impossible to explain to any but professed mathematicians.

Geometry, like Arithmetic, has been subsumed in recent times, under the general study of order. It was formerly supposed that Geometry was the study of the nature of the space in which we live, and accordingly it was urged, by those who held that what exists can only be known empirically, that Geometry should really be regarded as belonging to applied mathematics. But it has gradually appeared, by the increase of non-Euclidean systems, that Geometry throws no more light upon the nature of space than Arithmetic throws upon the population of the United States. Geometry is a whole collection of deductive sciences based on a corresponding collection of sets of axioms. One set of axioms is Euclid's; other equally good sets of axioms lead to other results. Whether Euclid's axioms are true, is a question as to which the pure mathematician is indifferent; and what is more, it is a question which it is theoretically impossible to answer with certainty in the affirmative. It might possibly be shown, by very careful measurements, that Euclid's axioms are false; but no measurements could ever assure us (owing to the errors of observation) that they are exactly true. Thus the geometer leaves to the man of science to decide, as best he may, what axioms are most nearly true in the actual world. The geometer takes any set of axioms that seem interesting, and deduces their consequences. What defines Geometry, in this sense, is that the axioms must give rise to a series of more than one dimension. And it is thus that Geometry becomes a department in the study of order.

In Geometry, as in other parts of mathematics, Peano and his disciples have done work of the very greatest merit as regards principles. Formerly, it was held by philosophers and mathematicians alike that the proofs in Geometry depended on the figure; nowadays, this is known to be false. In the best books there are no figures at all. The reasoning proceeds by the strict rules of formal logic from a set of axioms laid down to begin with. If a figure is used, all sorts of things seem obviously to follow, which no formal reasoning can prove from the explicit axioms, and which, as a matter of fact, are only accepted because they are obvious. By banishing the figure, it becomes possible to discover *all* the axioms that are needed; and in this way all sorts of possibilities, which would have otherwise remained undetected, are brought to light.

One great advance, from the point of view of correctness, has been made by introducing points as they are required, and not starting, as was formerly done, by assuming the whole of space. This method is due partly to Peano, partly to another Italian named Fano. To those unaccustomed to it, it has an air of somewhat wilful pedantry. In this way, we begin with the following axioms: (1.) There is a class of entities called *points*. (2.) There is at least one point. (3.) If a be a point, there is at least one other point besides a . Then we bring in the straight line joining two points, and begin again with (4.); namely, on the straight line joining a and b , there is at least one other point besides a and b . (5.) There is at least one point not on the line ab . And so we go on, till we have the means of obtaining as many points as we require. But the word *space*, as Peano humorously remarks, is one for which Geometry has no use at all.

The rigid methods employed by modern geometers have deposed Euclid from his pinnacle of correctness. It was thought, until recent times, that, as Sir Henry Laville remarked in 1621, there were only two blemishes in Euclid, the theory of parallels and the theory of proportion. It is now known that these are almost the only points in which Euclid is free from blemish. Countless errors are involved in his first eight propositions. That

is to say, not only is it doubtful whether his axioms are true, which is a comparatively trivial matter, but it is certain that his propositions do not follow from the axioms which he enunciates. A vastly greater number of axioms, which Euclid unconsciously employs, are required for the proof of his propositions. Even in the first proposition of all, where he constructs an equilateral triangle on a given base, he uses two circles which are assumed to intersect. But no explicit axiom assures us that they do so, and in some kinds of spaces they do not always intersect. It is quite doubtful whether our space belongs to one of these kinds or not. Thus Euclid fails entirely to prove his point in the very first proposition. As he is certainly not an easy author, and is terribly long-winded, he has no longer any but a historical interest. Under these circumstances, it is nothing less than a scandal that he should still be taught to boys in England. A book should have either intelligibility or correctness; to combine the two is impossible, but to lack both is to be unworthy of such a place as Euclid has occupied in education.

The most remarkable result of modern methods in mathematics is the importance of symbolic logic and of rigid formalism. Mathematicians, under the influence of Weierstrass, have shown in modern times a care for accuracy, and an aversion to slipshod reasoning, such as had not been known among them previously since the time of the Greeks. The great inventions of the seventeenth century—Analytical Geometry and the Infinitesimal Calculus—were so fruitful in new results that mathematicians had neither time nor inclination to examine their foundations. Philosophers, who should have taken up the task, had too little mathematical ability to invent the new branches of mathematics which have now been found necessary for any adequate discussion. Thus mathematicians were only awakened from their dogmatic slumbers when Weierstrass and his followers showed that many of their most cherished propositions are in general false. Macaulay, contrasting the certainty of mathematics with the uncertainty of philosophy, asks who ever heard of a reaction against Taylor's theorem? If he had lived now, he himself

might have heard of such a reaction, for this is precisely one of the theorems which modern investigations have overthrown. Such rude shocks to mathematical faith have produced that love of formalism which appears, to those who are ignorant of its motive, to be mere outrageous pedantry.

The proof that all pure mathematics, including Geometry, is nothing but formal logic, is a fatal blow to the Kantian philosophy. Kant, rightly perceiving that Euclid's propositions could not be deduced from Euclid's axioms without the help of the figures, invented a theory of knowledge to account for this fact; and it accounted so successfully that, when the fact is shown to be a mere defect in Euclid, and not a result of the nature of geometrical reasoning, Kant's theory also has to be abandoned. The whole doctrine of *a priori* intuitions, by which Kant explained the possibility of pure mathematics, is wholly inapplicable to mathematics in its present form. The Aristotelian doctrines of the schoolmen come nearer in spirit to the doctrines which modern mathematics inspire; but the schoolmen were hampered by the fact that their formal logic was very defective, and that the philosophical logic based upon the syllogism showed a corresponding narrowness. What is now required is to give the greatest possible development to mathematical logic, to allow to the full the importance of relations, and then to found upon this secure basis a new philosophical logic, which may hope to borrow some of the exactitude and certainty of its mathematical foundation. If this can be successfully accomplished, there is every reason to hope that the near future will be as great an epoch in pure philosophy as the immediate past has been in the principles of mathematics. Great triumphs inspire great hopes; and pure thought may achieve, within our generation, such results as will place our time, in this respect, on a level with the greatest age of Greece.

THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

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The Declaration of Independence marks the climax of the Revolutionary movement in America. It announced to the world that Great Britain and her colonies, after a journey in company along the same road for a hundred and fifty years, had come to the parting of the ways. It is a brief but eloquent and comprehensive summary of the reasons that made the separation inevitable. Within those few terse and masterly lines are contained the history of the great controversy that peacefully assumed definite shape, in 1763, and came to an end only after bitter war. By no mere chance was Jefferson called on to write the document that has been termed "the best known paper that ever came from the pen of an individual." Many persons throughout the colonies had produced pamphlets innumerable upon the rights of the colonies and the wrongs they had suffered. But none had so wrought as Jefferson. His "Summary View," written in 1774 and designed to serve as articles of instructions to the Virginia delegates to the Continental Congress, showed him to have a scholarly knowledge of the history of the colonies, a philosophic insight into the essentials of the controversy, and withal a facility of expression that were possessed by none of his contemporaries. The sentiment of Congress, therefore, irresistibly turned to him as the fittest person to draw up a declaration of the character desired. The event proved the wisdom of the choice.

For while the Declaration included nothing that was not familiar to every frequenter of the taverns, to every reader of the newspapers and pamphlets, Jefferson yet couched this memorable paper in such powerful terms that even wavering minds could not but be fired with something of enthusiasm by its perusal.

Though this remarkable summary of grievances needed no elucidation to men of that generation, it is almost meaningless to us. In but few instances do the histories covering the period lend any aid. An explanation, therefore, of the Declaration of Independence as understood by the men of the Revolution may prove of interest, especially as we are again hearing constant reference to the "undying principles" of that document.

Passing over the philosophy of the opening paragraph with the remark that it breathes the spirit of Locke throughout, with naught of French casuistry in it, we come immediately to the counts in the indictment against King and Parliament. They show a total of twenty-six. For seventeen of these the King alone is held accountable, while for the remainder he is made to share the responsibility with Parliament.

In the first two charges, Jefferson leaps at once into the thick of the controversy. He has included in them the whole great question of royal prerogative, as against colonial freedom from control, that agitated the English in America for all of a century.

Excepting only Rhode Island, Connecticut, and Maryland, all the colonies had fully experienced what it meant to enact laws "wholesome and necessary for the public good" only to have them repeatedly rejected by the King in Council. Every man had felt the strong arm of the home government interfering, not only in public, but in his private affairs as well. To such an extreme had this been carried, that after 1773 even a divorce could not be granted in any of the colonies, for the penalty was instant dismissal to the governor who lent his assent to such a law. That same year witnessed at least twenty important colonial laws rejected by the King upon various pretexts. What Jefferson had in mind, however, was the repeated disallowance of laws passed by the colonies to promote their welfare, but

which came into conflict with the theories of government entertained by the home authorities. Such were the laws of Virginia and other Southern colonies designed to prohibit the slave-trade and the introduction of convicts, and those of nearly all the colonies for issuing bills of credit and naturalizing aliens. And Massachusetts, as is well known, had her great grievances over laws relating to questions of compensating, in her own way, the sufferers from the Stamp Act riots, as well as over questions of taxation and the appropriation of money for salaries of government officials.

Attempts to restrict the importation of slaves were made at an early date. Every law of this nature was disallowed by the home government. Thus fared the acts framed in South Carolina in 1760, in New Jersey in 1763, and in Virginia in 1772.

Similarly, the endeavors to prevent the entrance of convicts, regarded, if possible, with less favor even than slaves, met with no greater success. Franklin spoke strongly against this in 1768, and John Dickinson wrote in the same year, "The emptying their Jails upon us and making the Colonies a Receptacle for the Rogues and Villians: an Insult and Indignity not to be thought of, much less borne without Indignation and Resentment."

Also, bills of credit were then an absolute necessity in order that the colonists might be enabled to carry on trade by means other than those of mere barter. But the policy of King and Parliament was against their allowance. First came the breaking up of the Massachusetts and Pennsylvania land bank schemes. Then the act of Parliament, of 1764, prohibiting absolutely the making of bills of credit legal tender, served to emphasize the fact that all control by the home government was not exercised with an eye to furthering the best interests of the colonies, but rather to help the English traders and manufacturers in increasing their fortunes. Thus were laws of New Jersey (1758 and 1769), of Pennsylvania (1759), and of New York (1769 and 1770) of this nature disallowed by the King in spite of urgent petitions in their favor.

When Massachusetts compensated the sufferers from the Stamp Act riots, pardoning the offenders at the same time, the law was promptly disallowed. Not only this, but to forestall just what happened, the King by Order in Council, May 13, 1767, required the governor to have a law passed compensating the sufferers, "unmixed with any other matter whatsoever," should payment of the sums appropriated have been made before the law could cross the ocean and be placed before the King. A few years later, when the controversy thickened, the Governor of Massachusetts and the Assembly of that colony were continually at loggerheads. The disallowance by the former of the bill passed in 1771, taxing the new Customs Commissioners, served not only to increase the existing feeling of irritation at having such a body of foreign and uncontrolled officers in their midst, but also tended to interfere seriously with the necessary legislation of the colony. The disallowance of naturalization laws need not detain us here, for we shall have occasion to speak of them below.

Passing, then, to the second charge, we find it but a refinement, or rather an elaboration, of the preceding. The first intimation that a closer control over colonial legislation was intended, came when Parliament addressed the King, in 1740, requesting that governors of the colonies be instructed to assent to no law that failed to contain a clause suspending its action until transmitted to England for consideration. Then followed the royal instruction of 1752 calling for a revision of the laws in force in all the colonies and ordering, at the same time, their transmission to England, and the insertion in each of a clause "suspending and deferring the execution thereof until the royal will and pleasure may be known thereon." A case in point arose in New York, in 1759, when Governor DeLancey was instructed to assent to no law empowering justices of the peace to try minor cases, unless such act contained the suspending clause. The most serious of all the rules enforcing this policy, however, was that aimed at the suppression of lotteries, then so great a factor in the economic and social life of the colonies. Down to 1769,

they flourished unrestricted, but in that year the royal governors were prohibited from assenting to any law of this kind that lacked the suspending clause,—a practical veto upon all attempts at raising funds by such means. Special instructions (1771) prohibited Governor Martin of Virginia from signing any law of this character, on the reasonable ground that the practice “doth tend to disengage those who become adventurers therein from that spirit of industry and attention to their proper callings and occupations on which the public welfare so greatly depends.”

As respects the latter portion of this second charge,—the neglect of laws suspended in their action until the royal assent be obtained,—we have a typical instance in four laws passed in Virginia, in 1770, and transmitted to England at once. They were not even considered by the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations until nearly three years after their enactment. Three were then confirmed, but a fourth was set aside for final action at a later date, until more information respecting it might be obtained from the Governor of Virginia. Jefferson denounced this policy at some length and with great vehemence in his “Summary View,” for he was fully aware how heavily its practice bore upon his own colony.

With the third charge, however, we reach the first grievance in the list that meant everything to the men of that time, but to which our historians have paid no attention. It has to do with the erection of additional counties out of newly settled districts and of their representation in the colonial assemblies. The colonists claimed this power as a right. But the King regarded it as a privilege to be procured only through the royal grace and favor. A clash was inevitable. It came in New Hampshire, New York, New Jersey, and Virginia, the colonies most actively engaged in peopling their western lands. New York tried to give representation to two newly erected counties, Cumberland (1766) and Albany (1768), but was prevented in each case. Not only that, but in the latter instance the King graciously consented to the division of the county and the election of two new members from it to the Assembly; only on condition, however,

that in the law establishing the new county no mention should be made of representation. The year 1767 witnessed the issuance of a royal instruction embodying this law in its most stringent form, designed to control absolutely the whole matter of representation in the assemblies, and the qualifications of electors and elected as well. Virginia felt that this bore with particular severity upon her, and her leading men knew well that Governor Martin had, in 1771, received explicit orders to carry out this instruction to the letter. Jefferson regarded it as a great grievance and an infringement on the rights of freemen. According to his view, the people living on the western borders and having no local courts, nor any local government, found the administration of justice almost an impossibility. "Does his Majesty seriously wish," wrote he, "and publish it to the world, that his subjects should give up the glorious right of representation, with all the benefits derived from that, and submit themselves the absolute slaves of his sovereign will?"

Leaving that question undecided, we come to the three charges respecting the removal of assemblies, their dissolution, and the failure to convoke them after long periods. These need not detain us more than a moment. The details of the removal of the Massachusetts Assembly to Cambridge and Salem, and that of South Carolina to Beaufort, are many and varied, and are to be found in all histories of the times. Moreover, we are all quite familiar with the dissolution of the Virginia Assembly, in 1765, after the passage of Patrick Henry's famous resolutions; with that of Massachusetts, in 1768, for refusing to review the action on the Circular Letter; and that of South Carolina and Georgia for daring to withstand Lord Hillsborough's order to treat that letter "with the contempt it deserves." In a like manner, the passage of the ringing Virginia Resolves, in 1769, led to another dissolution. And when a Continental Congress was in question, in 1774, all but three of the colonies had to elect delegates by means of provincial conventions or committees of correspondence, because their assemblies had been dissolved by the royal governors. The last of these three charges relates undoubtedly to the calling of the

Boston town meeting of September, 1768, to urge upon the governor the necessity for convening the Assembly, which had been dissolved because of its action on the Circular Letter, while troops, but recently ordered to Boston to quell the disturbances there, "exposed the citizens to all the dangers of invasion from without and convulsion within." And in New Hampshire and South Carolina and Virginia, in the autumn of 1775, affairs of Government had come to such a pass that an appeal to Congress was made for advice. The answer came to establish governments that will "best promote the happiness of the people," and "most effectually secure peace and good order."

We turn now from the familiar details of dissolved assemblies to the little known affairs relating to land grants and naturalization. The proclamation of the autumn of 1763, in which the King expressed his intention to erect new colonies out of lands that the colonists claimed by right of charter, meant the serious curtailment of these claims and the obstruction of the migration westward. It marked the initiation of a new policy. It restricted the limits of the colonies claiming rights to the South Seas to "the heads or sources of any of the rivers which fall into the Atlantic Ocean." Beyond the "heads or sources" was a reserved domain out of which the governors were prohibited from making any grants whatever. Worse still, those who had settled in these regions were peremptorily ordered to vacate, on the pretext that the lands were reserved for the Indians. But the movement had already set towards the west, and no such restrictions could check it. Land companies, in which Franklin and men of his stamp were interested, made petition for the right to found colonies, but met only with refusal. Yet the westward migration could not be stayed, although the attempt was made by means of the Order in Council of 1773 prohibiting the royal governors from issuing any patents until further instructions were issued. These followed a year later, and were even more grievous, in that they raised the "conditions of new appropriations of lands." The royal lands were to be sold at specified times to the highest bidders at the upset

price of sixpence the acre, and with the reservation of an annual quit rent of one half penny the acre to the King. No lands were to be disposed of except in this way. Jefferson had this in mind when he wrote the Declaration and when he said, in 1774, "His Majesty has lately taken on him to advance the terms of purchase, and of holding to the double of what they were, by which means the acquisition of lands being rendered difficult, the population of our country is likely to be checked." Only the advance of the Revolution prevented the carrying out of these provisions, which were everywhere regarded as harsh and unjust.

Closely allied to the question of granting lands was that of the naturalization of aliens. This was very generally practiced by the colonies, not so much with a view to conferring political rights as for the purpose of attracting desirable immigrants to open up their undeveloped territory. Where the right to transmit his property to posterity was accorded him, there would the immigrant settle. Such acts of naturalization met with no comment from the home government till the proclamation of 1763 was issued. From that time on, however, few of these acts passed the ordeal of the Commissioners for Trade and Plantations without recommendation for disallowance. Finally, in November, 1773, came the royal instruction prohibiting absolutely the naturalization of any aliens and the passage of any acts to that end. It was a heavy blow to the prosperity of the larger land-holding colonies: Virginia, New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, the settlement of which bade fair now to be seriously interfered with.

That part of the same charge that mentions the refusal to assent to laws encouraging immigration had reference to an act passed in North Carolina in 1771. It exempted persons coming immediately from Europe from all forms of taxation for four years. It was disallowed, however, by the King, in February, 1772, on the ground that it related especially to certain Scotch immigrants, since its provisions applied only to persons coming immediately from Europe, and thus might have an evil effect upon the "landed Interests and Manufacturers of Great Britain and Ireland."

Going a step farther, we search our histories in vain for an explanation of the complaint that the administration of justice has been obstructed by the refusal of assent to laws for establishing judiciary powers. Our first thought, on endeavoring to account for this, is likely to be of the long-standing controversies in New York and Massachusetts over the payment of the salaries of the judiciary and the conditions of their tenure of office. The question at issue, in both instances, hinged upon granting salaries by colonial appropriation or permitting payment to be made from the crown funds. By a policy, adopted at an early date (1761), Great Britain persistently refused to permit the judges to hold office during good behavior, as in England, and insisted, instead, that they must hold only during the King's pleasure. Forced to yield with no good will to this extension of the royal prerogative, the colonists resisted to the utmost the additional encroachment, that made it possible to enforce obnoxious laws and decrees by the whole power of a judiciary dependent not only for its tenure, but for its stipends as well, upon the absolute good will of the crown. The tenure established, to fix salaries was but a repressive step in advance, although the question did not develop till 1767. Then that ill-advised Townshend Act, known as the "glass, lead, and paint" act, passed Parliament, and became the law of the realm. Its preamble stated boldly its design to make "a more certain and adequate Provision for defraying the Charge of the Administration of Justice and the Support of Civil Government, in such Provinces where it shall be found necessary." A paragraph in the bill, explaining how this was to be carried out, showed that it was no idle declaration of intention merely. To the inhabitants of these colonies, already goaded to the point of rebellion because of excessive control of their internal affairs, this meant an intolerable interference with their just rights, and was not to be borne.

Furthermore, the extension of the jurisdiction of the Admiralty courts, in 1764 and 1768, with the great enlargement of their powers, foreshadowed the possible extinction of trial by jury in

civil as well as maritime causes. No case was ever tried in an Admiralty court before a jury, and the judges of these courts were royal appointees receiving their salaries, supposedly, from fines and the proceeds of the sale of condemned vessels; but, as this source failed to bring in any revenue, they were paid directly out of the royal exchequer. The greatest of the controversies over judicial salaries, however, is the famous one begun in Massachusetts when, on that evil day in February, 1773, Governor Hutchinson announced to the Assembly of the province that the King had made provision for the justices of the Superior Court, and that consequently no appropriation was necessary for their maintenance. As its details are well known, we need not stop to recount them.

By this time the careful reader of the Declaration will have discerned that instead of making clear the charge respecting the obstruction of judiciary powers, in reality the next succeeding grievance has been explained. We must, therefore, take up the thread where it was dropped and elucidate one of the obscurest of the historical references. The man whose mind evolved the Declaration knew that in such a state paper the most crying wrongs of each colony must in some measure be enumerated. That while it would be best, for the most part, to confine the charges to those restrictive measures that concerned all alike, the most crying local grievances of each colony must not be disregarded. The colony whose cause is here advocated is North Carolina. And unquestionably, political considerations occasioned this recognition of the fact that she had been the earliest to declare in favor of independence. Outside of local histories we seek in vain for the explanation of this important episode in her history, even though it attained a prominence so great as to find a place in the Declaration.

The controversy held in mind by Jefferson was an old one, and began when, in January, 1768, Governor Tryon signed a law, passed at a previous session of the Assembly of North Carolina, that provided, among other things, for establishing Superior Courts of justice. The law was to be in force for

five years only, and from then to the end of the next regular session of the Assembly. For three years, all went well because the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations paid little attention in the interval, to colonial laws. Fault was then found with this "Superior Court Act" because of a clause that made the property of persons who had never been in the colony liable to attachment on the suit of the creditor. This was in contravention of the laws of England. While the Lords Commissioners considered it a serious departure from legal form, they agreed, nevertheless, that if the Assembly would amend the act in this particular, they would not recommend its disallowance. No action in response to this hint was taken by the North Carolina Assembly, and after waiting a due season,—about a year,—the King was persuaded to issue a royal instruction prohibiting his governor from giving his assent to any law containing the attachment clause, unless it included a provision suspending its operation until the royal pleasure was made known. This came in February, 1772, and was well timed, for the law was to expire by limitation the next year, and, consequently, if proper provision were not made by the Assembly, no courts would exist in the province. In February, 1773, therefore, when the Assembly passed a new Court Act, making provision for Superior and Inferior courts retaining the objectionable attachment clause, the contest was on in bitter earnest. The first law enacted contained no suspending clause. This the Governor, Martin, vetoed. Then the Assembly yielded so far as to add the suspending clause, but retained the attachment provision. This was, of course, disallowed by the King, and meanwhile, as there were no courts in the province, the governor was instructed to establish them on his own responsibility. This he did, but the Assembly refused to recognize his authority, and made no appropriation for the salaries of the judges. Persisting in their determination to have the kind of bill they wanted and to control their own affairs, they passed the one previously disallowed, when they convened again in March, 1774. They were then prorogued for their obstinacy, and practically did not sit again

while North Carolina was under British rule. Thus, as a result of the controversy, not only was the Assembly dissolved, because it failed to do as it was bid, but from 1773 until North Carolina assumed State government, in 1776, there were no courts in the province.

From the controversy over judges to that over commissioners for the enforcement of customs laws is but a step. Their appointment is made the basis of the grievance charging that a multitude of new officers had been sent to America "to harass the people and eat out their substance." For, with the decision of Townshend to pass an act of taxation, was combined the determination to enforce it at all hazards. As there was no governmental machinery in America to support this policy, a new engine of oppression was instituted by the first of the Townshend Acts. Its provisions were exceedingly modest in that they simply authorized the King to appoint Commissioners of Customs to reside in America, with power and jurisdiction similar to the British Commissioners. They in turn were empowered to appoint an indefinite number of deputies, and it was this multiplication of officers that aroused the hostility of the colonists. Their salaries, moreover, were to be paid out of the receipts from the customs, and constituted the most serious aggression, of this nature, to which the colonists took exception. Yet one that caused but little less irritation was the policy initiated by Grenville, in 1764, when he determined upon rigorously enforcing the existing trade laws with a view to putting an end to smuggling. In accordance with this intention, he placed Admiral Colville, naval commander-in-chief on the coasts of North America, virtually at the head of the revenue service. And each captain of a vessel was instructed to take the customs house oath, and aid in the seizure of those engaged in the illicit trade, which had been connived at for years. Further, as offences against the revenue acts were to be tried in courts of Admiralty or vice-Admiralty, their increase with new officers became necessary. The first of the new courts with previously unheard of jurisdiction was opened at Halifax, in 1764, while the act of 1768 made provision for their extension throughout the other colonies.

The next charge has to do with the maintenance of troops in the colonies without the consent of the legislatures. With this we may couple the later accusation of quartering troops upon the people. As the facts respecting each are so well known, we need not stop to consider them. The same may be said of the grievance in which complaint is made of rendering the military independent of and superior to the civil power. This has reference, of course, to the appointment of General Gage as Governor of Massachusetts in the spring of 1774. The powers conferred on him were so extensive, that, upon the abrogation of the charter by the Massachusetts Act, he exercised an absolute authority that could not fail to excite armed resistance.

Thus we have come to the end of the first division of grievances. The master mind of Jefferson perceived that he must adopt a manner of accusation that was sufficiently emphatic to inspire enthusiasm, and yet not weary with the long recital of "abuses and usurpations,"—all of the same character and recounted in the same style. Therefore, after the enthusiasm of the reader has been kindled by the nervous, terse sentences, there is a sudden break, and the form of indictment undergoes a brief change. The attack is resumed, after only a moment's pause, not, however, against the King alone. For Parliament now shares jointly with him the burden of offence.

Of the first of the new order of grievances we have already sufficiently spoken. The next, however, which complains that soldiers escaped through mock trials the consequences of any murders they might commit, needs some comment, for it is not free from ambiguity. Yet it must refer to the trial of Captain Preston and his men for the deaths resulting from what is known as the "Boston Massacre." This trial was, however, full and free, and the acquittal of all but two of the accused by the Boston jury is a high tribute to their dispassionate fairness. Despite it all, the memory of the dead men, who were looked upon as martyrs, was always cherished, and for long years afterwards the day was observed by the delivery of orations in commemoration of the occasion. The event aroused feelings of horror through-

out the colonies, for it marked the first occasion on which blood had been shed in the contest with England, that was so rapidly drifting into war. Yet Jefferson had the cause of the Revolution too dearly at heart to permit him so to distort the appearance of any of the acts of aggression as to give them a face that was not theirs. What, therefore, must have been uppermost in his mind when penning this clause was the recent act for the "impartial administration of Justice," (May, 1774,) which was designed to provide for just such contingencies as had arisen in the case of the Boston Massacre,—the trial of persons accused of murder while in the discharge of their official duties. In accordance with its provisions, all persons in the service of his Majesty, military as well as civil, accused of murder committed while executing the laws of the realm in the colonies, might in order to ensure a fair trial obtain a change of venue to some other colony, or to Great Britain. Provision was made for the transportation of witnesses as well, and most grievous of all, the person thus accused might be admitted to bail, it mattered not how flagrant the crime charged against him. As the likelihood of a British official, military or civil, being brought to trial in England for a crime committed in executing the law in America was extremely remote, this was considered as an unwarrantable invasion of colonial rights.

Having thus far dealt in the main with the political side of the grievances, Jefferson, in order that nothing of importance should be omitted, now turns to those oppressions that bore most heavily upon the economic life of the people. And if there is a weak point in the whole Declaration, it is the failure to dwell to any extent upon the narrow British economic policy towards the colonies, which meant simply using them for the benefit of the manufacturers and traders at home. This is all the more surprising since in the beginning the opposition to the enforcement of trade laws and the right to taxation was based as largely upon economic as upon political grounds. All attention was soon centred, however, upon that side of the controversy that gave the greater opportunity for appeals to the passions of the

multitude,—the rights claimed as theirs by reason of being free-born English subjects. To cut off the trade of the colonists with all parts of the world, as written in the Declaration, was a policy first adopted in the days of Cromwell and Charles II. and persisted in to the end. But the acts of aggression particularly offensive were those instituted by Grenville, in 1764, when he revived the Molasses Act of 1733, by which an end was intended to be put to the rum traffic of New England, and the rigorous measures already referred to for enforcing obsolete trade laws. An idea of the full meaning of this intention may be gathered when we recall that, all in all, about thirty acts had been passed by Parliament at various times for the purpose of binding the colonial trade. Up to this time, however, they had been so loosely enforced as to cause little inconvenience. Coming down to a later day, we have the well known acts of 1774, which closed the port of Boston, and the acts of March, April, and December, 1775, which effectually prohibited all trade with the colonies, thereby cutting them off from all the world.

We need not stop to consider the chiefest of the familiars of our history, the complaint of taxation without consent, but may turn to that which is not so well known, and which deals with transportation for trial beyond the seas. This meant the revival of an old law, passed in the reign of Henry VIII., by which it was made possible to send any person, accused of treason in any part of the realm, to England for trial. The first intimation that this act was to be extended to America came in 1769, after the failure of Massachusetts to rescind her circular letter, and the riots that took place upon the seizure of John Hancock's sloop the "Liberty." Parliament in that year, in an address to the King, made the suggestion that then was a favorable time for the revival of this law. Matters rested in this uncertain state until June, 1772, when after the revenue vessel "Gaspee" was burned to the water's edge at Newport, the determination to punish violators of the revenue acts, and these destructive rioters in particular, was greatly intensified. A commission was therefore instituted, in the autumn of 1772, to

investigate this offence. These commissioners had extensive powers, yet the weightiest part of their instructions was that which ordered them to transport the offenders to England for trial.

In the autumn of 1772, just previous to the appointment of this commission, and before the knowledge of the "Gaspee" incident had even reached England, an act had been passed "for the better securing and preserving His Majesty's Dock Yards, Magazines, Ships, Ammunition and Stores." In this was included the detested transportation provision. It aroused great opposition, for it deprived the colonists of their dearly cherished right of "a constitutional trial by a jury of the vicinage." The law, already referred to, "for the impartial administration of Justice," while designed to protect the revenue and other officials also belongs to this category of ills, because of its transportation clauses.

The possible enforcement of the Quebec Act of 1774, with its far-reaching provisions for extending the use of the civil as against the common law, was made the ground of the next grievance. As it never went into force in any respect, however, it is difficult to tell exactly what its effects might have been. Yet the extension of the limits of the province created by the proclamation of 1763, so as to include all the country west of the Alleghanies and as far south as the Ohio River, meant a further encroachment upon the territory of those colonies that claimed charter rights to much of the land thus included. The reasons already given, therefore, added to the opportunities for further aggression that the enforcement of this act might offer, rendered it one of the laws that was looked on with the greatest disfavor by the colonists. It appeared to them as one more extension of the royal prerogative against which they had for so long a time been contending without avail.

What the Quebec Act lacked in clearness, however, was more than supplied by the very evident intent of the bill regulating the government of Massachusetts. If any one act of aggression can be set down as the cause, immediate or remote, of the

Revolution it is this. None carried with it so much consternation and dismay. None aroused at the same time so much stern opposition. Its great importance, therefore, made it necessary that reference should be made to it in the Declaration. If the power to take away or alter a single charter was once recognized, the rights of no colony were safe from destruction. The principle, if carried out to its logical conclusion, meant the possible abolition of all the laws developed by the English in America through a period of a hundred and fifty years, and the substitution in their stead of such manner and form of government as the will of an arbitrary sovereign might dictate. When, therefore, this act abolished, with one stroke, the Council as it had been developed; curtailed the power of the Assembly; practically put an end to that great institution for the redress of grievances, the town meeting; made serious changes in the manner of selecting the judiciary and jurors; and virtually made the governor the supreme power in the province, we cannot wonder that this act of revenge upon Massachusetts, which foreshadowed what might be expected to happen elsewhere, aroused a spirit of opposition throughout the colonies such as had never before been called forth. Herein lay the main part of the grievance. Yet the earlier decision (1772) to sever the Governor of Massachusetts completely from any dependence upon the Assembly for his salary, and thereby to make his freedom of action the greater, was also an innovation in settled custom that was viewed with naught but disfavor. And when the great contest was waging in North Carolina over the establishment of courts, the attempt of the Governor to pay no heed to the recalcitrant Assembly by endeavoring to establish courts on his own responsibility, was likewise regarded as "altering fundamentally" an established form of government.

Nor could the colonies ever become reconciled to that shortsighted policy that, because of the spirited resistance of the New York Assembly to the demands made upon it, could offer no other solution of the difficulty than the suspension of the legislature until it bent the knee and yielded. The colonists were

accustomed to the exercise of the governor's power of veto and prorogation. This had been submitted to from the beginning, and was regarded as a constitutional mode of enforcing royal authority. But to go so much further, and for a trivial action on the part of the New York Assembly, to suspend indefinitely its legislative functions by act of Parliament, was regarded as an exercise of unwarranted authority to which the colonists never became reconciled. Although forced to yield, New York's cause was made the cause of all, and the voice of protest against this act, resounding so far as the halls of the Continental Congress of 1774, was to be reëchoed in the immortal Declaration of 1776. It was, moreover, an enforcement of the Declaratory Act of 1766, little heeded at first, but now seen to be fraught with the utmost danger to colonial rights. And the Tea Acts of 1770 and 1773 were regarded as but other isolated instances of the policy thus announced.

We have come now to the end of the political grievances. The last five of all, for which the King is again held solely responsible, deal with the armed movement for suppression, begun at Lexington and Concord, emphasized in the proclamation of August, 1775, declaring the colonists in rebellion and announcing the intention to suppress the revolutionists with a high hand, and repeated in the speech from the throne in October of the same year. This meant war in earnest, and with its beginnings the royal governors, ever in a perplexing situation, were now forced to flee for their lives. First Governor Dunmore of Virginia, soon followed by Tryon of New York, Martin of North Carolina, and Campbell of South Carolina, "abdicated government," as Jefferson euphemistically termed it, and left the inhabitants of those colonies to their own devices in creating new forms of government.

The other acts complained of need but little explanation, for they all form part of the history of the commencement of the war. With the burning of Falmouth and Charlestown, Norfolk and Charleston, the employment of Hessians—"foreign mercenaries"—to fight the cause of England, and the act of Parlia-

ment of December, 1775, which authorized the capture and condemnation of trading ships, and compelled "our fellow citizens taken captive on the high seas to bear Arms against their country, to become the executioners of their friends and Brethren, or to fall themselves by their Hands,"—all are familiar.

The last grievance refers to a possible condition of affairs, ever dreaded and against which precautions had been taken by numerous acts of legislation. Those acquainted with life in the South are aware of the fear engendered by the thought of a servile war. Nothing more horrible could be imagined; the only thing to be compared with it was to let loose bands of well-armed Indians to plunder and devastate the country. When, therefore, Dunmore, in the spring of 1775, in order to enforce his decree, threatened to arm the negroes and Indians, the alarm he created was widespread, and had much to do with bringing into existence a well-trained militia. The governors of North and South Carolina were known to be adopting similar measures, and the latter was denounced as "having used his utmost endeavors to destroy the lives, liberties and properties of the people." Along with this came the endeavor to engage the Indians as allies, and Gage issued instructions to that effect in the summer of 1775. The Indian agent Stuart, on the borders of South Carolina, made overtures, and won to him the Creeks and Chicksaws, while Sir Guy Carleton was making similar progress with the Six Nations in the North.

Jefferson's task has now come to an end. No colony has been overlooked. No grievances common to all are omitted from the terrible arraignment. All must henceforth, as Franklin put it, "hang together or hang separately." We cannot fail to recognize, in the light of the interpretation of the various clauses of the Declaration given above, and of the history of events up to July, 1776, that a master political mind penned that document, and a master spirit breathed vigor into its several parts. What goes before is a fitting prelude to, an unanswerable argument in behalf of, the right to declare that "We, therefore, the Representatives of the United States of America, in General Congress

assembled appealing to the Supreme Judge of the World for the rectitude of our intentions, do in the Name and by Authority of the good People of these Colonies, solemnly publish and declare, That these United States are and of Right ought to be Free and Independent States * * * *."



THE STORY OF AHIKAR¹

GEORGE A. BARTON, *Bryn Marwr.*

This is an age of historical and literary surprises, and the book before us gives the record and the proof of one of these. A story long familiar in the "Arabian Thousand and One Nights" turns out to be of Hebrew (or shall we say Babylonian?) origin, to be as old as the second century B. C., to have been drawn upon by the author of Tobit in the Old Testament Apocrypha, and the author of Daniel in the Old Testament itself. The demonstration of this has been made possible, within the last few years, by the recovery of the tale in Syriac, Arabic, Ethiopic, Armenian, and Slavonic versions, a comparative study of which not only reveals the fact that the form of the tale as it appears in the "Arabian Nights" is a very free adaptation, but that it had also been worked into the Greek lives of Æsop. The separation of the parts of the Ahikar story from the life of Æsop, which the other versions have made possible, now gives us a Greek version of Ahikar. The demonstration of the antiquity of the tale began twenty years ago when G. Hoffman pointed out the identity of Achiacharus of Tobit i, 21 ff., xi, 18, and xvi, 10, with a legendary sage, Ahikar, who figured in a romance, extant in some Syriac MSS., as a sage of Sennacherib.² Since then Jagić³ had

(1) The Story of Ahikar from the Syriac, Arabic, Armenian, Ethiopic, Greek, and Slavonic Versions. By F. C. Conybeare, J. Rendel Harris, and Agnes Smith Lewis. London: C. J. Clay and Sons, 1898. 8vo., pp. lxxviii, 216.

(2) In *Abhandlungen für Kunde des Morgenlandes*, vol. vii. pp. 181-183.

(3) In *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, vol. i. pt. 1. 1892.

made a Slavonic version accessible; Cornill,¹ an Ethiopic one, while Bickell,² Meissner,³ and Lidzbarski⁴ by acute criticisms based on the Syriac and Ethiopic had contributed to the understanding of the story.

The work before us brings the means of studying this tale within the reach of any scholar who has access to the book. It contains the Slavonic version translated from the German of Jagic by Mrs. Lewis; the Armenian version in Armenian text with English translation by Mr. Conybeare; the text of the Arabic version with translation by Mrs. Lewis; two Syriac versions in text and translation by Professor Harris; the proverbs of Ahikar translated from the Ethiopic of Cornill; the Greek text extracted from the life of Æsop, and an introduction,—all by Professor Harris. All who know Harris' method of work are prepared to find in anything he writes breadth of learning and acuteness of thought and suggestion. In this introduction, he fully maintains the expectation of his readers. But we should first see what the story is. It runs thus:—Ahikar, a vizier of Sennacherib, was possessed of wealth, wisdom, popularity, and power, but had no son. After vainly praying for one, he was directed to adopt his nephew Nadan and to find in him the fulfillment of his prayers. This he did, rearing the child tenderly and instructing him in wisdom, the precepts of which are recounted to us at length. Nadan proved wilful and ungrateful. At length when Ahikar contemplated supplanting him by his younger brother, he forged treasonable letters in Ahikar's handwriting, pretended to the king that he found them, and procured Ahikar's condemnation to death. On a previous occasion, Ahikar had saved from the wrath of Sennacherib the very person who was now directed

(1) *Mushafa Falâsfâ Tabibân*, or *Book of the Wise Philosophers*.

(2) London *Athenaeum*, 1890.

(3) *Quellenuntersuchungen zur Haikargeschichte in Zeit. d. deut. Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, vol. xlviii. p. 171 ff.

(4) *His Geschichte und Lieder*, and an article entitled *Zum weisen Achikar in Zeit. d. deut. Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, vol. xlviii. p. 671 ff.

to cut off his head. An appeal to this man's gratitude persuaded him to put to death a slave in Ahikar's stead, while the latter was incarcerated in a dungeon under his own house, where he was tormented by audible evidences of the abuse of his property, his slaves, and his wife, in which Nadan indulged. Meantime the king of Egypt, hearing of Ahikar's death, sent to Sennacherib a series of absurd and impossible demands, such as Eastern story-tellers attribute to powerful sovereigns, accompanied by veiled threats of detriment to Assyria in case his demands were not fulfilled. No one was able to tell Sennacherib what to do, and in his extremity the king was glad to reward Ahikar's executioner for not putting him to death. Ahikar was then brought forth from his dungeon, with "the color of his face changed, his hair matted like a wild beast, and his nails like the claws of an eagle." When he had recuperated, Ahikar went to Egypt, by his wisdom successfully met or baffled the king of Egypt in his demands, and thus delivered Assyria. When he returned to Assyria with enhanced reputation, Nadan was delivered to him for punishment; he flogged him, imprisoned him in the very dungeon where Ahikar had himself been entombed, gave him some more instruction, and just as the final punishment was ready for Nadan, that rogue swelled up and burst asunder; thus like Judas taking himself out of the way.

Harris, in the introduction, discusses the antiquity of the legend; deals with the material for its criticism; demonstrates, as it seems to the present writer, its antiquity as compared with the book of Tobit, and consequently its priority to the book of Daniel; points out that some passages in the book of Proverbs and the later Psalms are dependent upon it; that several phrases from the book of Daniel may be borrowed from it; that it is in part adapted in two of the parables of Jesus, the parable of the wicked servant (Mat. xxiv, 48-50; Luke xii, 45, 46), and probably in that of the barren fig tree; that it has been adapted in the account of the death of Judas in Acts i, 18, 19; and that it possibly is the source of the proverb in 2 Pet. ii, 22. The use of the legend in the Quran and elsewhere, as well as the primitive

language of Ahikar, is also discussed. In the chapter on this latter topic, a Hebrew or Aramaic original is considered probable. As a whole, this introduction is an admirable piece of work. Occasionally one might differ in some details from the positions taken. It is possible, for example, that some of the likenesses to the book of Daniel, which are cited (p. lvii, ff.), have been produced by influence from our Daniel upon the Armenian and Arabic versions of Ahikar. As I have pointed out elsewhere,¹ a stronger position might have been taken if the whole structure of the story of Ahikar had been compared with the structure of Daniel.

Many of the positions of this introduction were worked out simultaneously by Dr. E. J. Dillon, and published by him in the "Contemporary Review,"² a few months before the appearance of the book before us. Dillon's work and Harris's are confirmatory of one another, while Dillon's publication in no way rendered the publication of these texts in a handy volume superfluous.

The fate of Nadan has suggested that there is an element of folk-lore in the tale.³ Parallels to it have also been pointed out in India and southern Siberia. One of these is a story concerning an Indian king Nanda, a contemporary of Alexander the Great, whose minister was thrown into prison and condemned to death, and was found to be alive just in time to save his master. Cosquin cites⁴ this as a tale of the *Caukasaptati* (*Cukasaptati*?). The parallel with Ahikar is striking, not only on account of the similarity of the experience described, but on account of the likeness of Nanda to Nadan. In some minds this likeness will raise anew the question, which, in some quarters, is a burning one, as to whether the story of Ahikar was not borrowed

(1) *The Story of Ahikar and the Book of Daniel* in the *Amer. Jour. of Semitic Languages*, vol. xvi. p. 242 ff.

(2) For March, 1898, pp. 562-586.

(3) Cf. Conybeare in the English review, *Folk Lore*, 1898, p. 166 ff., and Cosquin in *Revue Biblique*, vol. viii. 1899, pp. 50-82, and 510-531.

(4) *Op. Cit.* p. 64.

from India at the time of that westward wave of Indian and Buddhistic influence, which is supposed by some to have shaped the beginnings of Christianity. So good a Sanskritist and impartial a scholar as Professor Hopkins¹ has shown that most of the elements of Buddhism which are similar to Christianity are later than the Christian era, that there is no trace of pre-Christian Buddhism in the West, but that there is some evidence to show that Christianity really reached India in the second century A. D., so that if there is borrowing, it was the other way. As the *Cukasaptati* is probably not older than the tenth century A. D.,² it is altogether probable that the story of Ahikar traveled eastward to India from a Semitic source.

(1) In a paper on *Primitive Buddhism* read before the local History of Religions Club, at Bryn Mawr, March 16th, 1901.

(2) Professor Hopkins in a private letter to the writer.

AN AMERICAN ECONOMIST¹

FRANK A. FETTER, *Cornell University.*

The work of specialists in any scientific line seems often to be remote from practical affairs, and nowhere more than in economic studies of the abstracter sort. The discussion of definitions, terms, and concepts, subtle analysis of abstruse propositions, and deduction from unreal assumptions, degenerate so easily into scholasticism that there is a well-founded distrust of their importance. Yet we recognize that many of the conclusions of the economic theorist come at length to dominate the popular thought. The facts dealt with in social discussion are so varied and complicated that they can be spoken of only by expressing them in a sort of linguistic algebra whose symbolism has been devised and defined by the economic specialist. Even in scoffing at the "theorist," use is unwittingly made of his labors. How potent has been the influence of the views of capital and interest brought into popular use by the writings of Adam Smith! And how deeply the Ricardian conception of the nature of land and rent, and of their relations to value and prosperity, has stamped itself into the minds of many who are not conscious of the influence they are under! The recently published work of Professor John B. Clark is of more than ordinary interest, because it gives promise of exercising a like influence on popular conceptions and popular speech.

(1) *The Distribution of Wealth; a Theory of Wages, Interest, and Profits.* By John Bates Clark, Professor of Political Economy in Columbia University. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1899.

The lack of an independently developed political economy in America has often been felt and commented upon. Economic study in America, until the last two decades, has been mainly confined to current practical questions. Before Francis A. Walker, only one American economist, Henry C. Carey, enjoyed any considerable reputation abroad,—where, indeed, his reputation is greater than among his own countrymen,—and he gained this by calling attention to the peculiar conditions existing in a new country. Despite the importance of the contributions of many Americans in the last half century to the literature of public debts, taxation, currency, and banking, and other practical questions, it may be said that in systematic economics American views have continued to be an echo of the older English thought. The accepted text-books in American colleges to-day are but the houses built by Ricardo, Senior, and John Stuart Mill, patched here and there with a few shingles of modern criticism.

This has become the more noteworthy since the recent growth of the historic spirit among students of the social sciences. We recognize that economic theory cannot be, in its entirety, universal and final, but that it grows out of the circumstances of the times, that it is dependent on concrete things, that, in fact, it is usually the attempt to explain the most striking industrial development of the period in which it appears. Now the period from 1770 to 1825, in which the modern system of English economic thought took form, was not only unlike in its conditions those of America past and present, but it was, in many respects, most abnormal and unparalleled in the history of England itself. The soil of England was in the hands of a small class which seemed to be economically as distinct as it was socially and politically important. Just beginning to outgrow her food supplies, England was becoming an importer of breadstuffs. Her laboring classes were pauperized, and at the same time bribed to unwise increase by the poor law; while old social standards and industrial relations were being rudely shaken by the growth of inventions and the factory system. Taxation and the burdens of continued wars bore upon nearly all classes of the island with a

force greater than has since been known. Misery multiplied most in the centres where wealth grew most apace. In these conditions were inevitably suggested a theory of rent, as the return to land, gradually devouring the national income; the separation in thought of the classes, landlords, and capitalists; a fatalistic "law of population," in which the outgrowing of the food supply and consequent starvation seemed to be an ever impending danger; the iron law of wages and a hopeless outlook for labor. Then took form that system of economic thought which continued dominant throughout the nineteenth century. The "orthodox English political economy," as it came to be known, was the attempt at a philosophic explanation of these remarkable conditions, looked upon, however, not as exceptional and temporary, but as the natural state of things toward which society must ever tend.

Conditions more unlike those existing in the abounding American republic it would be hard to imagine. There came from American writers a continuous series of protests against one or the other conclusion or form of statement of this insular economic thought. Mainly negative, however, and quite unsystematic, these protests were directed against separate doctrines, not against the general scheme of thought and economic concepts. No American thinker had ever shaken himself loose from the old modes of thought sufficiently to make a successful and systematic statement more in harmony with existing conditions.

The work of John B. Clark is the first seriously to attempt this task. It therefore marks an epoch in American economic studies. For twenty years a contributor to leading periodicals, and for a still longer period a deep student of economic questions, Professor Clark has shown preëminent ability to rid himself of old preconceptions, and to restate with independence and force the latest contributions of European writers, and in many cases to anticipate and enrich their conclusions. In his latest volume he has unified and developed his studies of the last two decades. The most striking feature of this volume is the principle of "specific productivity" of economic agents, whereby the payment for the use

of each agent taking part in production is explained as due to the contribution that agent may be logically considered as making to the value of the product. This is a thought nearly approached by the school of Austrian economists, and Professor Clark's indebtedness to them is evident, but they never succeeded in stating it in the complete form which it here takes on. This unification of the problems of value is a result long looked and striven for. In the most lucid manner, it is here shown that the power of a laborer to appeal to the wants of society by his labor force is exactly commensurable with the power of a machine or of an acre of land to yield an economic satisfaction. The contrast is striking between this mode of explanation and the old theory of distribution with its laws of rent, interest, and wages, each unrelated to the others, and so filled with the mysteries of "wage funds," or of shares that did not "enter into the determination of value." In presenting his doctrine, Professor Clark has also made a number of minor contributions to the theory of value, giving a subtle and convincing analysis of the motives which lead men to attach importance to varying qualities of goods.

Nowhere else has the thought of the normal, as contrasted with the accidental or temporary, adjustment of economic agents, been put as clearly as in this work. The rapid changes that have been going on in the industrial world, the influence of chance, the evident advantages of shrewd bargaining, have tempted many of late into a sort of industrial fetichism, a belief that all shares in industry are determined by personal forces alone. It is a much needed service to economic thought to have it shown so cogently that behind the play of rivalry and skill, behind the force of combination, are the ever acting impersonal economic forces, determining a normal or "natural" level of values, which, after all, is the dominating fact.

Closely related to this thought is the distinction between static and dynamic conditions of industry, vaguely present in the minds of the earlier economists, but hopelessly lost sight of when questions as to the progress or prospects of society, or of any class

in society, were considered. Here it is put with admirable clearness, and the thought pervades every chapter of the book. In the succeeding volume on dynamic economics which is promised, this idea will doubtless find further and fruitful development.

Very important in its probable future effects on popular thought and speech is the abandonment of the old classification of the material agents of production into land and capital, and the grouping of both as forms of capital. As Professor Clark says, the current mode of treating land never could have originated in America, where land has always been freely exchanged on the market. The ambiguity of the term capital is pointed out, and two meanings distinguished as capital and capital-goods. There are reasons for doubting whether the particular terminology suggested will find acceptance;¹ but there is hardly room for doubt that something in the nature of this change is in harmony alike with business usage and scientific needs. The old contrasts between rent and interest and the many supposed contrasts in their operation and effects are swept away. Thereby the discussion of the part played in production by material wealth is given a simplicity and a reality before impossible.

The style in which the book is written is difficult to characterize. The words are with few exceptions the simplest which the nature of the subject will allow; the sentences are direct and uninvolved; the thought is expressed in a way that suggests firmness of intellectual grasp and conviction without wavering or ambiguity. Despite these qualities, the work is one which will be read with ease by few who are not special students of economics. The reader is assumed to have a wide knowledge of the views of other writers. Although many examples are drawn from practical affairs, more often it is commodity A, B, or H prime, which illustrates the principle under discussion; and imaginary waterfalls and reservoirs typify, in nearly every chapter, the various "funds" and "flows" of wealth, which have so

(1) This point is more fully discussed in an article in *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, Nov., 1901, pp. 6-17.

definite a meaning in the author's mind. At times the abstract form must make it difficult even for the specialist. Many a one will vainly endeavor to solve the puzzle of capital which "consists of instruments of production which are always concrete and material," and yet which is set in contrast with those concrete goods in a number of bewildering ways. On the whole, however, no notable economist has ever before made such logical and justifiable use of the abstract method. Only here and there can there be a suspicion that the abstraction has been mistaken for the reality. Throughout is emphasized, in a way rare in the annals of deductive economics, the high value of historical studies, of statistical research, and of close acquaintance with actual industry. Economic theory is here upon the highest plane that it has yet attained.

In every branch of study, feeling asserts its rights alongside of intellectual conclusions, but in none more strongly than in economics. As the misery of England was reflected in the writings of Malthus and Ricardo, so in the work of Professor Clark is heard the exultant note of new world optimism, the note of joy in the abounding prosperity of America during the quarter of a century in which this work was taking form, and of faith in the growing welfare and rising wages of the working classes. The reader must doubt sometimes whether the author's arguments justify such hopefulness. The book professedly involves a vindication of the existing distribution of society's income. It is at this point doubtless that it will receive the strongest criticism. In the minds of many there will appear to be here a *non sequitur* resulting from the author's firm faith that all's well with the world. To show that each material agent secures that share of the product which in a logical sense it may be looked upon as contributing to produce, is not to prove that there is assigned "to every one what he has specifically produced." The leap from the impersonal agent to the personal receiver of the income is a long one. Questions as to the social sanction of property rights, the influence of unequal taxation, the defects of human laws, the failures of justice, the tremendous leverage of political power and of

corporation trusteeship, are not once hinted at in this volume; a fact which must give pause to the acceptance as final ethical judgment of that which is merely abstract economic analysis.

Doubtless Professor Clark in his further work will blunt the edge of this criticism. It is easy for the critic to do injustice to such a book as this, which is professedly not the author's final word. In some cases, perhaps, the argument is not fully thought out, and it has not been possible entirely to evade a conflict between the older and the newer modes of thought. In some cases, the newer view has not been put in a way that is entirely clear. Frequently the failure must be in the critic who will insist on reading into the statements the views the author has discarded. All these difficulties are doubtless here. Certain it is, however, that this work is characterized by originality in the creation of new and serviceable concepts, by subtlety in the analysis of every proposition into its implications, and by creative power in its presentation systematically of views sure to influence, in a large measure, all future economic speculation and popular opinion. Time only can determine definitely the place it will occupy in the history of economic thought. But if, as has been declared, and is believed by many, it places its author in the same list with the six leading English economists, it can, with even more emphasis, be said to rank him as the ablest contributor to economic philosophy America has yet produced.

THE SPELLING OF ENGLISH

BRANDER MATTHEWS, *New York.*

When the invitations to the opening exercises of the beautiful Pan-American Exhibition at Buffalo were issued, more than one newspaper commented on the fact that the commission requested the *honour* of their guests' company,—whereas it is the almost universal usage of Americans to spell this word without the *u*; and the newspaper writers asked what might be the reason for this strange affectation on the part of the Buffalo gentlemen. This affectation, indeed, seemed doubly strange on the part of the managers of an American exhibition, since *honour* is recognized at once as an orthographic Britishism. Probably the commission had more important matters to consider than any question of spelling, and the anachronism—for such the insertion of the *u* in words ending in *or* cannot but seem to us who dwell on the western shore of the Atlantic—was due to the snobbishness of the engravers of the invitation. There are not a few Anglomaniacs scattered throughout the Eastern States; and it was probably one of these who set the silly example that the engravers have followed,—perhaps with an ignorant belief that a word gains dignity by needlessly increasing the number of its letters.

This and other British orthographic anachronisms have been increasingly visible in American books since the passage of the Copyright Act of 1891, not because we have any desire to aban-

don the various simplifications of spelling generally adopted in the United States, but because that act made it necessary for a book to be set up in type here, if it was to claim the protection of our courts. As many books were not worth the cost of double composition, the plates necessary for the American edition served also for the British, and were made to accord with the British notions of orthography rather than with the more advanced and more sensible American practice. But there are signs of progress even in England; and the new Oxford Dictionary (although retaining *honour*, oddly enough) has accepted the American *organize*, etc., instead of *organise*, which is to be found in Sturmonth's Dictionary.

At the midwinter meeting of the department of superintendence of the National Educational Association, it was moved that the Association make an appropriation to pay the expenses of a committee which should consider what means might now be taken to further the cause of "spelling-reform," so-called,—the simplification of the orthography of our language. After a thorough debate, the motion was lost by a narrow margin; many of those who voted against it being in favor of simplified spelling, but not wishing to see the Association appropriate its funds to this purpose, or not believing that the time was ripe for the movement. The debate brought out the gratifying fact that an immense majority of the leading educators of the United States are profoundly dissatisfied with the absurd orthography of our language. It brought out also the fact that these educators were too shrewd to seek to accomplish a sweeping reformation over-night. The discussion made it plain, first, that the need for improvement is imperative; and, second, that nothing is likely to be accomplished unless those in favor of an advance are willing to make haste slowly, and to be sure of each step before they venture on the next.

To understand how unfortunate for the cause of progress it is when its leaders miscalculate the popular inertia, and when they are therefore moved to demand more than seems reasonable to the people as a whole, we have only to consider the result of

the joint-action, in 1883, of the Philological Society of England and of the American Philological Association, in consequence of which certain rules were prepared to simplify our spelling. Here was a union of indisputable authorities in favor of an amended orthography; but unfortunately the changes suggested were both many and various. They were too various to please any but the most resolute reformers; and they were too numerous to be remembered readily by the great majority of every-day folk taking no particular interest in the subject. They included *theater*, *honor*, *advertize*, *catalog*; had they included nothing else, or had they included only a very few simplifications of the same character, these spellings might have won acceptance in the past score of years, even in England. The same authorities would now be in a position to make a few further suggestions equally easy to remember, with a fair hope that these would establish themselves in turn.

Owing to this attempt to do too much all at once, the joint-action of the two great philological organizations came to naught. Such effect as it had was indirect at best. It may have been the exciting cause of the so-called "Printers' Rules," which were approved and recommended by many of the leading typographers of the United States a few years later. These printers' rules were few and obvious. They suggested *catalog*, *program*, *epaulet*, *esthetic*, all of which have become more familiar of late. They suggested further *opposit*, *hypocrit*, etc., and also *fonograf*, *fonetic*, etc.; but these simplifications have not yet been adopted widely enough to prevent the words thus amended from seeming a little strange to those among us who have paid no special attention to the subject. Yet these uninterested outsiders are the very people who are to be converted. To them, and to them only, must all arguments be addressed. We may rest assured that we have slight chance of bringing over to our side any of those who have actually enlisted against us. We must not count on desertions from the enemy. The one thing we can do is to enroll the neutrals at every opportunity.

Probably the most important action yet taken in regard to our

orthography was that of the National Educational Association in formally adopting for use in all its official publications twelve simplified spellings,—*program*, *tho*, *altho*, *thoro*, *thorofare*, *thru*, *thruout*, *catalog*, *prolog*, *decalog*, *demagog*, *pedagog*. These simplified spellings were immediately adopted in the "Educational Review" and in other periodicals edited by members of the Association. They are very likely to appear with increasing frequency in the school-books that members may hereafter prepare; and any simplified spelling that once gets itself into a school-book is pretty sure to hold its own in the future. After an interval of ten or fifteen years, the National Educational Association will be in a position to consider the situation again; and it may then decide that these twelve words have established themselves in their new form sufficiently widely and firmly to make it probable that the Association could put forward another list of a dozen more simplified spellings with a reasonable certainty that they would also be accepted. And thus the good work would go on, gaining a little in every decade.

The United States government appointed a board to decide on a uniform orthography for geographical names; and the recommendations of this body were generally in the direction of increased simplicity,—*Bering* Straits, for example. The spellings thus officially adopted by the national government were at once accepted by the chief publishers of school text-books. And these makers of school-books also follow the rules formulated by a committee of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, appointed to bring about uniformity in the spelling and pronunciation of chemical terms. Among the rules formulated by the committee and adopted by the Association were two that dropped a terminal *e* from certain chemical terms that enter into more general use. Thus the men of science now write *oxid*, *iodid*, *chlorid*, etc., and *quinin*, *morphin*, *anilin*, etc., although the general public has not relinquished the earlier orthography, *oxide* and *quinine*. Even the word *toxin*, which came into being since the adoption of these rules by the associated scientists, is sometimes to be seen in newspapers as *toxine*.

Thus we see that there is progress all along the line; it may seem very slow, like that of a glacier, but it is as certain as it is irresistible. There is no call for any of us to be disheartened by the prospect. We may indeed each of us do what little we can severally toward hastening the result. We can form the habit of using in our daily writing such simplified spellings as will not seem affected or freakish, keeping ourselves always in the forefront of the movement, but never going very far in advance of the main body. We must not make a fad of orthographic amelioration, nor must we devote to it a disproportionate share of our activity,—since we know that there are other reforms as pressing and perhaps even more important. But we can hold ourselves ready always to lend a hand to help along the cause; and we can show our willingness always to stand up and be counted in its favor

THE POLITICAL PARTIES OF FRANCE

CH. SEIGNOBOS, *Paris.*

I. ORIGIN OF THE PARTIES.

The present division of the political parties in France, though it does not possess the venerable antiquity of the English division into Whigs and Tories, is nevertheless older than the American division into Democrats and Republicans: it is exactly of an age with the present electoral régime; it was founded in 1848, immediately after the establishment of universal suffrage.

The Constitutional National Assembly of 1848—the first French Assembly elected by direct universal suffrage—was, after this year, divided into two great masses, which, according to the unbroken tradition of the French Chambers, occupied in a permanent way the two sides of the hall. On the left, sat the “Republicans,” who wished to preserve the new form of government, the Republic, by putting it on the solid basis of democratic and lay institutions. On the right, sat the partisans of the older régimes, who desired to reestablish the exclusive rule of the *bourgeoisie* and the political influence of the clergy. They did not yet dare to claim the restoration of the monarchy. They limited themselves to demanding a movement of return in a more abstract form; they demanded a “reaction,” and from this arose their name, the “Reactionaries,”—a word, however, which was not yet used in its invidious signification. “Republicans” and “Reactionaries,” such were the essential divisions of the French parties, after 1848, and so are they divided now, if not in the technical lan-

guage of the Chambers, at least in the current speech and general sentiment of the great body of electors.

The same two parties appeared as rivals in the Legislative Assembly from 1849 to 1851; but this time the "Reactionaries," who had the majority, declared themselves openly as Royalists, and began their struggle against the Republican institutions, the liberty of the press and assembly, of the lay school, and of universal suffrage. The two parties were both overwhelmed by the *coup d'état* of 1851 and reduced to silence by the authority of the Empire; and when the political life began again, after 1860, they labored as allies for some time under the name of liberal opposition, in order that they might struggle together against the common enemy, the personal government of Napoleon III. But this coalition did not survive the fall of the Empire.

In the Republic reestablished by the Revolution of 1870 the division was again formed as in 1848. The Assembly elected in February, 1871, for the purpose of making peace, and which held power for five years, was divided into "Republicans" and "Conservatives"; the latter replacing the word "reactionary," which had become unpopular, and which their adversaries alone continued to apply to them. These two great parties struggled together for the very form itself of government, that preliminary question which took lead of all the others. It was a question of deciding whether France should remain a republic or become a monarchy once more. Each of the two parties was divided on other questions into groups that were organized under the form of parliamentary assemblies: the Conservatives into the Legitimist Extreme Right, a Right, and an Orleanist Centre Right; and all these together tried to restore the monarchy, in 1873, by recalling Henry the Fifth; and later the Imperialist group, the "Appel au peuple," joined them. The Republicans were divided into the Radical Extreme Left, which was Gambetta's group, the Left,—Grévy, Freycinet, and Loubet,—and the Centre Left, which was composed more especially of former Orleanists, who had rallied under the ensign of the Republic. This was the group of Thiers, Rémusat, de Marcère, and Jules Simon.

As soon as the régime established, in 1875, by the constitutional laws that are to-day in power began to act, the two Assemblies, the Senate and Chamber, were found to be divided into Republicans and Conservatives; the Republicans having this time a decided majority in the Chamber. This division was consolidated by the crisis of May 16, 1877. Since the Centre Right had made use of its influence over Marshal de MacMahon, then President of the Republic, in an effort to regain its power by having a new Chamber elected, the struggle was concentrated between two compact masses; on the Right, the candidates of the Marshal, who presented themselves as defenders of the social order under the name of Conservatives, and, on the Left, the Republican members of the Chamber that had been dissolved; the "363" candidates of the Republican party, with no distinction of groups. From this time on, the Conservatives gave up openly demanding a restoration of the monarchy, and the party name of Royalist ceased to appear in the electoral conflicts.

The definitive victory of the Republicans, in 1877, installed all the members of the Republican party in power; first the Centre Left, then, after 1879, the Left with Grévy, and the Extreme Left with Gambetta. Since then, the Republican party has always controlled an assured majority in the two Chambers (in the Senate, since 1882). But then a division began among the Republican groups which is still in existence, and which complicated the old clear-cut division between the Republicans and Conservatives by a subdivision of the Republican party. In the Chamber, elected in 1881,—in which the discouraged Conservatives formed only a feeble Right of about a hundred members,—the Republican union, Gambetta's group, in coalition with the Left, Grévy and Freycinet, controlled an unquestionable majority.

The greater part of the Republican party as thus constituted relinquished a part of the reforms demanded by Gambetta at the end of the Empire: the separation of the Church and the State, the election of the judges, and the income tax, which made up the Radical programme. Without condemning them in principle, it announced their postponement until a more "opportune"

moment should arrive. Then from the Republican body a new party was detached to the Left, which taking up the points of the old Radical programme abandoned by Gambetta, claimed the old name of Radical, and gave their Republican adversaries the surname of "Opportunists." The old Republicans were vexed with the opposition, and when they excluded the Radicals from all access to the ministry, the conflict of principles was aggravated by a struggle for the possession of the power. The Radicals came to open war with Gambetta, and then with Jules Ferry, a Republican cabinet chief, who was heard to declare that "the danger was on the Left."

This conflict between the Republicans, which coincided with the discontent over the expedition to Tonquin and with the disorganization brought on by the adoption of the "scrutin de liste,"¹ allowed the Conservatives to reorganize under the name of "Constitutional Opposition," and the Radicals to present their lists of candidates in opposition to the lists of the Republicans who were just going out of office. The elections of 1885 brought into the Chamber about 200 Conservatives and more than 150 Radicals; the old Republican party, reduced to about 250, had lost the majority.

Since that time no party has been large enough in itself to control a majority which would allow it to rule alone. Consequently, it was always necessary to choose between two tactics, either to group the two Republican divisions so as to govern in common against the Conservative party, which was called a Republican Concentration (concentration of the Left), or to ally one Republican division with the Right, in order to overthrow the other division and to govern with the help, or at least the toleration, of the Conservative party, which implied the abandonment of the struggle between the Conservatives and the clergy, which was called the "pacification," and later (in 1892) the "new spirit."

(1) An election in which each voter writes on his ballot as many names as there are candidates to be elected.

These two formulas sum up the two policies between which the French governments have hesitated and alternated for fifteen years. The first ministry of the "Republican Concentration" was formed by Brisson, in March, 1885, after the fall of Jules Ferry; the first effort at "pacification" was the Rourier ministry of 1887.

This conflict between the Government Republicans and the Radicals and the momentary coalitions of one Republican division with the opposite Conservatives caused a disturbance of the political life which led, in 1888-1889, to the great Boulanger crisis. The Radical party, then led by Clémenceau, had tried to make use of General Boulanger against the ministry: it thus paved the way for its own dissolution. This party was a mixture of anti-clerical Democrats and of militant Nationalists. These two elements, united only by their opposition to the "Opportunists," separated violently when Boulanger allied himself with the Conservatives and the clergy, and allowed the idea of an establishment of a personal, plebiscitary government to be seen.

The majority of the Radical party made common cause with the rest of the Republican party in order to resist the imperial attempt; the Nationalist contingent of Paris and the suburbs was formed into a National Revisionist party, and united with the Conservatives to destroy the "parliamentary Republic."

The Republican Concentration of 1889 repulsed the Revisionist assault, and in the Chamber elected, in September, 1889, controlled more than 360 votes against about 170 Conservatives and forty Revisionists. The Radical party preserved the three points of their programme: the revision of the Constitution, progressive income tax, and the separation of Church and State; but it was broken and weakened. The party of the "Government Republicans," which from this time had also been called the Moderate Republican party, controlled the majority almost in itself, and profited by this without abandoning the principle of the Republican Concentration to exercise the power almost alone, only limiting itself to yielding two or three ministries to the Radicals of their choice.

This peaceful legislature of 1889 to 1893 ended in the Panama scandals, which the Right raised up in order to use them for the elections, and which have turned out to the profit of their adversaries. At the same time, from the two extremes were detached two new parties: from the Conservative party a group of Catholics, who, at the command of the Pope, declared that they would rally to the Republicans, and so made of themselves a "constitutional group." For which reason they were called the "Ralliés"; and from the Radical party, a parliamentary Socialist party, which in the election of 1893 suddenly drew to itself a portion of Boulanger's followers, and elected fifty candidates.

The elections of 1893 marked a general movement towards the Left. The manœuvre ordered by the Pope had succeeded completely; the Conservative Right found itself reduced to about a hundred members, including thirty "Ralliés." The Radicals, on the contrary, numbered over 120, and, united with the Socialists, they formed a powerful Left. The moderate Republican party still remained the largest, but agitated by the Panama crisis and deprived of some of its chief men, it passed under the direction of a group of new leaders,—Cassimir Périer, Poincaré, Barthau, Lebon, Deschanel, and Dupuy, a former Radical. It soon tried to rid itself of the Republican Concentration in order to preserve an undivided rule, and began to demand the formation of "homogeneous ministries."

The crisis of the struggle against the Anarchists, in 1894, led, *à propos* of the laws of exception exacted by Dupuy, to a rupture between the two Republican divisions, which rendered necessary the experiment of a "homogeneous ministry." The first one was the L. Bourgeois ministry, which was made up of Radicals because the Moderates refused any part in it. It had the majority of the Senate against it, and was never sure of a majority in the Chamber. The last was that of the Méline ministry, formed of Moderates, which lasted more than two years (1896–98), but only by accepting the aid of the Conservatives. Its majority was broken by the elections of 1898, and it was necessary to return to the Concentration.

In the Chamber elected in May, 1898, the parties of the Left had gained ground : the Radicals, the Socialists, and the intermediary group of Radical-Socialists formed altogether a mass of nearly two hundred and fifty votes ; the Moderates, who had just been given the new name of Progressists, were reduced to 200, and the Right retained 100 votes.

To counterbalance the mass of the Left (with whom the little group of Nationalists was then joined), it was necessary to ally the Progressists with the whole Right, including the extreme Right, Imperialist and Royalist. This is what the Méline ministry endeavored to do ; it thus obtained Deschanel's election to the Presidency over Brisson, the candidate of the Left, by one vote, and, later, a vote of confidence, by 295 votes as against 270. But the close union of the Republicans with the extreme Right was too contrary to the traditions and sentiments of the country to be accepted by the Republican electors, and as soon as the question was openly set forth, the coalition was broken up by adding to the vote of confidence the clause that the government should be supported by an "exclusively Republican majority"; the coalition was parted asunder, and the Méline majority was thrown into a minority. The Brisson ministry, which succeeded it, lived only four months by the help of the Nationalists, and thanks to the vacations. The Dupuy ministry had returned to the "Republican Concentration," and the "Republican Defense," a variant from the Concentration, has, since 1899, been the principle of the Waldeck-Rousseau ministry, which is composed of members of all the Republican divisions.

But the Dreyfus affair provoked a crisis which disturbed the old group, and prepared a new classing of the parties. From the parties on the Left about thirty of the Nationalists separated themselves, and raised an opposition when the Republican Defense was constituted under a "Dreyfusard ministry."

But it was the Centre especially which was broken up ; the Progressist party was cut into two pieces. One, which remained under the direction of M. Méline, preserved the name and politics of the old party, but was reduced to a "Rump" of

little more than 100 members; the other, formed by dissenters, disbanded one by one, and without common direction, united with the groups of the Left in order to uphold the ministry.

The Right alone, having taken a stand wholly against the revision of the Dreyfus process, has preserved its former unity.

II. THE PRESENT STATE OF THE PARTIES.

The present state of the parties in France preserves traces of all these divisions, and the present grouping can only be explained by the crisis caused by the Dreyfus affair.

The fundamental division remains always that of the Republicans and Conservatives; but, for some years, a part of the Conservatives, giving up all hope of the restoration of the monarchy, have endeavored to draw near to the electors by declaring themselves partisans of the Republic, which takes away the exact meaning of the word "republican." Their adversaries, however, continue to call them Conservatives or "Reactionaries." (The title of "Royalist" has almost disappeared except in the mouth of the Republicans as a term of reproach; the Conservatives themselves no longer using it in the electoral struggles.) The whole of the Conservative deputies form hardly more than one sixth of the Chamber,—100 out of 581,—and about a tenth of the Senate,—30 out of 300. The proportion of the Conservative electors is certainly much stronger, but they are feebly organized, and are distributed over the territory in such a way that the French régime of the "scrutin uninominal"¹ and of the second poll,² puts them almost everywhere in a minority. This party, reduced to opposition for twenty-five years, has lost its inner divisions; the old groups, Legitimist, Orleanist, and Imperialist, are all blended together, at least in practice, although, on some occasions, one may distinguish the "Ralliés," who accept

(1) In the "scrutin uninominal," the elector puts but a single name on his ballot.

(2) It would be impossible for me to describe here the French régime in such a way as to make it intelligible to foreign readers.

the title of Republican while keeping the Conservative programme; and since they have claimed the "liberty" of the Church, they often term themselves "Liberal Republicans"; this term having become synonymous with Conservative, or occasionally with Centre Left.

The Republicans, who form the enormous majority of the two Chambers and of the electors are divided into several groups, in a continual gradation from the confines of the Right to the Extreme Left. The Senate, which moves more slowly, still preserves the old groups that were in existence twenty years ago: the Centre Left, Left, the Republican Union, and the Democratic Left,—the name assumed by the Radical party. In the Chamber, the "Moderate" party, since 1898 the "Progressists," has absorbed the old groups, the Centre Left, Left, and Republican Union; but it has grown weaker since 1899, at which time some dissenters rallied to the Republican ministry of the Defense. Its members have continued to sit in the Centre, where their applause is generally mentioned in company with that of the Right in the reports, ("applause from Right and Centre"); but this Centre no longer makes up a complete Centre Right in the whole of the votes; and even united to the Right, it does not represent two fifths of the sum total.

The Left, without counting the dissenters from the Moderate party, begins with the "Progressist Union," a little group that was in existence before the transformation of the Moderates into Progressists, and comprises the Radical group, which is officially called the Democratic Left, the Radical Socialist group, and the Socialist group which forms the Extreme Left. Outside of this graduated series, there is the little group of Nationalists formed from the débris of every party. It is scarcely anything, we may add, but the old Revisionist, Boulangist party come back to life—thanks to the Dreyfus affair.

It is very difficult to indicate the force of each of these Republican groups in the Chamber: all the deputies are not inscribed in one group; some may belong to two at once. The organiza-

tion of the French parties, even in the Chambers, is so feeble, and the passage from one party to another so graduated by series of intermediary shadings, that it would be impossible to express their numerical proportions by exact numbers, as may be done for the parties in England, the United States, or Belgium. The only exact information is furnished by the votes of the deputies on questions which set the opposing parties at sword's point. According to the two "votes" of June, 1898, on the order of the day which brought about the downfall of the Méline ministry, I should estimate at the beginning of the legislature about 200 "Moderates" (Progressists) at the maximum; the Progressist Union, the Radicals, and the Radical-Socialists at about 200, at the lowest (it is hardly possible to estimate exactly the part of each of these groups which voted together upon these questions); the Socialists, more than forty, and the Nationalists about thirty. In the recent "vote" on the law of associations, the Progressists were divided into two sections, but the number of dissenters has varied from one vote to the other; on the entire law it surpassed fifty.

As to the number of *electors* in each party, it is quite impossible to obtain an exact knowledge. The statistics published by the papers are compiled by adding the number of votes obtained by all the candidates under the party names attributed to each one. This proceeding contains two sources of error. In the electoral districts, which are sufficiently numerous, where a single candidate presents himself, the number of votes attributed to this candidate alone gives a false idea of the proportion of the parties; and in the still more numerous electoral districts, where there is only one Republican and one Conservative in competition, it is impossible to recognize the parts of the different Republican groups. The totals obtained by these additions are consequently valueless; they give an exaggerated idea of the strength of the Moderate party, in which are counted the votes of the candidates who have presented themselves with the single title of "Republican."

No one of these groups is ever large enough to constitute of

itself a majority in the Chamber: the majority necessary to govern is constituted by the uniting of several groups. It is the fashion to combine the groups on which the character of the majority in power depends, and consequently there arises the peculiar aspect of all French politics. The Méline ministry combined all the groups of the Right, which obliged it to give a Right coloring to its politics by means of a contest with the Conservatives and the clergy. The Waldeck-Rousseau ministry has united all the groups of the Left, even the Socialists, and the entrance of Socialists into the ministry is the distinguishing mark between the "Republican Defense" and the old "Republican Concentration." Its politics had consisted in manipulating the Socialist workers and the Democratic functionaries, and in attacking the Royalists by the process of the "Haute Cour" and the clerical orders by the law of associations.

Two coalitions are thus in competition. On one side of the ministry of the Republican Defense, are all the groups of the Left, and nearly half of the Progressist party, forming a mass of from 320 to 340 deputies,—all Republicans but of differing shades, from the Socialists of the Extreme Left to the middle of the Progressist Centre; and, on the opposing side, the whole of the Conservative party, the majority of the old Republican party, Moderates and Opportunists, and the little Nationalist party, which is always in opposition.

III. PROGRAMMES AND TENDENCIES.

The character of the French parties differs very materially from that of the American or English parties; it deviates widely from the conception that the theorists of public rights have formed for themselves of a political party, according to English and American models. Consequently, it is not astonishing that the French parties are a puzzle to foreign observers, and appear to them like a monstrous vagary,—an impression very clearly shown in the works of Bodley and Lowell.

In the English countries every party is made up with a definite official programme, common to the whole party. In France, there

is no exact equivalent to the American *platform*; the word "programme" means ordinarily the "profession" of the political belief of each individual candidate. Each one presents himself with his own personal declaration, and there is no general declaration made in the name of the party. They have gathered up the individual professions of belief of those elected to the legislature, and have pompously called them electoral "cahiers," in memory of the "cahiers" of the "Etats généraux" of 1789. But from all this gathering up of personal programmes, they do not arrive at any general party programme; the greater part consist only of vague formulas that contain no distinct pledge. Often two deputies who belong to the same group speak a very different language according to the sentiments or customs of their electors. Even the same deputy will change his speech from one ballot to another, according to the allies of which he feels the need. Consequently, there can be no question here of offering an exposition of the programmes of the French parties.

To be sure, there have arisen several occasions on which the notable men of one party have been led to formulate their political views, or at least, their views for the time being; and these formulas, often reproduced by the candidates for the same party, may be regarded as programmes in embryo. But, when we come to look at them more closely, we perceive that they do not afford any precise indications as to the line of conduct for the party. It will be sufficient to show this by briefly reviewing them.

The Conservatives have inscribed in their profession of belief neither the restoration of the monarchy nor, as in 1848, the "reaction," the return to the former régime. They only formulate negative propositions,—the abolition of the academic and military laws, (this was the formula of 1879, to-day somewhat demolished,) the lessening of expenses, and war to the end with the "Panamists" and with the freemasons. The "Ralliés" insist upon "liberty of teaching," that is, schools conducted by the clergy. They have begun to invoke the principles of 1789, and a Catholic committee has been founded bearing the motto, "Justice, Egalité."

The Moderates, Progressists, have exhausted their programmes of positive political reforms, and now they merely propose measures for material amelioration,—agricultural and industrial protectionism especially. Their most usual formula is, “Neither revolution, nor reaction” which implies a purely defensive and conservative political programme.

The Radicals had selected three formulas from Gambetta’s old programme, the revision of the constitution, the separation of Church and State, and the progressive income tax. The revision of the constitution was compromised as soon as the Revisionists, Boulangists, began to use it as a weapon against the representative régime. The separation of Church and State—that is, the repeal of the “concordat” of Napoleon—lost its charm when the domination of the Church passed over to religious bodies which the repeal of the “concordat” would not reach. As for the remaining formula, the income tax, the L. Bourgeois ministry had the principle involved in it voted upon in the Chamber of 1895, but carried it by only a small majority, and it was evident that there was no chance of having it adopted by the two Chambers.¹ The Radical measures that were abandoned, or rather postponed, have been replaced by the plans of the law for association and retreats for the working-men.

The Radical programme having thus become anæmic, the Radical-Socialists have tried to strengthen it with some of the social reforms of the Socialist programme (the workingman’s legislation and reduction of taxes on the means of subsistence), which differ according to the districts, and do not form a coherent whole. They call for the reduction of the military service to two years, or even one; but this is demanded by many of the Radicals, also, and indeed, it is often practically impossible to distinguish between a Radical-Socialist and a Radical.

(1) They limited themselves to adopting the principle of progression (or degression) for the tax on inheritances, a reform under consideration since 1895 and accepted by part of the Moderates.

The Socialist party, since it is organized after the models of the foreign Socialist parties, has adopted a common formula, which is voted upon by its Congresses, and is obligatory upon all deputies who claim to be of the party: it is "the organization of the proletariat into the party class, the aim of which is to obtain control of all public forces and functions, and the socialization of the means of production." But it is more a declaration of principles than a programme for political action; it has not put an end to the already old divisions between the Socialists, which date from the rupture of 1882; and, in spite of the decisions of two Congresses and the creation of a common "general committee," the "Parti ouvrier français," the P. O. F. of Guesde, continues to quarrel violently with the other Socialist groups upon the interpretation of the common formula.

The Nationalist party has hardly any other programme than "Vive l'armée!"; some of its members are openly plebiscitarian and Revisionist; they demand the destruction of the "Parliamentary Republic" by a revision, or even a plebiscitum; some of them talk of a *referendum* also.

As for the Anti-Semites, in spite of the noise they have made in the papers, they have never formed a party, and with the exception of the four deputies elected in Algeria as the outcome of the Anti-Jewish riots, only the Conservative or Nationalist deputies have added to their political titles the name of Anti-Semite. They have never had any other programme than "Death to the Jews." The little group of the "National Defense," consisting of about fifteen Conservatives, after a great number of militarist manifestations, would seem to be broken up.

In France the parties have no programmes in a strict sense; no precise formula that defines their politics and their demands. They have sentiments, passions, if you prefer it so, and general tendencies which suffice to classify the politicians and those who elect them. Politics in France is purely an "affaire de sentiment": the elector votes for the candidate whose political feelings approach most nearly to his own; he is guided by the sympathies and antipathies manifested by the candidates, and by the personal

relations which they entertain towards the people of one or the other party in each locality. This criterion allows the French countrymen to know the representative of their personal sentiments in so sure a way that they can rarely be deceived. The elector, when he sees a candidate arrive whose opinions are not clearly known to him, does not stop at the party appellation that the unknown parades, but he observes what people patronize him, and what company he keeps; and the elector soon knows to which side he belongs.

French politics are directed not by parties, but by tendencies, and those who desire to understand them must give heed, not to the programmes of the candidates, but to the sentiments of the electoral masses. These are the combined tendencies which I shall try to enumerate.

The Conservative and Catholic tendency, to which all the parties of the Right respond, is the desire to maintain the old ways of thinking, the influence of the large proprietors and the higher middle-class, and the power of the Catholic clergy over the family and upon all teaching. It is hostile to the form of the Republic, or at least to the new democratic institutions; but it does not dare to question universal suffrage and political equality; it is being concentrated more and more upon the defense of the power of the Church.

The tendency towards the maintenance of the established institutions and of the present equilibrium between the social forces leads the way to the postponement of political reforms and to the demand for a "*politique d'affaires*," without future plans and without the struggle which would be sure to run the risk of alarming general interests and diminishing business. This tendency, ordinarily associated with the protectionist policy, has been the strength of the Moderate Republicans. But it has been opposed by the offensive artifice which the Catholic Conservative party has worked by the aid of the Nationalist sentiment, and which has forced the Moderates to choose between two lines of conduct both irreconcilable with their general tendency,—either to unite with the other Republican

parties for a policy of conflict against the Conservatives, or to break with a greater part of the Republican party by forming an alliance with the constant enemies of the Republic. This explains the breaking up of the Progressist party.

The democratic and anti-clerical tendency from which have issued all the parties of the Left, including the Socialists, is manifested by a distrust directed against the large proprietors and large manufacturers and by hatred of the religious congregations. The French Democrat detests the "gouvernement des curés" and the influence of the higher middle class. The positive demands vary greatly according to the interests and the more or less "advanced" state of each district. In general they demand hardly anything more than the reduction of the military service and the taxes which bear down upon the peasants and the workmen. The Socialists alone clearly demand great economic reforms and the establishment of a militia according to the Swiss model.

The imperial and military tendency, which gave birth to the Revisionist and Nationalist parties, is characterized by hatred of the representative régime and of government by discussion. They desire, like Napoleon I., "to cut out the tongues of the lawyers." To this is joined the hatred of the "Panamists" and of the financiers,—the ancient anger of the seventeenth century against the farmers of the revenue ("traitants"),—which, combining with their hatred for foreigners, has resulted in the Anti-Semite passion.

All these tendencies, strong enough to group the electors in large hostile masses, have neither precise limits nor fixed outlines. Consequently there arises the indecisive and fluctuating aspect of the political parties. The boundary lines of each party remain always vaguely distinguished between two neighboring groups formed on two analogous tendencies. How, then, can we establish a clear cut distinction between a Conservative and a "Rallié," between a Centre Left and a Progressist, between a Radical and a Radical-Socialist, and even between a dissenting Progressist and a Radical?

This is why the power cannot pass alternately, as in England and the United States, from the party on one side over to the party in opposition. This alternation, this game of see-saw between two opposing parties, which certain theorists have declared to be the indispensable condition of every parliamentary régime, does not exist, and has never existed in France. The reason why is simple. If the party of the Right, hostile to the Republic, came into power, the temptation would be too strong for them to maintain themselves there by establishing an autocratic government, which would put an end to the parliamentary régime, as in 1851. The electors are conscious of this tendency of the Conservatives, and will not run the risk of entrusting the Republic to them. When they are discontented with the Republicans in power, they vote for other Republicans. Thus, new Republican groups are being ceaselessly formed, while the old ones fall to pieces. The political history of France since the beginning of the Republic presents, instead of an alternation between two parties of opposing programmes, like those of Belgium or England, a continual evolution along one line, the constant growth of the strength of parties which represent the democratic, anti-clerical tendency. Even the very names of the old groups bear witness to the truth of this movement. The Centre Left of 1875 is now next to the hundred deputies who occupy the Extreme Right, and of which the most extreme belong to the old "Centre Right"; the Extreme Left of 1885, the Radical group, is to be found to-day in the Centre Left, and the Extreme Left of 1877, Gambetta's group, has been forced back to the Centre Right.

IV. RECRUITING.

In order to understand the real nature of the French parties, it is necessary to know in what regions and in what social classes each one is recruited. Foreigners, accustomed to see France in Paris only, are inclined to imagine the French electors as impressionable and unsteady, always ready to change their party and to overthrow their government. "The French nation" said some

one, "is unstable," it is the French temperament," and many times they have called it the "Celtic" or "Gallic" temperament. This ethnical and historical psychology furnishes a convenient explanation for the revolutions of the nineteenth century and the frequent changes of the ministry. This interpretation appears to be that of the French Conservatives also; their persistence, after so many grave checks, in ceaselessly renewing an effort that is always frustrated, implies that they hope for a sudden change in the sentiments of the people.

A limited comparison as to the general results of two successive elections, especially since 1893, might give, it is true, the impression of a sudden transformation. This illusion arises from two causes. First, in many vicinities the forces of the two opposing parties are almost equal, for a displacement of a few hundred votes is sufficient to change the majority and to replace a Conservative by a Radical or a Socialist. Two very stable forces that are acting in opposition may produce an unstable equilibrium. Second, the same constituency will elect twice in succession the same deputy, or two candidates of the same tendency, who belong to two different Republican divisions: a Rallié will be termed a Progressist, a Progressist will become a Radical, and a Radical will be entitled a Radical-Socialist.

The detailed examination of the number of votes in each electoral district, and the comparison of the ballots at different times show, on the contrary, the stability of opinions, or at least of votes, in the greater part of France. In a majority of the electoral districts, the number of electors of each party is stable, and changes but very slowly. The large mass of electors always vote for candidates of the same tendency. The transformation—which is undeniable—is produced much less by change of political affiliation on the part of the old electors than by the entrance of new generations into the electoral body. It

(1) This is what was said of the English at the end of the seventeenth century, after a century of revolutions. At that time, one boasted of the constancy of the French in their attachment to their king.

is the continued renewing of the men which entails the renewing of the parties; that is why the change is slow and continuous.

Each party recruits its partisans not, as it would seem at first, at the haphazard of individual preferences, but according to the social conditions and the regions from which they are sent.

The Conservative party comprises the nobility and the rich *bourgeoisie*,—large proprietors, manufacturers, and high officials with their servants, their employés, their tenants, and a part of their purveyors; it comprises also all the clergy, priests, monks, institutions under clerical control and the people who are dependent on them; it is the party of the old social forces and of their clients.

The Democratic parties are recruited among the workingmen of the large manufactories,—miners, small landed proprietors, vinedressers, lay preceptors, small functionaries, and the railroad employés,—who are all naturally Radical Democrats, and who are more or less Socialist according as they have been reached by the Socialist propaganda.

The middle *bourgeoisie*, doctors, advocates, lawyers, and officials, who are very powerful on account of their influence with the peasantry, have, until now, been the strength of the Moderate party, to which they bring the mass of electors who are without personal opinions. Since the breaking up of this party, the greater number seem inclined towards the Conservatives, and towards the clergy to whom the *bourgeoisie* is becoming more and more accustomed to entrust the education of its sons. The physicians, formerly the most determined partisans of anti-clerical politics, are losing their interest in public affairs, or even go with their Conservative patients.

The small commercial men, accustomed until now to voting for Democratic parties, are beginning to turn towards the Anti-Semite Nationalists through hatred of their Jewish competitors and fear of the coöperative Socialists; but this movement has as yet produced evident results only in Paris and in the surrounding country.

The direct action of the administration has been weakened

more and more since the end of the Empire. The prefects and sub-prefects have lost almost all influence even over the peasantry, since the mayors are elected by the municipal councils. The officials do not form a body, and do not take the word of order from their superiors, who, moreover, endeavor most often to remain neutral. Except perhaps in the districts of great political indifference (in the Southwest) the administration can change only a very small number of votes.

Venality is wholly exceptional, whatever may be written to the contrary by the *littérateur*, who is accustomed to taking striking exceptions as types. There are not in all France more than twenty electoral districts in which the election is carried by money. I could point them out one by one. They are in the environs of Paris, in the country places of the Pyrenees and of the Alps, and in the Centre. It is true that the Conservative candidates often believe themselves obliged to incur large expenses, but the electors, even when they profit by them, continue to vote according to their opinions. Money holds very little place in the electoral life of France.

The division of the parties is still more according to the region than it is social. For the last half century, and still more since 1876, the East and Southeast, districts of small holdings and anti-clerical sentiment, are Republican and Democratic. From Ardennes to the Mediterranean stretches the region which has always furnished the solid mass of the Republican party to the Chamber, and which continues to furnish the very heart of the Democratic parties. It is there that political passions have been, and still are, the keenest and most active. Only a small part, Lorraine, has, during these last years, followed the personal evolution of M. Méline towards the Right, and begins to go over toward the Nationalist-Conservative party. It is one of the frontier countries that live in part by supplying the army, and where the Alsatian Jews, who emigrate in vast numbers into the villages, have excited a violent Anti-Semite reaction.

The Centre, which was once almost equally divided, has gone over well-nigh entirely to the Republican party, and is beginning

to become Radical in great part. It is a region of small holdings with a democratic tendency; and in which popular instruction, formerly far less advanced than in the East, has spread since the institution of primary instruction. It is thickly sown with mining and industrial centres, which have nearly all rapidly become Socialist.

The West and the North, still Conservative in the elections of 1885, have been overcome in great part by the Republicans, especially the Moderates. The North, with its Catholic *bourgeoisie* analogous to that of Belgium, and with its peasants, who are indifferent to political life, has gone over slowly to the Progressist party. The industrial centres went over *en masse* to Socialism, and the equilibrium, very nearly perfect at the elections of 1898 between Catholic and Socialist, appears to be on the point of being destroyed. The West, especially the region of the lower Loire and Bretagne, rural districts that remain under the direction of the clergy and, in some parts, even under the domination of the nobles, is the fortress of the Conservative parties, who keep there a most impregnable majority.

Normandy presents a political phenomenon that is unique in France: it is the only really conservative country among those in which the clergy has no political influence; it is the only one which elects deputies for the Right; the only one in which the peasant wishes to be represented by rich men.

Until now the Southwest has been politically the most indifferent region: the population, sceptical and mocking, as it is, feels but little enthusiasm over electoral struggles. By preference it goes on the side of the official powers; it votes willingly for the candidates of the government. Conservative under the Conservative ministries, it went over to the Moderate Republicans when they were in power, and at present appears to incline towards the candidates of the Republican Defense. But this tendency toward the government is counterbalanced in many regions by the local influence of the large landed proprietors, who are always Conservative. Charente, the region that is especially noted for the production of cognac, has for a long time remained

an imperialist centre, and has only recently and partially rallied to the Republic.

Paris and its environs form a political world of their own, more unstable and more complex than any other, a world in which all the parties wrangle over the voters, and where fleeting coalitions are formed among opposing opinions. The general tendency is to prefer candidates who are hostile to the government, whatever this may happen to be at the time. They voted for the Radicals so long as they were the opposing party; they abandoned them in 1889 for the Boulangists, and at present for the Nationalists and Socialists. Even in Paris, the division of the parties is topographical; the whole western part,—the Faubourg St. Germain, Champs Elysées, Chaussée d'Autin, and Passy, inhabited by the rich and idle classes,—is entirely Conservative. The working quarters of the east and south are Socialist with a few Nationalist infiltrations. The centre, the old Paris, the region of small commerce, was Radical until the time when, through hatred of the Jews, it became Nationalist. The suburbs, which, in 1889, were almost entirely Revisionist, are now dominated by Socialism.

By passing over exceptions, we may sum up as follows the geographical distribution of the parties. The Democratic parties have the East, South, nearly all the Centre, and more than half of Paris; the Socialists find their recruits especially among the industrial centres of Paris, of the Centre, and of the North, and in the agricultural regions of Languedoc and Provence, where the peasants like to have representatives of the Extreme Left. The country and the small towns elect Radicals and Radical-Socialists. The conservative parties are recruited in Normandy, in the western quarters of Paris, and in all the regions where the clergy have influence over the peasants,—the lower Loire, Bretagne, the North, the mountains (central portion of the Alps and Pyrenees), and a few parts of the Southwest. Except for Normandy, the Conservative party is scarcely anything but a Catholic party; the whole of its electoral force being in the clergy. The Moderate Republicans, in 1897, had still the majority of

the Republican electors; but the party has been gnawed at, as it were, on both sides; on the Left by the Democratic parties which carry the East, the South, and the North, and on the Right by the Catholic Nationalist coalition which drives it out of Lorraine and Bretagne, and since 1898 it has disintegrated rapidly. The Nationalists are recruited almost solely in Paris and the environs. They have now gained the Anti-Semite parties of Lorraine, but they have never infringed upon the Democratic districts of the East and South.

V. INTERNATIONAL POLITICS.

If this article were addressed solely to a French public, no one would expect to see mentioned here the international politics of the different parties; for the French know very well that no party in France has any international politics. But it may be as well to dissipate any illusions in the minds of the Americans and English which may have been produced there by the reading of French newspapers as well as by the memories of former events.

Foreign politics holds only a very small place both in the candidate's political profession of faith and in the discussions of the Chambers. The candidates are limited, as a rule, to declaring themselves advocates of peace, and when a question of foreign politics comes up before the Chamber, the minister of foreign affairs, whoever he may be, reads a declaration which he has prepared beforehand, and descends from the platform amid the applause of all the parties except, perhaps, a few Nationalists. There is never any real discussion.

The international politics of France in Europe has rested for ten years upon the "Franco-Russian" alliance. The people imagine that this "rapprochement" with the Russian government has raised France a round higher in the world, and put her out of the reach of the attacks of the Triple Alliance. They are thus delivered from the phantom of war. No party has any interest in discussing this article of faith. The Franco-Russian alliance is a purely negative programme, but it corresponds exactly to the actual ideal of a great majority of the people.

The foreign politics of a mass of electors, peasants, and workmen, is contained in just one article,—peace, peace in any case—no war in Europe! All the parties know this, and conduct themselves accordingly. To declare for war would be political suicide; any deputy who should vote for war would be almost sure of not being reëlected. The breaking up of the Imperialist party after 1870 and the monarchist election of 1871 after Gambetta's bellicose declarations were sufficient lessons. A party suspected of desiring war is a lost party. The faint menace of a war with Italy was enough to compromise the Catholic Conservatives, and one of the strongest electoral arguments against Boulanger was his vaguely warlike turn of mind. The Nationalists themselves have been obliged to declare against war, and Déroulède has just officially renounced his "guerre de revanche." Peace in Europe is the one programme common to all parties.

Outside of Europe, international politics are even less distinct. Not that any party declares itself openly for any belligerent enterprise; all expeditions, even those of the colonies, are unpopular in the country. But a far-off war carried on by a small special army causes no direct suffering to the electors. The government if they allow it, can have it carried on by the officers, on condition that they take pains to declare that it was not desired in any way, and that they were drawn into it in spite of themselves to defend the honor of the flag. The Chamber, if it possesses a sure majority, will vote the necessary credit for it, but it is a dangerous game. Jules Ferry lost his political situation by it. The conduct of the government in colonial matters depends, consequently, upon the personal character of the ministers, not on the will of the parties. The parties have no more of a colonial programme than they have a programme of European politics. At the most, it seems that the Moderate Republicans have a tendency to interest themselves in the colonial empire of France, in order, as their adversaries say, to turn aside public attention from interior politics—while all the Democratic parties are resolutely hostile to any new enterprise.

In matters of commerce, the international politics of France may be designated as that of a general infatuation with the protective régime. The present system of high tariff, which is ever liable to modification at the discretion of the Chambers, since the abandonment of the treaties of commerce, has been the work of a "trust" formed by the masters of the textile manufactories of the Vosges, of Normandy, and of the North, of which M. Méline has been only the ostensible agent. But the merchants have carried with them all the agricultural electors, who are eager for protective rights on grain, cattle, pork, and even wines. Protectionism has been the most popular article on the programme of the Progressist deputies, and the Radicals dare not openly combat it. The Conservatives have always been ardent protectionists; the Nationalists never lose an opportunity to denounce "foreign competition." The Democratic parties have a theoretical preference for free exchange. But this "protection of industry and national agriculture" remains a dogma that is obligatory upon all parties who stand in need of agricultural electors. The Socialists alone combat the "Mélinist régime," the politics of "expensive bread" which is at the cost of the workers; but they do not combat it energetically, because at bottom the question does not possess any very strong interest for their constituents.

Peace in Europe, neutrality, hands off, strictly practical questions, the fewest possible enterprises outside of Europe, all commercial relations kept within the limits of a strongly protective régime,—these are the international politics of all the French parties, a politics essentially negative and passive.

Thus there remains no other international activity than the manifestations of sympathy or antipathy for foreign governments or peoples. This is rarely shown in the Chambers, and more often in public places, and in the newspapers especially. The crowds of writers, who feel perfectly safe in doing so, give all the more violent expression to their feelings from the fact that they have no fear of producing any practical results. But these sentiments do not constitute the politics of a party; they merely mark the tendencies.

The Nationalists make a profession of especially hating the English, the Italians, and the Germans; and are very bitter towards all the other foreign nations with the exception of Russia. Among the other parties, the Catholic Conservatives are the ones who manifest the most numerous antipathies; they detest all the people of the North as Protestants and the Italians as enemies of temporal power, and despise the Americans and the Swiss as democrats. They have no sympathy except for the absolutist or Catholic government, and during the war between Spain and the United States, they were violently hostile toward the Americans. The Democratic parties, on the contrary, are the most disposed to sentiments of international sympathy and to good will toward the peoples, if not toward their governments. The French Socialists fraternize with the Socialist parties of all the other countries; the Radicals have maintained friendly relations with the Italians and the anti-clerical Spaniards, and are well disposed toward the peoples of the smaller countries. The Moderates have dallied between the Republican tradition of humanitarian fraternity and the national egoism developed by the protectionist system.

Still, their sympathies, like their antipathies, have no practical bearing. The French, like nearly all the other great nations of to-day, are only interested in their own affairs, and are wholly uninformed as to those that have to do with foreigners. This ignorance is furthered by their newspapers, which, knowing the indifference of their public, prefer to say nothing to them which may get them into trouble with the governments.¹ International politics in the French press, forsaken by the Moderate parties, is consequently reduced to articles that have a tendency to excite, and to expressions of hatred against foreign peoples, published by the Nationalist or Catholic newspapers,—“*Echo de Paris*,” “*Gaulois*,” “*Patrie*,” “*Intransigeant*.” The foreign correspondents who cut out these puerilities and telegraph them

(1) In these latter days, the “*Petite République*” has made a praiseworthy effort to instruct its public, but from a Socialist standpoint.

to their respective countries are playing a very sorry rôle; for they preserve hatreds and fears needlessly, and they give very poor information also, for they deceive their readers as to the condition of political opinion in France.

MUSIC IN THE CHURCH

LOUIS C. ELSON, *Boston.*

The ancient Hebrew and the Christian Churches were the chief factors in giving music a prominent position in divine worship, the latter following the former in the matter. Ancient Egypt was extremely sparing of music in her ecclesiastical ceremonies ; and the religious rites of Imperial Rome were notable rather for the playing of various wind-instruments, too often mistranslated as "flutes," than for advanced combinations with good musical effects.

From its very beginning, the Christian Church made music its handmaid. The earliest music that can be traced in its worship was a free improvisation, borrowed from the Greek Skolion. This latter was always in evidence at ancient Athenian banquets, and was a spontaneous outburst in praise of love, or wine, or the host, or any subject connected with the feasting and merrymaking. In their gatherings in Rome, even in the first century, the Christian converts employed a similar music ; but, as they were far less educated in art than the older Greek banqueters, they often borrowed from the pagan Romans the tunes to which they set their roughly enthusiastic poems ; only melodies that had been contaminated by use in the theatres or in the temples were excluded.

The singing above described generally took place at the evening meal, which was thereby elevated into a religious service, and these "Agapæ," as they were called, find their modern counter-

part in the "love-feasts" of the Methodist Church of the present. The music was in direct touch with the Scriptures, for Clemens Romanus, contemporary of St. Paul, states that the twenty-third Psalm was most frequently chanted. Exodus XV. and Daniel III. were favorite themes among the different Scriptural subjects selected. Extemporaneous praise of the new religion, of martyrdom, or of sanctity was sometimes added to the excerpts from the Holy Writings.

This free, though very expressive, school of singing came to an end with the establishment of a Liturgy; it is very probable, however, that some of the best effusions of the Agapæ were preserved, and even admitted into the regular service of later times. These fervid songs of earliest Christianity were unaccompanied, for it would have been very difficult for any one to follow the singer in his untrammelled chant. Many of the early Christians (chiefly of the humbler walks of life) were unable to play the instruments, and these also had been too freely used in theatre and pagan service to make them welcome at any Christian ceremony. "They convene at stated hours, before sunrise, and sing, each in turn, praise of Christ as of a god," says Pliny the Younger in describing the musical service of the Christians of his time.

But congregational singing very soon took the place of the solo work, and the earliest ritual of the Church seems to have dwelt more upon the efforts of the chorus than on the work of a choir. St. John Chrysostom describes this chorus work in unmistakable terms:—

"The psalms which we sing unite all the voices in one, and the canticles arise harmoniously in unison. Young and old, rich and poor, women and men, slaves and citizens,—all of us have formed one melody together."

The contest between the paid and the voluntary singing was not far off; but before we examine the later development, it may be well to add to the above data the following facts culled from the Fathers of the Church. St. John Chrysostom assigns the introduction of the first hymns to the Apostles themselves;

Eusebius states that St. Mark taught the early Egyptian Christians to chant their service; Tertullian says that the chants in Rome (probably in the second century) were given in a grave and deep tone, and that there was a contrast of style in singing in the different parts of the service. To be deprived of the right of joining in the singing was one of the punishments that the early backsliders of the Church felt deeply mortified at receiving.

As early as A. D. 320, Pope Sylvester I. founded a school for the training of church singers at Rome, and, in the year 350, Pope Hilary combined religious music and charity by causing the male orphans under his charge to be trained in ecclesiastical music.

The greatest compliment that could be paid to the musical training described above was given a dozen years later by Julian the Apostate (about A. D. 362), when he endeavored to found similar schools to train the Roman youth to offer music in the service of the pagan gods. His letter, No. 56, shows plainly how much he appreciated the value of the Christian music at this time, and his effort to establish, for the purposes of worship, a school of singing at Alexandria would have given a new beauty to the temple services of the gods but for his death soon after the initiation of the project.

Since we are not writing history, we may pass rapidly over the conflict that soon followed between the cultivated solo singers and the less musically adept members of the congregations; suffice it to say that the educated singers abused their privileges so greatly that the chanting systems of St. Ambrose, *circa* A. D. 374, and of St. Gregory, A. D. 599, were evolved to check their unseasonable display of vocal virtuosity. We need not dwell upon the fact that the Synod of Antioch, in 379, abolished the custom of allowing women to join in the singing, and that the Council of Laodicea, in 481, prohibited any but the clerks (*Canonicos Cantores*) from lifting their voices in the church music.

We find the folk-song reasserting its rights in sacred music when the art of counterpoint was freely launched into church use by the old Flemish composers, and in the fifteenth century it was a constant custom for the composer to take some familiar

folk-song as the core of his Mass, giving the melody to the tenor voice and wreathing counterpoint around it in the other parts. This practice even grew into a sort of challenge and gage of defiance; for other composers would take the same melody and work it over in more and more intricate fashion, until the "Flemish tricks" became a notorious part of sacred music, and all thought of fitness and of reverence was lost. In such rivalry, the song of "L'Homme armé" was set by Catholic composers some hundred times, culminating with a version by the great Palestrina himself.

Luther employed the folk-song in a purer and more fitting fashion. As he wished all of his congregation to sing, he chose many a popular song to lead them into the fields of music. He is known to have answered the objectors to this method with, "I do not see why the devil should be allowed to have all the good tunes!" A pregnant lesson can be drawn by some of the latter-day "popular" hymn composers from the title of one of the hymn collections approved by the great reformer. It runs, "Soldiers', Sailors' and Miners' Songs, and other Street-songs altered to the Service of God." It is in the "altered to the service of God" that the true point of Luther's music must be sought. The "altering" consisted in fitting the most dignified counterpoint to the folk-melodies.

In spite of the fact that many of the Protestant clergy persist in ascribing the beginning of congregational singing to Luther, the citations given above prove that the early Church used this mode of musical worship, and, in spite of the decrees of Antioch and Laodicea, the laity among the Catholics of Germany, even during the Lutheran epoch, had become thoroughly used to singing together in divine service, and were even encouraged to do so by the priests, who introduced "Marienlieder"—songs in praise of Mary—into the ritual. But it was Luther who first saw the possibilities of church music, and, if we dwell upon his work with some detail, it is because this devout musician may be in some degree a model for the church of the present.

Luther fully recognized the artistic music of the Catholic

Church; he had been made fully familiar with its worth as a choir-boy in Eisenach. In 1526 the great reformer seems to have intended the perpetuation of the mass itself. "Let the Latin mass," he writes, "be used by the young, so that the language in which so much good music is found shall not be strange to our youth."

Later, however, he endeavored to incorporate into the ritual a musical service very like the Mass, but to be sung in German. The Kyrie became "Gott sei uns gnädig"; the Gloria,—*"Allein Gott in der Höh' sei Ehr"*; the Credo,—*"Wir glauben all' an einen Gott"*; the Benedictus,—*"Gott sei gelobet und benedeiet"*; the Agnus Dei,—*"O Lamm Gottes, unschuldig."*

Although a service of the above numbers could be sung by a congregation alone, Luther was vehemently opposed to the disbanding of the choir; he held that service to be the best in which choir and congregation were both employed in musical numbers, and a letter written by him still exists in which he adjures a church, struggling with financial difficulties, not to dismiss its choir, which, he says, "will be a musical model to the congregation."

The key-note of Luther's strivings in sacred music may be found in his words:—

"I wish, following the example set by the Prophets and ancient Fathers of the Church, to make German psalms for the people; that is, sacred hymns, that the Word of God may dwell among them by the means of song also."

Never was a wish better or more thoroughly fulfilled. The grand chorals grew out of this idea, and they went far beyond their predecessors, the *"Marienlieder."* *"Ein feste Burg ist unser Gott"* became the war-cry of the wonderful period, and dignified chorals were heard in the school, the camp, along the highways, everywhere: the music of the Church became the music of daily life.

To build upon simple themes would seem to be the duty of the modern church composer if he desires to take the Lutheran lesson to heart; but this by no means justifies the introduction of taw-

dry tunes, marches, polkas, and other jingles forcibly wedded to religious words, into divine worship. "Altered to the service of God," says the hymn-book title quoted above, and this alteration implies that the best musical skill shall be united with the most comprehensible of melody. The loftiness of great choruses, uniting in tunes which shall not be beyond their capacity, yet shall be worthily musical, is a point of the ritual that composers and choir directors must study from the time of the Reformation.

The work of the choir, however, can be studied rather from England and France than from Germany. The fitness of artistic and highly developed music to adorn religious service had its clearest demonstration at the Council of Trent, during the progress of the Counter-reformation. The extremely florid vein of most of the Catholic church music came up for consideration before the Council at its twenty-second sitting, September 11, 1562. When the fanatics would have swept away the entire progress of the preceding centuries and have returned to the plain Gregorian chant, the more cultivated cardinals fought for the art, and, at the twenty-fourth sitting, reduced the opposition to a mere vague censure of "over-delicate music." Figural music, that is, counterpoint, was finally held to be elevating and well fitted to religious use.

The old English composers have given to the church repertory contrapuntal compositions that should be far more assiduously studied by American choir masters than is at present the case. While every schoolboy knows something of the "Elizabethan poets," very few understand that the Elizabethan period was the most glorious period of English musical composition; indeed, if one eliminate the name of Shakespeare, the musical epoch of the end of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth century might fairly balance the poetic one, and the names of Farrant, Weelkes, Morley, Orlando Gibbons, Dowland, Ravenscroft, Bull, Wilbye, Forde, Tallis, Tye, Byrd, and of others as well, form a good counterpoise to the roll that contains Jonson, Beaumont, Fletcher, Bacon, Marlowe, Sidney, Spenser, Massinger, and others.

If England has not a similar roll of great names in music to offer nowadays, she can still be a model in the matter of executing the great anthems and motettes. Every cathedral throughout the kingdom becomes a school of sacred singing in a manner that finds no counterpart in America; for be it understood that our habit of having a musician play the rôle of concert singer for six days of the week and then transform himself into a church tenor on the seventh, never gives the best results. If only some country could go beyond England in this matter and train a *mixed* choir and chorus to church work as she trains her male cathedral singers, it would achieve wonders in the field of ecclesiastical music.

As regards the employment of boys' voices in connection with the choir, we can also learn much from the mother country. As a rule, it is the Episcopal Church only that in America makes use of this beautiful adjunct of the service. Why creed or ritual should restrict the employment of music is a mystery, yet it is undeniable that the boy chorus is seldom heard outside of the Church of England, and that the orchestra is almost always confined to the Catholic Church. One might go beyond the boy chorus and use a number of children's voices, male and female, on occasions of especial rejoicing. The late Bishop Phillips Brooks was always enthusiastic on this subject, and the present writer has a valuable memento of the great preacher in a letter that expresses his delight at the incorporation of a large chorus of children in an Easter service at Trinity Church.

In America, we are but slowly emerging from the results of the legacy of the Pilgrims and the Puritans, who clung closely to John Calvin's skirts in the matter of music. The prejudice against the organ died very hard in New England. The first organ in Boston, offered to the Brattle Square Church, in 1713, was unanimously and curtly declined by that organization, and its setting-up in King's Chapel (Church of England) was attended by about as much agitation as the introduction of the wooden horse into Troy. As late as 1790, a wealthy parishioner of the first named church pleaded for permission to throw an organ, which

the society had finally bought, into Boston harbor, promising full reimbursement for the loss of the instrument. Park Street Church, long after this time, still clung to violoncello in preference to organ. Why the Puritans should have looked upon the violoncello as a godly instrument and shunned the organ or the violin as heterodox will probably never be satisfactorily explained, but the results are evident in the frequent leading of a congregation or a choir of to-day with a single non-harmonic instrument. The violin, from which the ban has now been removed, the cornet, and often a lusty-voiced precentor, leads the mass of singers as the bell-wether leads his flock.

The question of what the ideal musical church service should be, is not to be answered offhand, but surely some points of guidance may be gathered from the historical facts already cited. In the first place, the musical church service of the future should free itself from all fetters of prejudice, and admit every form of musical art that has been used successfully by any denomination whatever. The boy choir should not be suffered to be a matter of creed, nor the orchestra to remain almost entirely a Catholic institution, so far as the church service is concerned. An eclectic system of church music should be evolved, in which every element above described might be free to enter in, according to the exigencies of the occasion, and limited only by the size of the edifice, of the congregation, or of its purse. Naturally, the Catholic Mass, as a whole, could not enter into the Protestant Church, for it is fitted closely to its own ritual; but certain of its chief numbers could be employed, if given a good English paraphrase. The mighty choral should be assiduously cultivated. If every service contained at least one broad chorus of the dignified character of "St. Anns," it would be a good corrective for much of the jingly music that obtains in the United States. But, in the matter of choral work, the organist would be an important factor for good or for evil. The choral should be "given out" upon the organ a trifle faster than it is intended to be sung, for every congregation in Christendom sags a little from the given tempo. The organist should make a slight hold, or

fermata, upon the last note of each phrase, for in a large congregation the stragglers need to be brought home as often as each phrase.

It is a pity that there should be any difference of opinion regarding the mode of starting a large chorus in church. Some organists begin with a short grace-note, an *acciaccatura*, which is far too sudden a signal for a congregation to catch up. Others begin with an *arpeggio* effect upon the opening chord of the hymn or choral, which generally brings about the most ragged attack imaginable, since no one can tell exactly when the upper note is going to be sounded, and each singer will come in more or less promptly according to his personal equation. The sounding of the first note of the melody one beat before the beginning of each verse has none of these objections; nine-tenths of the congregation will sing the melody, and this clear and fairly deliberate signal starts them with surety and power. After the interludes, such a signal is especially necessary for a firm attack.

As regards interludes, much may be said pro and con; the organists have undoubtedly committed many faults in this field, and the best musicians have frequently been the greatest sinners, giving the right thing in the wrong place, that is, performing feats of harmonic and contrapuntal skill where the simplest stop-gap was required. As a result of the unexpected fantasias with which some organists have decorated their hymn accompaniments, many a clergyman has set his face against interludes altogether. This is, however, jumping out of the frying-pan into the fire, for the interlude is an absolute necessity to the hymn. It ought not to be regarded as anything but a covering over of the few seconds that are requisite in order to rest the lungs of the singers; and that interlude may be called the best that attracts no attention to itself. That the few seconds of recuperation are necessary to the lungs of the choristers may be practically shown by taking any hymn of moderate length and going through it without an interlude.

“Sun of my Soul” may serve to illustrate the case in point. It has five stanzas; each stanza has sixteen measures of music,

making in all eighty measures of music to be sung, without any rests but the short gasps at the end of the phrases and the pauses (necessarily not very long) between the stanzas. Hardly any song given upon the concert platform presents so severe a task. Let the experiment of such singing be tried at some vestry or prayer-meeting, and we believe that every clergyman and every member of the church committee will notice the difference between the bold heartiness displayed in the first stanza and the dragged-out condition of the singing in the last stanza.

But the interlude should do no more than serve as the necessary rest to the singers; far better a mere repetition of the last phrase of the music upon the organ than a senseless display of musical knowledge in the field of modulation, which one is too often called upon to hear. Every interlude should grow out of the music itself; a concise, coda-like reiteration of some thought contained in the music will always be sufficient, and no interlude should extend beyond eight bars. Distant modulations should be avoided, for they not only interfere with the reverential style that should characterize the work, but they are apt so to disturb the singers' sense of tonality that when the organist gives the starting-note, for the subsequent stanza, after a bold progress through several foreign keys, he will find his entire congregation, and sometimes even a trained chorus, entering timidly and without vigor.

An interlude after every eight lines of ordinary tetrameter will be found quite sufficient for ordinary purposes, and a contrast of major or minor may sometimes be permitted to rivet the thought of the verse that has preceded.

The great vocal fault of America, unclearness of enunciation, is never more plainly in evidence than in sacred solos. One might be contented to lose the meaning of some of the verses of the average drawing-room ballad, but to have such poems as Newman's "Lead, Kindly Light," Lyte's "Abide with Me," the refreshing poetry of George Herbert, or the tender thoughts of Phoebe Cary, distorted for the sake of a little fuller high note or an easier emission of tone is decidedly putting the cart before

the horse. One cannot expect clear pronunciation from a congregation, but one may demand it from the choir. England can teach America a lesson in this, as every cathedral service in that country proves. In America, it has been too placidly accepted that vocalism involves impurity of pronunciation; only in America would an invocation to "the God of *Bottles*," instead of the God of Battles, (we heard this effect once in a sacred service,) go unproved and underided.

The employment of an orchestra would be a distinct step in advance in the music of many Protestant churches, but many would naturally hesitate before entering into so large an expenditure as this would involve. In such a case, the musical director might rearrange the scores of some of the less important works. Even the string quartette or quintette combined with horn and clarionet or flute would often form a fine support for certain choir numbers.

In the composition of church music, as in almost everything else, the supply is regulated by the demand, and there are scarcely any sacred concerted numbers existing between those that have merely organ accompaniment and those that demand full orchestral support. Yet we are convinced that such moderately scored numbers would soon be forthcoming if choir masters would only evince a desire for them. The mere addition of trombones or, much better, a contrabass to a fair-sized chorus would be a step in the right direction, for it would add a fulness to the fundamental notes that would lend much dignity to the more solemn numbers, and in congregational singing the contrabass would strengthen the part that is generally weakest in the harmony as sung. In England, the contrabass has been added, even to the military band, in certain concert selections, and we should cordially welcome its entrance into general service in church.

A less restricted repertory would be the first and most immediate result of some of the changes suggested above. The best part of the music of each church would enter into the service of all. Some of the shorter Palestrina numbers, "O Bone Jesu,"

"Jesu Rex," or "Rex Virtutis," for example, would appear with proper paraphrases in English; the orchestra, or some of its instruments, would be used as in the great Catholic services; from the Anglican Church the anthems of Purcell and of the older composers would be borrowed; from both of the above Churches the custom of stately chanting would be derived; Bach would prove an absolute mine of beauty; the hearty congregational work of the Evangelical Churches would be retained, but enriched and brought nearer to the ideal of Martin Luther.

This, roughly outlined, should be the church music of the future. It seems strange that, while music in general has taken up all modes of expression and treatment, church music should have been hampered by serious limitations and should have developed only in special grooves, according to the denomination that used it. The Catholic Church has had the most varied, the most artistic, the most powerful music, simply because so few limitations were placed upon it, and even in this church the grandeur of the Bach chorals is unknown.

America has in recent years made giant strides in general music; the contemptuous European saying of sixty years ago,— "Who reads an American book?"—could have been applied with tenfold force to the hearing of an American composition. To-day we have great composers even in the largest forms of composition, large symphony orchestras, renowned string quartettes, operatic performances equal to the best that Europe can hear; it is possible that it is reserved for our country to break the fetters in which church music has been so long confined; it is not beyond the bounds of probability that the American churches may yet establish a musical service that shall contain within itself the best artistic results that the ages have brought forth in every Church and in every nation.

"But," asks the timid Christian, "would not such a service be very like a concert?" In a certain sense, yes. Nevertheless, a Handel oratorio and a Bach "Passion Music" is also like a concert, though infinitely and deeply religious. The miscellaneous concert and the secular jingles should alike be denied entrance

within the walls of the sanctuary ; but every phase of the different schools described in this article has but one purpose,—to lift the heart to God.

There is one matter connected with this subject that must be touched upon before concluding ; it is the fact that clergyman and choir master are often at cross purposes, and too frequently believe that the success of one minimizes the power of the other. The music is hindered, instead of helped, by the pulpit in some churches. It is surely unnecessary to say that the music is secondary to the other parts of the service, but secondary only in the sense that music is secondary to poetry : its object is to aid, to strengthen, and to interpret. The combat between choir and pulpit began in the second century, and the reforms of Gregory, Ambrose, the Council of Trent, and so on, only mark stages of this interminable battle. The strife would end in a most valuable alliance if the clergy would but add something of music to their actual studies ; Luther would never have evolved his glorious additions to the ritual but for his practical musical knowledge.

It has been said that music begins where language ends ; if this be the case, it can carry the lesson of the sermon still deeper into the heart, and waft the devout prayer a little nearer to Heaven.

“ Sweet shall resound the voice of joyous singing
As fervent worshippers approach the Throne ;
And, while the chorus in its might is ringing,
The list’ning soul from earth to Heaven is swinging
On wings of Tone.

And, when the mighty organ tones are pealing,
A lofty message shall be sent abroad,
Bidding “ Be still ” to every sin-stained feeling,
While the rapt heart finds every phrase revealing
A path to God.”

HUMAN PERFECTIBILITY IN THE LIGHT OF THE FACTS OF EVOLUTION

AUGUST FOREL, *Zürich.*

Perfectible denotes the capacity for being perfected. Perfectibility is the quality pertaining to that which is perfectible. "Perfectibilist" is the name which has been given to those who believe in the continual progress toward perfection of the human race.

In order to prove that man differs fundamentally from all other animals, it has been asserted that he is perfectible, which would be true of none of the brute creation, and this perfectibility is demonstrated by the development of civilization in historic and prehistoric times. The notion of perfectibility comes thus within the province of human knowledge, so that scientific criticism is both entitled, and in duty bound, to concern itself therewith. The facts upon which it is based have been employed to deduce the existence of a psychic essence, or soul, in man independent of the animal life, that is to say, other than the life of the brain, and thus also the intervention of a supernatural power. It is not our purpose to treat of this latter question here, but only of what the present scientific knowledge in our possession tells us on the subject of human perfectibility.

In this brief account which I have the honor to present to you I shall make no pretension to exhausting so vast a subject. I desire simply to bring to your attention a collection of facts and notions which make it incumbent upon us to come to much closer quarters with this question than would have been possible

a hundred years ago. In order to do this, I shall be obliged to begin by examining some preliminary notions.

Determinism and *fatalism* are two notions that are fundamentally different from one another, though they are constantly being confused. The first belongs to the domain of science and human knowledge. The second is a metaphysical notion that is related to first causes, and belongs consequently to the domain of the Unknowable. The fatalist believes in a metaphysical, absolute predestination of everything in the universe. To his mind God is an immutable Destiny, which has foreseen absolutely everything, not only unto the ages of the ages, but throughout eternity as well. Science can say nothing either for or against fatalism, for she can take cognizance only of relations between phenomena, that is to say, between the symbols which the universe presents to the senses and, through their intermediary, to the brain of man. Fatalism is thus an article of metaphysical faith.

Determinism says simply this: In the entire domain of human knowledge, in that of the phenomena called physical or external, as well as in the domain of those called psychological or introspective (the phenomena which we observe in our own minds), no one has as yet been able to prove the existence of an effect without a cause, or we may say, a reaction which has not been caused by an action, which amounts to the same thing. Mental phenomena which appear to us to be without cause have a cerebral cause that is unconscious, or rather subconscious. I cannot enlarge here upon the abstract and wholly misunderstood notion of consciousness, which has been so much abused by being confounded with its dynamic content. I have endeavored to make it plain elsewhere¹ that we should limit the notion of consciousness to that of a pure abstraction; the fact of our human and individual consciousness being no longer probably anything but a case of

(1) Forel, *Der Hypnotismus*, First Edition, 1889, Stuttgart: Enke; and later editions, 1891-1895; Forel, *Gehirn und Seele*, 1894, Bonn: Emil Strauss; Forel, *Un aperçu de psychologie comparée* in *L'année psychologique* of Beaunis et Binet, 1896.

the inner side of all cosmic activity. In reality, what seems complicated in our psychic phenomena is not the internal perception, the "consciousness," but that which is conscious, that is to say, perceptions, representations, notions, volitions, emotions, etc. Thus, then, that which is conscious is but the physiological activity of the brain viewed introspectively. Hypnotism demonstrates the fact that certain series of mental phenomena seem to us unconscious only because their concatenation is not, or is no longer, associated with that of the content of our ordinary consciousness in its waking state; that is to say, is dissociated. A series of careful observations proves to us that the different links in the chain of the phenomena called subconscious, of which, as a rule, *we* (our ordinary or higher consciousness) are unconscious, are in reality conscious, and that "internal perception" is without any doubt a particularity of all nervous activity. But this particularity, precisely because it is internal, because it is the sensibility of the subject (that is to say, of a complex of cells in activity), can be felt only by it. The different consciousnesses in the same brain and those in different brains do not possess "consciousness" as regards each other, since they are dissociated. Hence to conclude that all cellular or even cosmic activity has probably its infinitesimal consciousness is no very great step. That which appears to us to be without cause in our soul, that is to say, in our higher consciousness, has thus its cause in the subconscious activities of the lower nerve centres, activities which are little, or not at all, accessible to physiology. While we may calculate in an immense and ever-increasing number of cases that such a cause will produce such an effect, science is daily reducing the number of effects of which the cause is unknown to us. In doing this, it is also undoubtedly increasing the number of the problems which the human mind has not as yet taken into consideration.

But the so-called facts or groups of facts in which, to the ignorance of former times, there were believed to exist effects devoid of natural causes,—that is to say, the intervention of a cause called supernatural was assumed,—these so-called facts, I

say, are disappearing one after another in consequence of the successive discoveries of their natural causes. In a word, the limits of that which the human mind imagined must be supernatural are constantly receding. They are receding into the domain of the relative, which alone is knowable, without ever touching upon that of the metaphysical. Those who hold the contrary opinion are wrong; their error proceeds from the continual encroachments made by metaphysics, religious and other kinds, upon the domain of knowledge, in appropriating to itself disciplines like those of psychology, for example, in which the relations of phenomena are perfectly accessible to the human mind and to its investigations.

Since, on the one hand, the relations of cause and effect, or what is called the law of causality, are fundamental and admit of no exception in the domain of our knowledge; since, which amounts to the same thing, no effect without its natural cause has ever been indisputably proved; and since, on the other hand, everything concurs to show us that we shall one day know the causes of the effects which we do not as yet understand,—determinism, until there is proof to the contrary, affirms the following: *In the domain of human knowledge, there is no effect without its natural cause.*

I trust that it has been made clear that determinism does not in any way prejudice the wholly metaphysical question of first causes, which are absolutely inaccessible to the human mind, and that it does not, therefore, in any sense imply fatalism. In other words, to say that every effect known to us has a natural cause is in nowise to pretend that the effects and causes of what we perceive and know, are fatally predestined. The mystery of first causes may also conceal a metaphysical liberty with possibilities of divers evolutions; such a liberty would in no way imply a real and absolute human free-will, the illusion as to which is due simply to the impossibility of our being able to grasp a large part of the determinant motives or causes of our mental activity, in every one of its manifestations.

Some practical examples will illustrate this point for us.

If thirty years ago any one had said that science would one day cause the human voice to be heard at 500 kilometers, and our skeleton to be seen through the skin, he would without doubt have been called a mystic. The scientist who would have denied *a priori* the possibility of such a thing would have been quite as much in error, however, as the spiritualist who, though admitting such a possibility, would have deduced therefrom the intervention of the supernatural. The telephone and the Röntgen rays have given the death blow to these two contrary presumptions.

Thus, it is inevitable that determinism should come into greater prominence, especially since the progress of our knowledge of psycho-physiology, and the structure and functions of the brain prove, without further doubt, that no phenomenon of the intellect, of sensation, or of will comes to pass without its corresponding cerebral dynamics; that the emotions, volitions, the phenomena of the moral and æsthetic sense, as the highest abstractions of the human mind, have all their cerebral physiological side, which is yet more complicated than their introspective (conscious) side, just as the physical side of all the phenomena of the external world is always more complex than the subjective impression which it conveys to us. To give but one example, physics demonstrates for us the molecular complexity of what appears to be the simple color white. And, on the other hand, psycho-physiology demonstrates to us the physiological, and finally even the psychological, complexity of the synthesis which appears to our consciousness as the simple sensation of white. I refer those who have any curiosity as to this difficult subject to the interesting investigations of Höfding in his "Psychologie in Umrissen."¹

We must examine, in the second place, the broad lines of what we understand by transformism, or the theory of evolution, since the scientific revolution effected by Darwin. The adversaries of science delight to speak of a Darwinian hypothesis which could never be verified.

(1) German translation of Benedixen, Leipzig : Reissland, 1893.

This is naught but ignorance or a play upon words. After giving proofs of the gradual transformation of species, Darwin endeavored to explain it, doubtless in too one-sided a way, by his famous hypothesis of natural selection, in the struggle for existence. The question which has been in dispute since then is not evolution, but the omnipotence of natural selection as an evolutionary factor. No one has been able to deny the action of selection, however. All that has been proved since that time is that other factors combine with selection to modify, that is to forward or retard, the gradual transformation of species. As to the real family relation of present animal and vegetable species to paleontological species, now extinct, which were in part their ancestors, this has been confirmed in a remarkable manner since Darwin by innumerable works on the comparative anatomy of animals and plants, by the microscopic anatomy of the cell, by embryology or the study of the individual from its conception to its adult state, by biology, and finally by the descriptive zoölogy and botany of living and fossil species,—sciences to which Darwin gave an immense impulse.

It is since Darwin that the classification of organic beings has begun to be rational and natural, because grounded upon their real affinities, that is to say, upon their descent, which we are gradually coming to perceive more and more clearly in the archives of nature. In one word, the evolution of organisms is no longer an hypothesis, but has become the very foundation of the sciences which treat of plants and animals (man is understood here); that is to say, the sciences of organic beings and their life.

Since Darwin, then, the question has made great progress. The sciences of which we have spoken have developed. Hertwig, Von Beneden, and Fol have demonstrated the intimate phenomena of the origin of the individual at the moment of the fertilization of the egg and during the period which follows.

A male and a female nucleus of equal size come into conjunction, that is to say, are united in the egg. Each one of them contains, in different degrees of potentiality and in unequal combi-

nations, the particularities of its ancestors. From the combination of the two nuclei issue the hereditary potentialities of the individual. Human and comparative histology has taught us the many transformations which the embryonic animal and vegetable cell must undergo in order to form the tissues of all kinds, adapted to the thousand ends of life. The same cell, called ectodermic, is transformed into nails, hair, teeth, muscles, nerves, etc. From the same epidermis are derived the hair, feathers, shells, the glands of the skin, the refracting medium of the eye, etc.

Comparative anatomy has shown that the different organs of the bodies of animals all have their history; that some are in process of developing, others of disappearing; that the arm of man and the fin of the cetacean are derived from the former foot of the other mammals; the wing of the bird from the foot of the reptiles; our coccyx from the discarded tail of an ape, etc. It renders palpable to us the transformation of the same organ in the process of accomplishing such diverse actions as walking, prehension, flying, and swimming. Biology shows us the derivation of the instincts and of the intellectual faculties of animals generally, one from the other, as well as their adaptation to the organs of sense, to the organs of movement, and to the entire form of the body in general. We may thus, for example, follow the historic course of the social instincts of the ant, of their system of slavery, and their knowledge of gardening; its agreement with the filiation of species, known by their corporal affinities in classification, etc. The same for the other animals. Researches such as these have occasioned the discovery of phenomena called convergent, by means of which the same biological result is obtained with the most diverse means and organs, as a result of special adaptations.

The classification of plants and of living and fossil animals is more and more constantly employing all the expressions furnished not only by form, color, etc., but also by anatomy, histology, biology, embryology; it is being more thoroughly investigated from day to day; and while enormously increasing the number of known forms, while causing the discovery of innumerable

more or less changeable varieties and races and sub-species, as yet imperfectly determined, tends ever more toward becoming the crown of an immense genealogical tree of the world of organic beings, even though we possess but the débris of the lower and dead branches of the tree.

Finally, physics and the chemistry of living beings, having become the basis of physiological study, are all the time causing a further recognition of their laws in the economy of organic life. Here, however, there is always to be found a great gap, that of the origin of the cellular life itself, of the protoplasm. Physics and chemistry have not so far succeeded in giving any account of it. The living protoplasm of the cell can as yet be neither produced nor explained by them. It reveals more and more a complexity which is very great and at the same time infinitely small, and which had at first escaped our notice.

In this vast monument of the modern science of living organisms, two special points must arrest our attention.

One of these is heredity. We have seen that it is produced by the potency of the male and female germs (nuclei) in beings that are endowed with sex. As to this, there are two conflicting theories. Darwin, and afterwards Haeckel, maintain what they call the theory of epigenesis, that is to say, the direct transmission through heredity of traits acquired by the non-germinative tissues of the body.

In their opinion, a habit acquired by the brain and repeated for several generations would be finally transmitted just as it is to the germs. Darwin advanced on this subject the hypothesis termed pangenesis, according to which minute particles called gemmules convey to the germinative cells, by means of the circulation, the particularities acquired by other organs.

In the name of the facts and of scientific logic, Weismann has raised his voice against this hypothesis. He has shown that no proof was given of the transmission of acquired traits when these traits influence only non-germinative organs. And he explains heredity by the selection of hereditary forces joined with numberless other factors, which act directly or indirectly upon the

germs. Discussion of these two opinions has contributed much to our more thorough understanding of heredity and the laws of evolution. In short, for the general orientation Weismann's opinion prevails, for the reason that it has gone more deeply into the question.

It is erroneous to oppose, as Haeckel does, to the hypothesis of epigenesis the theory of preformation of the complete organism in the germ. Weismann's idea in no sense admits of preformation.

However it may be, we have no right to suppose that a trait acquired by the activity or non-activity of the organs of the individual can be transmitted to the descendants without the medium of the germinative nucleoplasm; that is to say, of the substance of the nuclei of the germinative cells which will form its descendants. The hereditary forces contained in the different germinative cells of the individual are very variable and manifold; their union with those of the nuclei of the other sex give rise to an infinite number of combinations. It is in the selection of the products of these combinations that Weismann sees the fundamental factor of evolution and of the transformation of organic beings.

Our subject concerns the human soul; that is to say, the brain, which is itself derived from primitive nervous systems. Quite at the foot of the ladder in unicellular organs, we find a contractile reaction of the protoplasm, which is the base of the neuro-muscular activity of higher organisms. From the moment that a nervous system appears, we notice the supervention of the action called reflex, where an irritation of the skin through the medium of the nerve produces an immediate muscular contraction. Soon the system becomes complicated, the reflexes are combined, and the phenomena of inhibition and dynamogeny accumulate the energies in the nerve centres. From this moment, diverse reflexes follow each other, and combine in a coördinate and, in time, appropriate manner to constitute what is called automatisms, or instincts, which, according to a plan more or less invariably predetermined in the nerve centres by heredity, display

themselves by means of adequate irritation of the organs of sense.

Thus, in flies the sense of smell resides in the antennæ, and it is this sense which determines the action of the laying of eggs on decayed meat in the *calliphora* (blue-fly). The instinct is so violent that one may cut the wings and feet of such a fly, and even one antenna, without preventing it from continuing its egg-laying upon the dead animal.

But the moment the second antenna is cut, the laying of eggs stops as if by the wand of a magician, even though the rest of the body be intact, the ovaries filled with eggs, and the fly continue to walk about upon the malodorous corpse. Here the suppression of the sensorial irritation suffices to arrest the action of automatism, a proof of the feebleness of the reflex action in this insect.

We know what unheard-of complications, what a semblance of intelligence, instinct attains in certain animals. But these things are only specialized ramifications of one of the modes of activity of the nerve centres. Already the simple cell has the faculty of conforming, in a slight degree, the nature of its contractions to that of the irritation which strikes it.

The first combinations of the reflexes of the lower animals always possess a slight individual adaptability to the circumstances, an adaptability which may be called plastic as opposed to the rigid and inherited automatism, which is identical with instinct.

Independently of the latter, and of its most complex developments, the multiplication of the cellular elements of the nerve centres produces an accumulation of the rudimentary plastic adaptability of the lower organisms to circumstances which are becoming more and more diverse, and particularly to possibilities which are becoming more and more numerous.

In other words, the brain in increasing is becoming more capable of storing up individual experiences by means of efforts of memory, of combining them, and moreover of adapting its motor-reactions to the unforeseen, to the fortuitous circumstances

which present themselves. This plastic activity of the brain is not an antithesis of instinct. It is derived, together with it, from one primitive activity of the cell thereafter specialized as the ganglionic cell, in the neuro-muscular system.

No animal is without one of these fundamental forms of the senso-motor activity, taken in its broadest sense. Only in the *amoeba* they are as yet undifferentiated.

But in the insect, for example, the instinct is enormously developed, and constitutes a sort of intelligence, crystallized by heredity and adapted unilaterally to some quite special purpose, leaving but a very limited field to plastic activity; so that the latter, being but slightly apparent, is apt to escape the superficial or prejudiced observer.

Among the mammifers, on the contrary, above all among those with few specialized instincts,—the cetaceans, dogs, elephants, and monkeys,—plastic activity is highly developed: it stores up numerous recollections, adapts itself individually to a crowd of unforeseen circumstances, and begins to allow of an individual education, called training, which is the clear and distinct result of the individual and plastic faculty of adaptation. Only the most highly developed insects are capable of traces of individual adaptation.

Lubbock and I have demonstrated this by slightly taming, the one a wasp, the other a water beetle.

Excellent proof that the two fundamental forms of the activity of the nerve centres are not antithetical is furnished by the phenomenon of habit, or secondary automatism, which is a product of a progressive automatizing of plastic activities often repeated by the individual. Habit becomes, as we know, second nature, that is to say, the more it crystallizes or becomes automatic, the more it resembles hereditary instinct. We have but to observe old vagabonds, who often become veritable automatons, slaves of their daily habits, who, like machines, repeat not only the same actions, but the same opinions, the same reasoning, the same emotions, passions, and volitions, which they are naïve enough to attribute to their pretended free-will, the causal connec-

tion of which is only too patent in them to the eyes of all!

This phenomenon may be observed in a still more remarkable degree in those who are completely deranged.

Animals whose cerebral activity has but a slightly developed degree of plasticity are capable of contracting habits which we may recognize and verify. This is the case with all the higher mammals, with many birds, and even with lizards. In the most highly developed insects even, we may observe certain rudimentary habits, at all events the more prompt and steady acceleration of certain actions which were at first accompanied by errors and hesitation; an acceleration due to repetition and memory.¹ In animals of the lowest degree of development, on the contrary, and in insects with a very small brain, it is impossible to prove the existence of any habits.

The foregoing reflections have introduced us fully to our subject, supplying as they do its very foundation. It follows, in truth, from the facts of transformism, from heredity and cerebral nerve activity, that the evolution of organic beings on the surface of the globe, represents in itself alone a perfectibility of which no one, a hundred years ago, in the least suspected. Let us make haste to say, however, that this evolutionary perfectibility—this is what we wish to term it—is quite another thing from human perfectibility, properly so-called. It is evolved only in the course of thousands and millions of years, while the latter is historic and comparatively rapid. It will be found worth our while, however, to examine it carefully.

First of all is it really absolute? Does it constitute a continually ascending scale, a perpetual "excelsior"?

Science replies, "No." Geology proves, in the first place, that the number and diversity of living organisms was infinitely greater in the tertiary period than it is to-day. We see in the case of fossil plants and animals, as well as in that of those now in existence, that whole species, genera, even entire families of magnificently organized animals and vegetables have disappeared

(1) Forel: *Rivista di Scienze Biologiche*, 1901.

from the surface of the globe, either by extinction or degeneration, or from these two causes combined.

Other species exhibit transformations which we call regressive, in process of which, what was a moving being, developed, intelligent, becomes little by little, and in the course of hundreds and thousands of years, a formless parasite, without feet or eyes, and practically without brain. Thus, if there are progressive, there are regressive evolutions also. Often they continue their course side by side in an inverse direction. To sum up, however, the height of productiveness of the organic life of the globe has evidently been passed now for a long time. We are in a period of decline. The tertiary period was the most productive.

We may console ourselves, however; for from the special point of view of the nervous system, the brain, the height seems not as yet to have been reached. The present man of our race surpasses in this respect all that the fossils can show, and judging from history, his period of ascent, it would seem, has not as yet come to an end.

The fossil animal known to be the most highly developed, and consequently nearest to man, is the *Pithecanthropus erectus*, discovered a few years ago in the tertiary deposits in Java by Professor Dubois of Amsterdam. Its reconstruction, made by Dubois himself for the Paris Exposition, from the head, the jaw, some teeth, and a femur, was on exhibition there.

This intermediary between man and the anthropomorphous ape is eloquent of much. The foremost anthropologists of the present day have finally been obliged to accept the conclusions of Dubois. Let us add, that all the remains of prehistoric man, beginning with the most ancient forms, those of the Neanderthal and Belgium, which resemble somewhat the *Pithecanthropus*, force us to infer the existence of a much lower degree of civilization than our own. Only the Chinese and the Greeks in historic times have surpassed us in certain respects.

Notwithstanding this fact, however, those who have affirmed as an axiom the unlimited perfectibility of man will find themselves obliged to lower their pretensions, and to put a damper

upon their assurance when brought face to face with the inexorable facts of the evolution of living organisms upon the earth,—even when we leave to one side all the calculations of the astronomer and the geologist.

They may be able to console themselves, possibly, by assuming the existence in other stars of more progressive evolutions.

And now, what is it that distinguishes perfectibility, as we have always understood the term, from this very relative evolutionary perfectibility, of which we have just been speaking?

While we see the animal species evolving as it were unconsciously, and only in the course of innumerable generations, (unless exposed to quite exceptional circumstances, such as a sudden and complete change of the surroundings and circumstances in the struggle for existence,—mustang or imported horse, grown wild and subsequently modified in America, the Australian rabbit,) we see man progressing and advancing, in a short space of time, by what we call the progress of civilization. The question before us is the analysis of this notion, of which other living organisms give us no example, and which constitutes human perfectibility, properly so-called.

The first steps in the progress which the different human races have made since the tertiary period, that of the *Pithecanthropus*, belong evidently to evolutionary perfectibility, for they relate to the difference in structure of the body and of the brain, the extent of which difference is clearly betrayed in the capacity of the cranium of the *Pithecanthropus* and the man of the Neanderthal. That of the latter is greatly inferior to our own, and that of the *Pithecanthropus* even much more deficient, notwithstanding its great size. Let us compare the figures. The following is the average capacity of the cerebral part of the skull applied to the upper convexity of the cerebral hemispheres:—¹

(1) The weight in grammes of the cerebrum of the normal man of the present belonging to the white race is 1070 grammes in the male, and 943 grammes in the female. (Averages of Weichselbaum and Pfleger.)

| | | |
|---|-------------------------|---|
| Average man of the present | 1100 cubic centimetres. | |
| diff. 180, | | |
| Man of Neanderthal | 920 “ | “ |
| diff. 350, | | |
| <i>Pithecanthropus erectus</i> , Dubois . . | 570 ¹ “ | “ |
| diff. 290, | | |
| Great anthropomorphous monkey, about | 280 “ | “ |
| (gorilla or orang-outang.) | | |

We may note that these four organic beings are of almost equal size; the man of the present being rather the smallest. In order to fully comprehend the significance of these figures, it should be stated that they refer only to the cavity of the skull corresponding to the cerebrum.

As a matter of fact, between the cerebrum and the spinal marrow are to be found nerve centres which are highly developed but of a lower order,—the cerebellum (average weight in man 138 grammes) and the cerebral trunk (corpora striata, isthmus, pons Varolii; average weight in man 130 grammes). These centres are comparatively very large in mammals whose intelligence is not of the highest order. They are hidden behind, below the cerebrum, so that they are not included in the measure of the brain pan. They are purposely excluded in the above figures, but are generally added to the total weight of the human brain, which increases it to about 261 grammes in the woman and 274 grammes in the man.

These figures, then, leave little room for discussion, especially since discoveries made in Belgium of many human bones contemporaneous with the cave bear have proved that they are identical with those of the Neanderthal, and have consequently dispelled Virchow's idea that they related to an idiot of that period.

Let us add that the brain of the most inferior of the human races of our time is, without the slightest doubt, a little smaller, on the average, than that of our own race, especially in the frontal portion. It is more difficult to estimate the value of these figures, however, because: (1.) The weight of the entire brain,

(1) Half that of the man, double that of the gorilla.

comprising the cerebellum and the cerebrum, of the normal adult man of the white race varies between 1230 and 1600 grammes (average ordinary weight 1350). (2.) That of the woman between 1100 and 1350 (ordinary average 1210). (3.) Age, alcoholism, and other disorders, produce atrophy of the brain and diminish its weight. The figures relating to the Neanderthal, the *Pithecanthropus*, and the large apes, on the contrary, are such that they leave room for doubt.

If now we study the history of the different human races, as far as we know them, from the historic and prehistoric documents in our possession, we observe a certain number of fundamental facts:—

1. Civilizations are extremely diverse, according to race, but all have a period of ascent, an apogee, and a decline. Some have been of short duration, others comparatively very lasting, like China for instance. We might infer from this a kind of fluctuating law, though we should be in error in so doing, as we shall presently see. There seems to follow from it, however, that civilizing factors carry within themselves the germ of their own future destruction. This point is exceedingly important, and merits the most thorough examination later.

2. Ethnography and prehistoric research prove the indubitable existence, at periods infinitely more ancient than any of which history can furnish us an approximative date, of civilizations already well advanced, though much inferior to our own. Without going outside of Switzerland, in the remains discovered at Schweizerbild near Schaffhausen, we may study an entire prehistoric civilization formerly existing on the banks of the Rhine..

The lacustrine remains of our Swiss lakes are also of great interest, and include many industrial articles.

But it is throughout the whole world, in the New as well as the Old, that the diligent researches of ethnographers and anthropologists are daily bringing to pass the discovery of new records of this character whose age can only be more or less positively conjectured in each particular case.

3. The careful study of the races of men now actually existing

indicates facts extremely important in reference to our subject, facts relating to modern and contemporaneous history.

We often hear it said that the negroes, the Australians, or the Papuans need only a sufficiently long period of civilization to reach the same level with us. This presumption rests upon a profound error and an unheard of superficiality of judgment. At the same time, it is just here that the main difficulty of our subject arises.

Every human race, clearly differentiated, possesses a collection of special mental attributes inherited in the course of its evolution, attributes which no civilization can either produce or destroy. Hundreds and thousands of years are necessary to modify them, unless, indeed, a rapid and thorough crossing with other races occurs, and a mixed race is formed.

All men of the present time belong, if you like, to the same species in the sense that they are capable of producing hybrids, or fertile mongrels. The question changes, on the contrary, if we observe the capacity which these mongrels possess of maintaining themselves, in the long run, as mixed races. This is the case, doubtless, in regard to the lower or allied races.

But the mongrels of entirely different races show an indubitable tendency to disappear, or to fall back into one of the mother races, thus proving that these extreme races are already in process of becoming different species. This is the case with the mulatto, who is the hybrid between the white and negro races. Notwithstanding the enormous production of mulattoes due to the enslaving of the negro, no mulatto race is capable of perpetuating its existence, or is in process of becoming so. The facts under observation for 400 years prove this very clearly. The mongrel of the Indian and the white man is much more viable. The crosses between the Latin, Germanic, and Slav races are very strong and viable. It seems to me more difficult to judge of those between the Mongol, Semitic, and Aryan races.

Let us pass on to another group of facts. The negro is extremely social, and loves a sedentary life, being essentially emotional and lazy. He has the gift of music, a very good

memory, and everything needed to enable him to become trained and domesticated. He is all this by heredity, for the negro taken from the centre of Africa possesses these particularities as well as the degenerate descendant of the slaves of America. Thus it has been considered very easy to civilize him. Missions and churches have put forth unheard of efforts to bring him to our level. The results obtained, now for a long time, are most instructive. Everything may be taught the negro, even theology, law, and medicine. He assimilates easily all the material and intellectual products of our civilization.

But in the way in which he utilizes them afterward the monkey and the parrot are throughout apparent.

The negro lawyer or preacher makes interminable orations for the purpose of saying nothing, and when he does say anything, there is heard but the echo of the white men who have taught him. The negro physician prescribes without judgment or reflection.

The missionary who goes into ecstasies over his small negro prodigy does not take sufficiently into account the fact that in him he is only admiring himself.

We observe a phenomenon which is analogous, though in some respects different, in individuals of our own race. The "prodigy," the model pupil, who is the schoolmaster's chief pride (the latter again admiring himself in his pupil) is often nothing but a parrot with a good memory, a merely receptive brain, who will later exhibit the talent for all unproductiveness, will become a dogmatist, a tyrant, a pedant, one of those creatures incapable of individual combination and independence of mind, but gifted with facility, with the talent of "success," and who obtain both place and power. And it is these people who are everywhere obstacles in the path of genius and usurp its prerogatives, for the reason that every new idea or notion disturbs them in the beaten track of their artificial and formal opinions, learned unreflectingly at school; angers them, makes them indignant, wounds them in their sense of authority, their routine ways, their prejudices. There is still something of the negro in such heads as

these, classical or mathematical. But it is a less immature and more tenacious negro, with greater powers of preservation and acquisition than the son of Africa possesses.

As a matter of fact, the civilization of the negro endures as long as he is under the guardianship of the white men who inculcate it. When he is abandoned to himself, or merely neglected by them for a few years, his civilization rapidly decays, to disappear and give place to the most complete African barbarity. It is thus that in spite of the change of surroundings and continent, in spite of the change of the religion, language, and civilization received from the French, the negroes of the island of Hayti, emancipated at the beginning of this century, have fallen back in the interior of the island into the most completely uncivilized state, even into cannibalism and the worship of the voodoo. Only the mulattoes and whites living in the seaports preserve a semblance of civilization.

The African colony of Liberia, founded in a wonderful transport of idealism by religious men, assisted by the civilized negroes of America, is rapidly taking the same road with that of Hayti. Whoever has closely studied the negroes of the Antilles and of the Southern States of the Union, and has judged of the conditions in these countries without prejudice, will admit that the same fundamental fact exists there: the negro does not remain civilized except through contact with the white man.

Other races, whose brain is much more highly developed than the negro, the nomadic Redskin of America, for instance, the Bedouin and the Hungarian Gypsy, have, on the contrary, a collection of antisocial instincts like those of the wild beast, a passion for liberty and a wandering life, and a horror of a sedentary one, which cause them to withhold themselves from all civilization. These are, we might say, among men, and compared to the white and the negro, as the fox to the dog or the hare to the rabbit. They are incapable of civilization, not because of intellectual inferiority, but by temperament, and are destined by fate to disappear from the globe in the struggle for existence with the civilized or civilizable races.

Finally, races with higher hereditary cerebral qualities, whose civilization has perhaps decayed or been prevented by their isolation or by other circumstances, as soon as they come into contact with our civilization, not only assimilate it more or less rapidly, but modify it according to their hereditary genius, start up unexpectedly, and lay the foundations of future civilizations of their own. We cite among our contemporaries the Russians, the Slavs, and Greeks of the Balkans, when freed from the yoke of the Turks, and above all the Japanese.

Is it finally understood, then, that human perfectibility is extremely unequal according to race; that it is dependent upon many diverse factors, but that there are to be distinguished in regard to it two groups of factors which are fundamentally different? (1.) Hereditary or evolutionary factors, arising from the evolutionary perfectibility which we explained a few moments ago. (2.) The traditional, superadded, and individual factors, of which we shall now proceed to speak.

In truth, from all which has gone before, there results this corollary: the lower human races are capable, some in a less, some in a greater degree, of being reached, trained, and educated; but they are very slightly, or hardly in any degree, civilizable, that is to say, but slightly perfectible. In other words, it is by geometric progression, so to speak, that the superadded perfectibility special to man has increased, and not by arithmetical progression like evolutionary perfectibility. I trust that I may be pardoned this mathematical figure, which is somewhat venturesome I admit, but very expressive.

The history of civilization shows us very plainly the factors of human perfectibility, properly so-called. We shall characterize as superadded perfectibility this perfectibility proper, which is especially human, to distinguish it from evolutionary perfectibility, which is common to all organisms. We shall divide it into two stages: perfectibility by means of tradition and perfectibility by means of the encyclopædia.

Its primitive element, we have seen, is the plastic or adaptive and combinative activity of the brain, an activity which in the

whole series of animals depends upon the relative size of that organ, and upon the number and complexity of those of its elements which are not connected with its lower functions. But this primitive element of superadded perfectibility could have effected its development only on the basis of the same social instincts by which language was developed.

The first stage in man, then, was incontestably the formation of language, both by sign and orally, suggestions of which are found in mammifers and birds (Tylor, Lubbock, Darwin), while other social animals have adapted to their own social state other forms of a lower language of instinct, such as, for example, the antennal language of the ant—so denominated by Pierre Huber of Geneva.

The first step in the progress due to oral language in its inception must have been the development of the faculty of education, or the training of children by parents, a faculty of which the higher animals exhibit the germs; then the communication of the news of a valuable find by one individual of the society to the others. This latter faculty exists in the ant in the form of instinct.

But in a *Pithecanthropus*, thanks to the development of the brain, on the one hand, and the oral language localized in the circumvolution of Broca, on the other, these finds, communicated from one individual to another, must have been provocative of much reflection. The reflections of individuals would perfect the tendency to the use of oral language for the purpose of communicating them to other individuals. Thus were formed, doubtless, the first onomatopœia and the first emotional interjections, serving to communicate general representations from one individual to another; from onomatopœia to the first primitive abstract notions represented by a conventional word, there is, we know, every possible gradation, and the ladder is no longer difficult to scale. Thus onomatopœia and concrete notions still predominate in the rudimentary language of the lowest living races.

The first superadded perfectibility resulting from these facts was based upon the faculty of the individual to transmit his per-

sonal experiences to others and to his children, by the first elements of oral language, which has followed the sign language it is true, though it was through it alone that tradition could arise. Oral tradition was the first origin of perfectibility, properly so-called; for it first made it possible, with the aid of memory, for one generation to profit by the experiences of the preceding one, thus furnishing it with the opportunity of attaining greater perfection. But if we take into account the necessarily rudimentary state of the hypothetical language of the *Pithecanthropus*, and compare it with the very inconsiderable results of the perfectibility of the lower human races, now in existence, as they were before they came in contact with us, we shall see that the first forms of perfectibility through tradition must have been of hopelessly slow growth, and have made but very feeble progress in comparison with evolutionary perfectibility, which for a long time predominated.

In those very ancient times following the tertiary period, the human race was developed through incessant combat.

Their fossil remains bear witness to this; for instruments of war and torture, and the traces of wounds in skeletons, play the largest part in the treasures of ethnology. The inventive and combining power of the brain was doubtless, together with strength and dexterity, the fundamental factor in the strife and in the victory. By the aid of these last, the struggle for existence, the elimination of the weak and incompetent, the brain and its centre of language, the lower left frontal circumvolution (called Broca's) and the "insula," must have developed enormously; for this centre is found to be rudimentary, as yet, in the brain of the gorilla and the orang-outang. But the brain of the *Pithecanthropus* and man of Neanderthal are lacking; the soft substance of which the brain is composed not being capable of fossilization.

While oral language was further developing through the selection of the brain of the victorious and surviving races, graphic art began to make its appearance in rude imitations of objects engraved on bone, horn, stone, etc. I shall be brief as to these

facts, which are so universally known. From these primitive imitations (pieces of wood commemorating the dead, recording by means of knots, painted images, etc.), arose hieroglyphics and writing.

Written language, therefore, marks the second great step made by superadded perfectibility. *Verba volant, scripta manent!* Words take to themselves wings, writings endure.

Oral tradition, as we know, becomes distorted and destroyed in a very short time. The lower races of our day, even, who have no written language are incapable of attaining perfection of an enduring kind. Only the most simple and primitive concrete experiences, the fashioning of rude weapons, the art of making fire, constructing huts, and making some primitive utensils or fabrics, are susceptible of being multiplied and maintained in the tradition of the oral language with the aid of its legends. Oral language itself is transformed and distorted unceasingly, unless definitely fixed in writing.

Thus the only civilizations that have left traces other than primitive utensils, carved flints, etc., are those that have understood the discovery and use of some kind of written language; thus supplying fixed and enduring symbols, a palpable and stable currency for their thoughts.

For a long time yet, and in spite of the progress of the written language from hieroglyphics to the beauty and subtlety of the Sanskrit and the Greek, the progressive traditions of the human mind among the higher races, stored away in manuscripts, aided again by oral tradition, rose laboriously from the smoking ruins of consecutive civilizations, which were destroyed by barbarians of a later time, who by a greater or less assimilation of these ruins have risen again in their turn. In other words, aided still more by evolutionary perfectibility, by means of the material victory of the higher brain and the extermination of the lower, in places where the struggle was very severe, perfectibility superadded by tradition, oral at first, then written, proceeded by halts and sudden starts, by advance and recoil, rebuilding ever upon the ruins of its predecessors. But an encyclopædia of manu-

scripts had already laid the principal foundation of a great progress, a foundation which we may call perfectibility by encyclopædia.

The third great stage was the discovery of printing, which gave to written language, up to that time the privilege of the few, the universality and commonplaceness, which we recognize in it to-day, and which distinguishes our modern civilization from that of the ancients. Graphic art and its variations, mathematical, algebraical, and artistic; printing and its various forms, stenographic, autographic, photographic, etc., have given to the perfectibility superadded by encyclopædia, that is to say, science and art, a keen impulse, whose force is increasing in geometric progression, though it bears within itself certain destructive germs, the confusion of knowledge, the overpowering of quality by quantity, above all the progressive incapacity of our brain to follow the movement, as we shall presently see.

Perfectibility proper, or superadded, has then increased since the sixteenth century, in frightfully rapid progression among civilized races; accumulating the activities of the human brain by virtue of concentrating and preserving them, and erecting upon them constant improvements by means of the three great stages of progress: oral language, written language, printing, and their consequences.

Among these consequences, we note the advancement of the technical, or applied, sciences, by whose aid we are rapidly gaining over the five continents to our own state of civilization.

Will this progress continue and in what manner? Two great groups of facts stand out like a "mene tekell" before the face of our civilization, and they are in truth of a nature to cause us to stop and reflect, at the end of this nineteenth century, which, thanks to the progress of science, that is to say, of superadded perfectibility alone, has succeeded in bringing over at racing speed almost the entire surface of the terrestrial globe to a state of modern European culture. The two groups of facts are the limits of the terrestrial globe and those of the human brain.

It would be useless for us to enlarge here upon the first of

these. It forces itself upon the attention of every thoughtful child, and would constitute in itself a vast subject of inquiry. It may be summed up in this question: What will happen to our civilization when, in another hundred years, perhaps, the entire surface of the globe shall be civilized, cultivated, and refined as are Switzerland, France, and Germany to-day? Shall we find it possible, in spite of the cessation of the motives for the struggle, to prevent universal deterioration, degeneration, the positive idiocy of humanity? May we hope to find means of so doing, by being prepared in time? I content myself with asking the question.

The limit of work possible to the human brain, on the contrary, forms the quintessence of our subject. Its inevitable consequences are much more manifest. If we have comprehended the lesson taught by the facts hitherto stated, we shall find no difficulty in drawing the following conclusion:—

Evolutional or hereditary perfectibility, which we examined first, that perfectibility which alone was found capable of gradually modifying and developing our brain, has, so to speak, no longer any appreciable influence upon the too rapid advancement of our modern and contemporaneous progress. This is nothing but a product of the revivifying of knowledge stored away in manuscripts, etc., and is the result of perfectibility superadded by encyclopædia, which supports it, as it were, unaided. The size of our brain has not increased appreciably, since the time of Confucius and the ancient Greeks. In making a storehouse of it, we are constantly using it, though always more and more intelligently and carefully, it is true. But any given instrument has its limits. The unbalanced and nervous minds of our day form a good answer to those who believe that the rapidity of the progressive faculty of our brain is unlimited. It would become unlimited in the course of the evolution of organic beings, but this requires an intense selection for hundreds and thousands of years. Now when are we to take the time and trouble to supply these two factors which are the *sine qua non* of progress to the brain of our race,—selection and time?

It is not necessary to go far in order to prove that we are dealing in no flights of the imagination. We have but to examine closely and without prejudice the intellectual products of the brain of those of our own people whom we call civilized, of the Swiss, for instance, termed superlatively so. Does any one perchance believe that one of our children is superior to a young Greek of the time of Solon, or a young Hindoo of the time of Buddha? The latter would assuredly not have been the poorest scholar in one of our schools, nor one of the least productive brains of the century that has just expired. With what rapidity might ignorance and neglect cause our descendants to relapse into the state of barbarity to which fate would consign them! In the mountains of North Carolina, there are descendants of Europeans, they say even of our near neighbors of Piedmont, who have fallen back into a deplorably primitive state. It is not necessary to go very deeply into the question in order to prove that it is only certain choice spirits who have caused the rapid advancement of our civilization, the progress of our science, art, and industry, with the aid of the arsenal of learning supplied to them by their predecessors, preserved in the formidable and ever increasing encyclopædism of our libraries and museums. The majority of the people allow themselves to be dragged along, more or less like an inert mass. They improve, enjoy, and suffer, without understanding or taking into account what is drawing them either up or down.

Superadded perfectibility is, moreover, purely relative and most variable according to race. We have seen that it establishes no enduring or independent hold upon the lower races, like the negroes, for example, whose brain has been inadequately prepared by evolutionary perfectibility. But it is not barbarians alone who destroy civilizations by violence. Internal destructive factors are, in a different way, of very great importance, as history proves. Effeminacy, luxury, indolence, and in our day alcoholism, opium-eating, venereal diseases, and tuberculosis cause regressive metamorphoses of the body and especially of the human brain. Civilization itself, with its vices, on the one hand,

and the refined and powerful medium it provides for human bestiality, and its emotional humanitarianism, on the other, one-sided and narrow; with its indiscriminate alms-giving, and many analogous conditions, is promoting a retrogressive selection, which is preparing our ruin, if we do not come in time to take the evil fully into account and impress upon ourselves the necessity of an unceasing struggle against its causes. And it is just here that, while drawing up our forces in the cause of scientific determinism, we must be upon our guard against a metaphysical fatalism.

I sum up my too brief sketch of this vast subject. Human "perfectibility" is the result of very complex factors, which are divided into two groups, essentially distinct, though inextricably confused one with the other: (1.) The primitive group of the factors in the evolution of organic beings. This group follows blindly what we call natural laws, such as those of heredity, selection, physics, chemistry, mechanics, etc. We have called this evolutionary perfectibility. (2.) The secondary group, the product of a high development of brain, which has proceeded to graft itself principally upon four fundamental particularities, acquired, the last three at least, by the human brain alone: social instinct, oral language, written language, and printing. While the first two of these particularities, social instinct and oral language, were at the very first the exclusive product of evolutionary perfectibility, the third, written language, has already been seen to be primarily that of a series of discoveries due to the development (in large part, as yet, evolutionary, it is true) of the first two. Finally, the fourth, printing, being derived from the second, was nothing else but a discovery, a product of the storing up of traditions, which is the case with the whole arsenal of our modern culture. But this product has become, in its turn, the fundamental instrument, the main lever of our subsequent stores of knowledge.

We have called our second large group superadded perfectibility. But its first stage, oral tradition, was itself developed but slowly and with much labor from organic evolution.

Even its second stage, written language, was productive only of incomplete and local encyclopædism. It is the third alone,

printing, which has entirely forced us out of the protracted course of evolution of organic beings which we call natural. Thus if the individual genius, whose race was as often to be met with three thousand years ago as to-day, has always been the sole lever of all mental progress, it must not be forgotten that no lever can act without a fulcrum, and that the geniuses of the nineteenth century would have been unable to profit by the progress of those of former times unless strengthened by the encyclopædias of learning, which sum up the mental activity of their predecessors. Without them, they would often neither have developed nor accomplished their tasks more rapidly than the genius of three thousand years ago, since they have no greater development of brain than the others. By the use of the word encyclopædia, I mean not merely knowledge to be found in books, but that accumulated in museums, monuments, mechanical constructions, in short all the lessons taught by the products of civilization.

We are thus to-day in the presence of human brains which are not only not appreciably increasing either in strength or size, but many of which are deteriorating and degenerating, while much is being required of them in the shape of a more rapid assimilation and utilization of the works of their predecessors and contemporaries. The lesson to be learned from this rapid glance at the subject of human perfectibility seems very clear to me, and may be summed up in two theses:—

1. Careful and scientific research into the inner causes of the physical and moral degeneration of our race, which may also sooner or later jeopardize our civilization by a gradual superseding of progress by retrogression. We must seek these causes in the very centre of our civilization and social organism. We must not superficially confound them with our entire civilization, and abandon ourselves to a cowardly and fatalistic pessimism. No! we must distinguish the regenerative and progressive from the generative and retrogressive factors. These we must fight unceasingly, to the death, be they Bacchus, Mammon, or howsoever called. Without constant struggle there can be no existence worthy of the name, no real progress.

But the uttermost parts of the earth will soon, thanks to the progress of civilization we hope, have some recompense for what they have suffered in the struggle by sword and fire and blood.

It is, then, the inner struggle of the mind, or the brain, through labor and selection, which is to be the struggle of the future, and which alone can save us from stagnation, the fore-runner of destruction.

2. In searching for the factors of degeneration, and in combating their evil effects, we shall discover the factors of regeneration and progress. In place of leaving them to chance, to the isolated efforts of men of genius or to the ignoble rivalry of lucre, as has been done hitherto, we have before us the noble task of preparing the way for their progressive development in our descendants by means of a rational culture.

This culture is to be attained in two fundamental ways, corresponding to the two forms of perfectibility which we have distinguished.

1. By the education and instruction of childhood, and by perfecting this education in accordance with the results of modern science, as they have begun to do at Abbotsholm, Pulvermühle, La Roche, etc.

In this we use the brain as it is, and bring to bear upon it the perfectibility superadded by encyclopædia. But if we rightly comprehend the teaching of the facts here submitted to your reflection, that is to say, the limits of the brain, and the overloading with which it is threatened, we shall apply ourselves before all else to preserving it, to developing its faculty of comprehension and combination, while discharging its efforts of memory as much as possible upon written encyclopædias. Instead of burdening the memory of our children and making parrots of them, that is to say, like the negroes, echoes of their masters and their books, we shall teach them how rightly to consult books and dictionaries instead of learning them by heart, to understand their real essence, without losing themselves in their details, to make syntheses, not analyses only. We shall say to them: "Be careful not to encumber your brain with hundreds of dates, names, and formulas,

which you may find when you need them in dictionaries and other books made for this purpose. Make haste to forget all this useless trash lodged in your brain. It obstructs your thoughts, paralyzes your artistic taste, dries up your finest emotions, kills in you the ideal, love, art, and morality. Keep your brain for better work. Close the book as soon as you have mastered and assimilated its meaning. Read only those that are accurate and rational, and learn to select them from among the thousands of idle and foolish ones with which we are flooded. Form your will, your judgment, your independence of character."

But I forbear! For, alas, of what use is it to say this to our children while the schools and those who are in charge of them, oblige them as yet to do exactly the contrary? Progress is in the air, however, and we are far from being disheartened.

Culture and the development of bodily strength, of dexterity, of the will and character, will be found to be the natural accompaniments of instruction, and to be in harmony with it.

2. But in order to make the result something more than a flashing meteor in the history of humanity, we must take some account of evolutionary perfectibility, resolutely put our hand to the amelioration of our race by a sane, voluntary, and rational selection, rather negative than positive, by instructing both sexes in these questions, and by urging the most highly organized brains and bodies to reproduce themselves as much as possible, while forcing the inferior and incompetent ones in the opposite direction.

I can only glance at this question here. For a whole volume would be required for its serious treatment and the dissipation of the prejudices, misunderstandings, and ignorance with which it abounds.

One word more, however, in conclusion. I have said that it was our duty to labor thus to preserve the future perfectibility of our race. This is, in truth, a morality far superior to one that confines itself only to ensuring the well-being of our neighbor and of our modern society. It will also take into account the future of the different human races and cultivate the develop-

ment only of those in whom evolution has already developed to a sufficient degree the faculty of perfectibility superadded by tradition and by encyclopædia. If we wish to await the many thousand years necessary to the evolution of the lower races, to the developing of their brain to the level of ours, our race would run great risk of disappearing before that time under the teeth of prolific cannibals, and all would have to be begun over again.

To those who tell me that we are Utopians, that we are taking a great risk, that the course of evolution is inexorable and that we cannot help it, I reply :—

Fatalism is a metaphysical hypothesis, the cure for which we are not expected to provide. On the contrary, history has shown us what may be done by the single discovery of printing, by the genius of a Luther or a Darwin, what we may obtain with reference to the different races of animals and plants by selection, not to mention the victories of modern surgery and science in general. Our common sense—that is to say, the plastic reasoning of our brain—should then urge us to utilize this progress of the knowledge of ourselves for the amelioration of our posterity, in a future sufficiently near to appeal to us.

Superficial minds are continually contrasting the notion of the artificial with the natural, and imagining that they are confuting us when they say that we should let “nature” act, and not attempt to correct her methods by means of our artificial ones. To this we reply, first, that our brain and its products are as natural as the tiger and his habits; that the Röntgen rays have existed from all time, before we learned to discover or avail ourselves of them; and that in so far as they have been made by man himself with the aid of his superadded perfectibility, the lever, spectacles, and electric motors are not less, but rather more to be considered the products of nature aided by the power of man,—products which are self-sustaining. Then we shall beg our unreflecting adversary to open his eyes to the facts of retrogression and hopeless decay which are wholly natural: the extinction of the *Epiornis* of Madagascar, of the *Urus* and the wild goat; of the fauna and flora of many islands which have disappeared in the path of the sparrow,

the rabbit, and man; of certain tribes of men even, who without being enslaved by the powder or the alcohol of civilization have died out as a consequence of their own neglect. The Chimalas Indians of Colombia, for example, and many others. We see thus what a mistake it is for us to pin our faith to the famous saying, often most void of sense in the mouths of those who use it most, "Nature is natural."

If we are careful to adapt our actions and reforms to a thorough and adequate knowledge of the reality of the laws of this "Nature," who is so often made to say things of which she is innocent, our "artificial" results would be sensible and viable. We must not confound the discoveries, material constructions, and progress made by the mind—that is to say, by the human brain—with its errors. It is against the latter only that we must be on our guard, and against those who oppose everything in the way of reform, calling it artificial, and who simply confuse art and applied science, which they are mistaken in calling an artificial product. As to the ideal of those who say "Après moi le déluge," and who, making a boast of their fatalism, object to our using our reason and increase in knowledge for anything which does not tend directly to the gratification of their individual pleasures and selfish passions, we must pity them, while proving that they are in error; but our duty to society requires also that we should wage constant war against their doctrines and tendencies.

There remain those dogmas of religion which are opposed to science, for the reason that they have allowed themselves to build up a *credo* upon erroneous conceptions of cosmogony, and more particularly of the nature of organic beings, of man and of man's brain. So much the worse for them. They will find themselves obliged to yield to facts, as Rome was finally obliged to yield to Copernicus and Galileo, after having visited upon the latter the terrors of the Inquisition. They would have done better to have clung to the domain of metaphysics pure and simple, where science could never reach them.

AMERICAN PRIMACY IN IRON AND STEEL PRODUCTION

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When Abram S. Hewett went to England, only a few years ago, to receive the Bessemer medal in honor of his contributions to the art of iron and steel making, he took occasion to point out some of the effects produced upon English social institutions by Bessemer's renowned discovery. At that time, it had hardly entered into the minds of men that a still more revolutionary discovery was dawning upon Western society, in the apprehension of the fact that the primacy among modern nations in the production of iron and steel was rapidly and permanently passing to the United States. Primacy in production has changed the relation of every other nation to the world market. The progress of the United States from being a supplier for domestic consumption to the rôle of a competitor for contracts everywhere, has forced the whole question of the industrial and commercial strength of nations into the arena of international debate, in which European nations, without exception, have put themselves upon the defensive. There has not been so deep a searching of hearts in Europe since the epoch-making war of 1870-1871.

The chief reason for this apprehensive feeling toward the United States is to be sought in the radical, yet inevitable, change in our relation to the world market. Within the last few years, apparently, the United States has ceased to be merely a purveyor of raw materials, and has assumed the rank of a world power. As long as our breadstuffs and provisions ministered to the mate-

rial needs of Europe, there was no uneasiness. As long as our raw cotton clothed our neighbors across the Atlantic and their customers, nobody thought of Economic Alliances against the United States. But the moment it is seen that we have become masters in making and using iron and steel in both peace and war, and that, as a nation of seventy-five millions, we are one in the work we have to do in the world's progress, then, naturally, something akin to a panic seizes upon the minds of those who have so long been accustomed to act without taking the United States into account as an industrial and commercial power.

The present position of the United States in making and marketing her iron and steel is one of peculiar strength, even among nations that are especially prominent in this branch of production. For that reason, no other phase of our national development has been more carefully studied by competent observers from abroad.¹ There seems to be on their part a quite unanimous agreement that our ascendancy is due to three elements of power: (1.) The presence of high grade iron ores and coking coal in unequalled abundance. (2.) Superiority in industrial organization, involving all the economies of production and distribution, especially in mining the raw materials, in handling them on a large scale from mine to furnace, in standardizing steel forms and parts of machinery, and in the mechanical equipment and coördination of manufacturing establishments so as to enable each one to specialize with a minimum of waste in a given line of production. (3.) The remaining element of strength in the position of the United States, in its relation to the world market, lies in its having a better home market than any other nation. Nowhere is there another group of people, equal in numbers and under the same economic system, that can compare with the United States as a consumer of iron and steel. We have for many years been the world's leading builders of railroads; in the quantity of steel consumed, this country has been foremost in bridge-building, and

(1) *American Engineering Competition. A Series of Letters to the London Times, on American Iron and Steel Industries.* Written by British Engineers. New York, 1900.

the same may be said of the use of structural steel in the erection of high buildings. Only in ship-building have we hitherto held a secondary position. Nowhere else do iron and steel enter so largely into the manufacture of agricultural implements.

A few figures will suffice to show how the United States is situated as to the raw materials employed in this branch of industry. The latest figures available give the coal product of the United States for 1900 as 238,871,142 tons; of Great Britain, 225,170,163 tons; of Germany, 149,551,058 tons. The iron ore product for 1899 is given for these three countries respectively as follows: 24,683,173 tons, 21,515,908 tons, including 7,054,578 tons imported, and 17,989,665 tons. For the year 1900, Germany's iron ore product amounted to 18,964,367 tons, or less than the iron ore shipments from the Lake Superior region alone (19,059,396 tons).

The country's entire iron ore output last year was, in round numbers, 26,000,000 tons, nearly all of which came either from the Upper Lakes or from the southern mines of Alabama and Tennessee. The record of the last decade speaks for itself.

PROGRESS OF COAL, COKE, AND IRON ORE PRODUCTION IN THE UNITED STATES.

| | Coal ¹ , gross tons. | Coke ¹ , net tons. | Iron Ore ¹ , gross tons. |
|----------------|------------------------------------|----------------------------------|--|
| 1891 | 150,505,954 | 10,352,688 | 14,591,178 |
| 1892 | 160,115,242 | 12,010,826 | 16,296,666 |
| 1893 | 162,814,977 | 9,477,580 | 11,587,629 |
| 1894 | 152,447,791 | 9,203,632 | 11,879,679 |
| 1895 | 172,426,366 | 13,333,714 | 15,957,614 |
| 1896 | 171,416,390 | 11,788,773 | 16,005,449 |
| 1897 | 178,929,984 | 13,288,984 | 17,518,046 |
| 1898 | 196,405,953 | 16,047,209 | 19,433,716 |
| 1899 | 226,553,564 | 19,668,569 ² | 24,683,173 |
| 1900 | 238,871,142 | 18,928,372 ³ | 25,917,393 ³ |

(1) United States Geological Survey, 1899-1900.

(2) *Bulletin of the American Iron and Steel Association*, May, 1901.

(3) Preliminary figures of the *American Engineering and Mining Journal*, January, 1901, and June 29, 1901.

As regards volume of production of iron ore, the first position in the world now belongs to the United States. This fact, taken in connection with our similar rank in coal production, means that this country has already reached a position of self-sufficiency unlike that of her principal competitors,—Great Britain and Germany,—both of whom have been obliged to rely to a considerable extent on importations of either iron ore or coal. This has given a greater freedom to the American iron industry in its effort to adjust itself to the conditions of maximum economy in the accumulation of raw materials and in the distribution of products. Hence the general tendency of iron and steel production to seek in the North the shores of the lower lakes where the lake ores can be easily distributed, or to concentrate in the neighborhood of Birmingham in the South, where the raw materials are most economically placed by nature. There are no international boundaries to cross, and production and distribution have consequently been organized on a scale that admits of the most economical location of plants. In obedience to this principle of progress by relocation, the pig iron industry,—the basic industry of iron and steel manufactures,—has developed through three distinct stages in the United States: (1.) The charcoal era (to 1854, say) when every State had its own small furnaces and foundries. (2.) The anthracite era, when the country's iron industries flourished mainly in the valleys of the Lehigh, the Schuylkill, and the Susquehannah, from the hard coal regions to the sea (1854-1875). (3.) The bituminous coal and coke era (1875 to date) in which the centre of pig iron production passed beyond the Alleghenies, and thence spread westward and southward with the growth of national consumption.

The production of pig iron serves possibly better than that of any other product as an index to the comparative success with which the leading countries have utilized their raw materials.

The world's six greatest producers of pig iron are, in quantitative order, the United States, Great Britain, Germany, Russia, France, and Belgium. The relative position of these countries has changed considerably in the last decade, as appears from

the following table, made up mainly from official sources:—

THE WORLD'S GREATEST PIG IRON PRODUCERS.¹

| Years. | United States. | Great Britain. | Germany. | France. | Russia. | Belgium. |
|------------|----------------|----------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| | Gross tons. | Gross tons. | Metric tons. | Metric tons. | Metric tons. | Metric tons. |
| 1891 . . . | 8,279,870 | 7,406,064 | 4,641,217 | 1,897,387 | 1,004,923 | 684,126 |
| 1892 . . . | 9,157,000 | 6,709,255 | 4,937,461 | 2,057,258 | 1,071,813 | 753,268 |
| 1893 . . . | 7,124,502 | 6,976,990 | 4,986,003 | 2,003,096 | 1,148,937 | 745,264 |
| 1894 . . . | 6,657,388 | 7,427,342 | 5,380,038 | 2,069,714 | 1,332,505 | 818,597 |
| 1895 . . . | 9,446,308 | 7,703,459 | 5,464,501 | 2,003,868 | 1,452,380 | 829,234 |
| 1896 . . . | 8,623,127 | 8,659,681 | 6,372,575 | 2,339,537 | 1,612,069 | 959,414 |
| 1897 . . . | 9,652,680 | 8,796,465 | 6,881,466 | 2,484,191 | 1,868,671 | 1,035,037 |
| 1898 . . . | 11,773,934 | 8,609,719 | 7,312,766 | 2,525,075 | 2,222,469 | 979,755 |
| 1899 . . . | 13,620,703 | 9,454,204 | 8,143,132 | 2,578,401 | 2,672,492 | 1,024,576 |
| 1900 . . . | 13,789,242 | 9,051,107 | 8,422,842 | 2,699,494 | 2,821,000 | 1,018,507 |

The primacy of the United States cannot be fully understood without reference to the way in which this industry has made use of inventions for the utilization of iron ores. In the manufacture of pig iron to be made into steel, two principal methods are generally followed, the Bessemer process and the open hearth process. The use of either is determined by the quality of the ore. The Bessemer process requires a high grade of ore, one comparatively free from phosphorus, while the open hearth process is adapted to the use of low grade ores. Consequently, the abundance of high grade or Bessemer ores, found at the head of the Great Lakes, made the United States the home of the Bessemer process, whereas other countries having to use low grade ores have had to employ the open hearth process, or some other process more expensive than the Bessemer. Until recently, at any rate, the Bessemer process seems to have been the only one that admitted of production on the extensive scale achieved by the United States steel producers. Germany, with abundant low grade ores, produces only twelve per cent of her pig iron by the Bessemer method, and the relative position of Great Britain and the United States is shown by the following table:—

(1) These figures are taken from the *Bulletins of the American Iron and Steel Association*, excepting Germany's, which are from *Official Circular No. 2*, 1901, of the *Verein deutscher Eisen- und Stahl-Industrieller*, p. 3.

COMPARATIVE PRODUCTION OF STEEL AND STEEL RAILS BY
PROCESSES IN THE UNITED STATES AND GREAT BRITAIN.¹

| Years. | BESSEMER STEEL PRODUCTION. | | | | OPEN HEARTH PRODUCTION. | |
|------------|----------------------------|--------------|----------------|--------------|-------------------------|------------------------|
| | United States. | | Great Britain. | | United States. | Great Britain. |
| | Steel Ingots. | Steel Rails. | Steel Ingots. | Steel Rails. | Steel Ingots. | Steel Ingots. |
| | Gross tons. | Gross tons. | Gross tons. | Gross tons. | Gross tons. | Gross tons. |
| 1880 . . . | 1,074,262 | 852,196 | 1,044,382 | 732,910 | 100,851 | 251,000 |
| 1881 . . . | 1,374,247 | 1,187,770 | 1,441,719 | 1,023,740 | 131,202 | 338,000 |
| 1882 . . . | 1,514,687 | 1,284,067 | 1,673,649 | 1,235,785 | 143,341 | 436,000 |
| 1883 . . . | 1,477,345 | 1,148,709 | 1,553,380 | 1,097,174 | 119,356 | 455,500 |
| 1884 . . . | 1,375,531 | 996,983 | 1,299,676 | 784,968 | 117,515 | 475,250 |
| 1885 . . . | 1,519,430 | 959,471 | 1,304,127 | 706,583 | 133,376 | 583,918 |
| 1886 . . . | 2,269,190 | 1,574,703 | 1,570,520 | 730,343 | 218,973 | 694,150 |
| 1887 . . . | 2,936,033 | 2,101,904 | 2,089,403 | 1,021,847 | 322,069 | 981,104 |
| 1888 . . . | 2,511,161 | 1,386,277 | 2,032,794 | 979,083 | 314,318 | 1,292,742 |
| 1889 . . . | 2,930,204 | 1,510,057 | 2,140,791 | 943,048 | 374,543 | 1,429,169 |
| 1890 . . . | 3,688,871 | 1,867,837 | 2,014,843 | 1,019,606 | 513,232 | 1,564,200 |
| 1891 . . . | 3,247,417 | 1,293,053 | 1,642,005 | 662,676 | 579,753 | 1,514,538 |
| 1892 . . . | 4,168,435 | 1,537,588 | 1,500,810 | 535,836 | 669,889 | 1,418,830 |
| 1893 . . . | 3,215,686 | 1,129,400 | 1,493,454 | 579,386 | 737,890 | 1,456,309 |
| 1894 . . . | 3,571,313 | 1,016,013 | 1,535,384 | 598,530 | 784,936 | 1,575,318 |
| 1895 . . . | 4,909,128 | 1,299,628 | 1,535,225 | 604,338 | 1,137,182 | 1,754,737 |
| 1896 . . . | 3,919,906 | 1,116,958 | 1,815,842 | 817,476 | 1,298,700 | 2,317,555 |
| 1897 . . . | 5,475,315 | 1,644,520 | 1,884,155 | 921,131 | 1,608,671 | 2,601,806 |
| 1898 . . . | 6,609,017 | 1,976,702 | 1,759,386 | 751,591 | 2,230,292 | 2,806,600 |
| 1899 . . . | 7,586,354 | 2,240,767 | 1,825,074 | 838,148 | 2,947,316 | 3,030,251 |
| 1900 . . . | 6,684,770 | 2,361,921 | 1,745,004 | 759,844 | 3,402,552 | 3,156,050 ² |

(1) *Statistics of American and Foreign Iron Trade*, Philadelphia, 1900.(2) *Engineering and Mining Journal*, July 6, 1901.

It thus appears that both Great Britain and Germany have had to resort to the use of the more expensive methods of steel production, owing to the absence of ores in sufficient quantity, and of the requisite quality, to make possible the employment of the most economical method of manufacture. This handicap has hitherto been much in favor of the United States. How long it will last is a matter of speculation; but it is apparent from the progress made in the open hearth method, even in the United States, that strenuous efforts are now being put forth to perfect processes of production in which lower grade ores than the Bessemer process requires may be profitably employed in competition with Bessemer steel. The production of open hearth steel in the United States has more than doubled since 1897. That is, it has increased from 1,608,671 tons in 1897 to 3,402,552 tons in 1900.¹ But this will in no wise prejudice the position of the United States. The supply of rich ores of too high phosphoric content for Bessemerizing is so abundant throughout the United States that we only await the more perfect adaptation of some such process as the Talbot continuous process of steel production,² or such a method of treating low grade ores by concentration as that which Edison has really brought to the verge of success, to open a new era in the evolution of the iron and steel industry in this country.

There is no more instructive chapter in the history of the evolution of the iron industry than that which presents the facts bearing on the conversion of the United States from an iron-consuming to a steel-consuming country. This change has had much to do with the relation of this country to the world market. The fact can only be pointed out here that in 1891 only forty-seven per cent of our pig iron was converted into steel, whereas, in 1899, seventy-seven per cent was so converted. The following table reveals the tendency at work during a decade, and throws much light on the question of the rate at which we have become the largest steel makers of the world :—

(1) *Bulletin of the American Iron and Steel Association*, May 25, 1901.

(2) Rothwell's *Mineral Industry*, 1899, p. 632.

PROGRESS OF PIG IRON AND STEEL PRODUCTION COMPARED.

| Years. | Pig Iron, gross tons. | Crude Steel, gross tons. | Pig Iron made into Steel. |
|----------------|--------------------------|-----------------------------|------------------------------------|
| | | | Per cent. |
| 1891 | 8,279,870 | 3,904,240 | 47 |
| 1892 | 9,157,000 | 4,927,581 | 54 |
| 1893 | 7,124,502 | 4,019,995 | 56 |
| 1894 | 6,657,388 | 4,412,032 | 66 |
| 1895 | 9,446,308 | 6,114,834 | 65 |
| 1896 | 8,623,127 | 5,281,689 | 61 |
| 1897 | 9,652,680 | 7,159,957 | 74 |
| 1898 | 11,773,936 | 8,932,857 | 76 |
| 1899 | 13,620,703 | 10,639,857 | 77 |
| 1900 | 13,789,242 | | |

If the proportion of pig iron converted into steel is an index to the metallurgical development of a country, then the United States again ranks first among nations. France, for example, produces only twice as much manufactured steel as iron. Germany makes five times as much steel as iron. Generally the use of steel is on the increase as a substitute for iron, owing to its cheapness, efficiency, and durability. The world's annual production of pig iron, which forms the basis of manufactured iron and steel, is 40,000,000 tons in round numbers. Fully 27,000,000 tons of this is made into steel products, and nearly forty per cent of this steel is credited to the United States. There is no better way of showing the advantageous position of the United States, as the foremost maker and consumer of steel, than by a tabular comparison with other countries, in which is given, according to the latest figures at hand, the percentage of each country's pig iron product which it converted into steel, citing even years for most of the leading countries. Such a table is presented herewith from

the United States Treasury's monograph on the "Iron and Steel Trade of the United States," corrected and revised where possible.¹

THE WORLD'S PRODUCTION OF STEEL BY COUNTRIES COMPARED.

| Countries. | PIG IRON. | | | STEEL. | | |
|-------------------------------|-----------|------------|--------------|--------|------------|--------------|
| | Years. | Tons. | Per-centage. | Years. | Tons. | Per-centage. |
| United States..... | 1899 | 13,620,703 | 34.52 | 1899 | 10,639,857 | 39.25 |
| Great Britain..... | 1899 | 9,421,435 | 23.86 | 1899 | 5,000,000 | 18.44 |
| Germany and Luxemburg | 1899 | 8,117,594 | 20.56 | 1899 | 6,290,434 | 23.20 |
| France | 1899 | 2,578,401 | 6.53 | 1899 | 1,554,354 | 5.73 |
| Belgium..... | 1899 | 1,024,576 | 2.59 | 1899 | 729,920 | 2.70 |
| Austria-Hungary..... | 1898 | 1,427,240 | 3.62 | 1896 | 880,696 | 3.25 |
| Russia and Finland..... | 1898 | 2,222,469 | 5.64 | 1898 | 1,494,000 | 5.51 |
| Sweden..... | 1899 | 497,727 | 1.26 | 1898 | 265,121 | .98 |
| Spain | 1899 | 295,840 | .75 | 1899 | 122,954 | .45 |
| Italy..... | 1897 | 8,393 | .02 | 1898 | 94,667 | .35 |
| Canada | 1899 | 94,077 | .24 | 1899 | 22,000 | .08 |
| Japan | 1897 | 57,678 | .15 | | | |
| Other countries (about) | 1899 | 100,925 | .26 | 1899 | 15,997 | .06 |
| Total | | 39,467,058 | 100.00 | | 27,110,000 | 100.00 |

The position of the United States in its trade relations with other countries has undergone no more radical change during the past decade than as importer and exporter of iron and steel. At the beginning of the decade, our imports were valued at nearly twice the sum of our exports of these commodities. In the fiscal year ending June 30, 1900, our exports were more than five times the value of our imports of iron and steel. The official

(1) This monograph appeared in the Treasury's *Summary of Commerce and Finance*, Bureau of Statistics, for August, 1900, in the series of monographs on leading movements in the internal commerce of the United States.

table shows the change in the relation of these two movements to and from the United States.

COMPARISON OF EXPORTS AND IMPORTS OF IRON AND STEEL.¹

| Year Ending June 30. | Iron and Steel Exports. | Iron and Steel Imports. |
|----------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|
| | Dollars. | Dollars. |
| 1891 | 28,909,614 | 53,544,372 |
| 1892 | 28,800,930 | 28,928,103 |
| 1893 | 30,106,482 | 34,937,974 |
| 1894 | 29,220,264 | 20,925,769 |
| 1895 | 32,000,989 | 23,048,515 |
| 1896 | 41,160,877 | 25,338,103 |
| 1897 | 57,497,872 | 16,094,557 |
| 1898 | 70,406,885 | 12,626,431 |
| 1899 | 93,716,031 | 12,100,440 |
| 1900 | 121,858,344 | 20,476,524 |

This turning of the tide in the American iron and steel trade toward Europe, Africa, Asia, and Australasia marks the end of an old, and the beginning of a new, régime, not only in our relations with our competitors, but also in the economic position of this industry at home. The general problem before the American iron and steel industry is that of developing foreign markets systematically on the basis of maintaining the prices of its products at a fairly, if not indeed a highly, profitable level. But the great avenues of domestic demand, such as that of steel rails, are no longer to be relied upon to take the major portion of the product in question. The industry has outgrown the capacity of the home market. Both industrially and commercially this industry is so completely organized that it must enlarge its mar-

(1) Compiled from *Summary of Commerce and Finance*, Bureau of Statistics, Treasury Department.

kets to save itself. In this situation, it has three distinct lines of policy open before it: (1.) It can follow the two-price policy of getting all it can out of the home market, and having irregular recourse to the foreign market at a price far enough below the domestic price to carry off its surplus products as they happen to accumulate. If it relies on the elements of monopoly in its present position, it will continue to do this. But this policy has already become the bane of our export business, and no far-seeing management of an industry so highly organized and so admirably equipped as this one is with men of commercial and financial ability, would fold its opportunity away in the napkin of domestic sufficiency, and cultivate the foreign market only when it could not help itself. (2.) If this policy is a thing of the past, then we may adopt the plan of developing the home market by lowering prices and by seeking new avenues of consumption in the domestic demand, by the substitution of iron and steel for wood and other materials, as has been done with marked success in steel car manufacture and in the construction of bridges, office buildings, machinery, implements, tools, etc.,—all of which are in increasing demand with the broadening basis of the internal development of our national life. But here, again, the rate of this expansion of internal demand is far below the rate at which the volume of iron and steel production increases on the present scale of organization. (3.) Consequently, there is left for us only one other policy,—that of cultivating the world market against all competitors, systematically and without stint. With the capital, the mechanical and business capacity, and the vast natural resources at its command, under its existing organization the American iron and steel industry has no alternative between vegetating in fatness at home and fearlessly meeting its rivals in the world market.

The entrance of the United States upon such a career of commercial aggression would not, however, be without its risks and drawbacks. Four consequences seem to be equally probable as the result of this change in the relation of this country to the world market:—

1. The steady but certain advance of European tariffs all along the line against the United States. A European concert is politically impossible, but individually it is inevitable, as a means of self-preservation. France and Russia represent the type of economic policy that our own expansion is bound to provoke into greater or less permanency, especially on the Continent.

2. The formation of an imperial customs union on the part of Great Britain and her colonies, as Canada has proposed, on the basis of freedom of trade within this fiscal group, but with protection for revenue and mutual preservation as the basis of relations with the outside world. Great Britain alone may hardly take the lead in returning to the protection policy (though the export tax on coal is virtually a concession in that direction), but she will welcome with a deep sense of relief the formation of a protective cordon of colonies as the corner-stones of imperial solidarity.

3. The lowering of tariffs on the part of the United States, not only for the purpose of recognizing the right of the domestic consumer to share in the reduced cost of iron and steel production, but for the equally important purpose of admitting imports more freely, in order that foreigners may buy more freely of our exports. Only to a very limited extent will foreign nations give up their gold to settle trade balances; beyond that they must sell goods to us to buy goods from us. Our own trade expansion will thus force our tariffs downward.

4. As a consequence of higher tariffs against us on the Continent, and of the British imperial tariff union, limiting our sphere of expansion in these directions, the keenest competition will occur in the Tropics and in the Far East. Here the British and German mercantile marine will readily demonstrate their present superiority in that arm of commercial efficiency, as compared with the United States. Hence the advent of the United States as a mercantile sea-power of the first rank is one of the immediate consequences of our rise to primacy in the world's production of iron and steel. As for our ability to make steel

ships, the shipyards of the New England Coast, of the Delaware, the Chesapeake, of San Francisco Bay, and Puget Sound can speak for themselves; they only await a greater volume of demand to rival both Great Britain and Germany in this respect. Already our shipyards are the best equipped with electrical and other labor-saving devices.

Do these developments make for peace, or tend to war? That depends on how deep we look. On the surface, trade is war; at heart, however, commerce ministers more and more to the fund of fellowship among nations. America, Great Britain, and Germany, being more nearly matched in industrial and commercial equipment than ever before, these three great competitors of the same racial household will have reached an enduring basis of international peace. Each has yet to learn more fully what the characteristic features of strength are in the position of its rivals in the world's iron and steel trade. The restless demand for improved methods and machines, which intelligent workmen have readily applied to this industry, has put America where she is,—the foremost producer of iron and steel. The technological training of men and masters in iron-working processes has enabled Germany to rise as the worthy competitor of both Great Britain and the United States. No other single feature of German development has done so much to bring her trade to the front rank of excellence and value. The position of Great Britain is what it is to-day and what it was in the past because of her commercial genius. Prolonged leadership in trade has, however, made her lax and caused her to lose the art of quick adaptation to changed conditions of competition. In the lessons which each of these powers is seeking to learn from the others, these three characteristic factors contain the secrets of the century's progress in the iron and steel trade,—the invention of machinery and methods, the education of the worker, and the cultivation of the consumer. Permanent peace and prosperity lie along these paths.

THE EVOLUTION OF THE MAMMALIA

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(*Concluded from July number.*)

A second series of perissodactyls, which is still represented at the present day, is that of the rhinoceroses. The origin of this group is still veiled in obscurity, for the earliest unquestionable representatives of the main or direct series appear in the lower Oligocene of Europe and North America. There are, however, several more ancient and very imperfectly known genera, which, when more complete specimens of them have been recovered, may very well prove to be the ancestors for which we are still seeking. At the present time, the rhinoceroses are verging toward extinction, and are found only in the warmer parts of Africa and southern Asia; but in former periods they ranged freely all over the northern hemisphere, and were not only very abundant individually, but were also exceedingly varied; the trunk supporting many flourishing and vigorous branches.

Three principal divisions or series of the rhinoceros group may be readily distinguished, though it is an extremely difficult task to marshal all the many genera and species in orderly array, and to make out their relationships to one another. What may be called the main series, is that leading to the modern and still existing forms, but it is a highly ramified series, giving off branches and twigs at almost every stage of its history. The principal development of this series took place in the Old World; the other two series, now entirely extinct, being North American, either

mainly or exclusively, in their distribution. The most ancient genera which can be definitely referred to this series are found in the White River beds and in the contemporary formation of Ronzon, in France, though certain fragmentary fossils of the Uinta, Bridger, and even the Wasatch, when better known, will not improbably turn out to be still more primitive members of the same line. Until this point can be cleared up, the place of origin of this series must remain uncertain.

The typical White River rhinoceros (*Canopus*) was an animal of moderate size, which is rather lightly built, having proportions not unlike those of the tapir, and the bones are in very marked contrast to the massive skeleton of the existing rhinoceroses. The skull is already of distinctly rhinocerotid type, but the absence of any horn, the slender and pointed nasal bones, and the straight upper profile of the head, combine to give it quite a different appearance from that of the living species. The anterior teeth are more numerous than in the latter, but they have already taken on the characteristic shape and function, as have also the grinding teeth; but these are of somewhat simpler pattern than in the modern genera, and not all of the premolars are yet like the molars in construction. The neck is short and heavy, and the trunk is long, and is of by no means such excessive girth as in the rhinoceroses now living. The limbs also are proportionately slender, and while they are of no great length, yet they are decidedly more elongate than in the recent types. This is especially true of the feet, which are longer and narrower than in the latter, and are already reduced to three digits each, the minimum number which occurs in any member of the family. In short, in almost every point of dental and skeletal structure, *Canopus* is much more primitive and less specialized than the subsequent members of the series. The French type, found at Ronzon, is very much less completely known than the contemporary American forms, but would seem to have been very like them.

As we ascend through the successive strata of the White River formation, species of *Canopus* are found at all levels, and when compared with one another, are seen to display gradual and

steady modifications, which are, for the most part, in a direction opposite to that taken by the equine series. The tendency to a reduction of digits ceases, for the increasing stature and massiveness of body require a broad and strong support in the feet. The limbs do not become elongated, as in the horses, but grow relatively shorter and heavier. The anterior teeth are reduced in number, but enlarged in size, and the premolars become more like the molars.

In the White River beds may also be found the beginnings of a short side branch from the main series, a branch which culminated in the John Day beds, and then died out; namely, a succession of species with a pair of small horns placed *transversely* upon the end of the nose. The nasal bones are thickened and strengthened, to carry the horns, but otherwise these species are like those of *Cænopus*. These curious animals extended their range to the eastern hemisphere, but their career was short, and they appear not to have given rise to any subsequent type.

The rhinoceroses of the Loup Fork beds are very different from those of the White River and are believed by Osborn, who has made a special study of the group, not to be descended from the latter, but to be immigrants from the Old World. They were very short limbed and massive creatures, with heavy bones and enormous bodies, with proportions, in brief, quite resembling those of the hippopotamus. The females were hornless, but the males were provided with a single, small horn, placed upon the tip of the snout; the teeth had attained to practically the modern stage of development. In North America the rhinoceroses continued into the Pliocene, but gradually became more rare, until, in the Pleistocene, they had entirely disappeared, except, perhaps, in a few favored localities of the continent, such as Florida and California. So far as is at present known, they never entered South America at all.

In the Old World this main line was much longer lived and more diversified than in America, and the species were very varied and abundant throughout the Miocene and Pliocene. Already in the Miocene, the forerunners of the modern African

and Indian species may be identified, though time would fail us to trace out all the steps of their descent. In the Pleistocene occurred some exceedingly large species with enormous horns. One species was very common in Siberia, which it shared with the mammoth, and was especially adapted to a cold climate, being provided with a dense covering of hair and wool. Another huge rhinoceros (*Elasmotherium*) had a single immense horn on the forehead, which was raised into a great dome to support it, and ranged over Pleistocene Siberia and Russia. This wonderful animal had greatly elongate and very complex grinding teeth, covered with cement and with "elaborately crimped" enamel ridges. At first sight, these teeth bear a remarkable resemblance to those of a gigantic horse. Here again, one is much puzzled to account for the sudden disappearance of so many large animals, which were seemingly so well adapted to their surroundings.

Besides this main line of rhinoceros descent, there are two other series which are worthy of mention and which had separated from each other and from the main stem at a very early date, for they are quite distinct in the middle Eocene. Both of these series have completely vanished from the earth since White River times, and nothing in the existing fauna corresponds to them. Of one of these lines, the oldest representatives yet discovered occur in the Bridger beds in certain animals of moderate size, having molar teeth of an unmistakably rhinoceros-like pattern, but with canines which are erect and pointed. The toes number four in the front foot and three in the hind, and this number persists throughout the series. In the succeeding Uinta beds are found larger species of the same genus, whose canine teeth have grown to formidable lacerating tusks. The series culminates in the genus *Metamynodon* of the White River, which would seem to have been a rhinoceros of aquatic habits, and was not unlike a hippopotamus in appearance. This likeness is increased by the great, curved tusks, but the head is much shorter and wider, and it is entirely exceptional among all rhinoceroses for the shortening of the face and for the great width and massiveness of the

side arches of the skull. A representative of this series has also been found in the "phosphorite" deposits of southern France.

The other side branch of the rhinoceros stem developed along lines quite opposite to those taken by the series just described. It also is first recognizable in the middle Eocene in animals of rather small size, but of quite stout build, with slender and hornless skulls and simple premolar teeth; they had short necks and rather short, heavy limbs, with four toes in the front foot and three in the hind, a number which is all but universal in the perissodactyls of the Bridger. The Uinta form differs from its Bridger predecessor chiefly in the greater length and slenderness of its limbs, in the loss of one toe from the fore foot and in the increased complexity of the premolar teeth, which are beginning to assume the molar pattern. This series, like the preceding one, reaches its culmination in the White River, and the genus of that formation (*Hyracodon*) is one of unusual interest. In proportions and appearance it might almost be called a rhinoceros-horse, though its short, deep, and somewhat clumsy head is very different from the slender and graceful head seen in all the horses, even the earliest. All of the anterior teeth (incisors and canines) are very small, and could not have served as weapons, though none of them has been suppressed, and they are all alike in size and shape. The transformation of the premolars to the molar pattern is now complete, and all of the grinding teeth have the characteristic rhinoceros-like construction. The neck is slender and long, longer proportionately than in the contemporary White River horse; the trunk is small and the limbs differ notably from those of all other rhinoceroses in their length and slenderness. The feet also are quite long and narrow and the lateral toes are so reduced that the tendency to monodactylism is very marked. Had this line survived, it would very probably have terminated in one-toed rhinoceroses! Being almost defenceless, and having neither horns nor teeth that could be used as weapons, *Hyracodon* must have been dependent upon its powers of speed for safety from its enemies, and it had thus become a lightly built, slender, cursorial rhinoceros, which, judging from the modern world,

seems almost like a contradiction in terms. The series, with, perhaps, the exception of its earliest member, was entirely confined to North America; it has been extinct since the end of the White River.

Thus, of the three principal rhinoceros lines, only the main series acquired horns, the other two were hornless; each of the three series had a different and characteristic style of modification of the anterior teeth.

The third family of perissodactyls, which has survived to the present day, is that of the tapirs. These animals were evidently derived from the same stock as the rhinoceroses, but separated from them at an early date, and were already distinct in the middle Eocene. Owing to the wide geographical range of these early genera, it is not yet possible to decide in what part of the world they first originated. On the whole, the tapirs have undergone comparatively little change since their first recorded appearance, much less than either the horses or the rhinoceroses, being a relatively conservative and non-progressive type. The principal changes which are to be noted consist (1) in a gradual increase of size and weight, though no member of the family ever became very large; (2) in a slow modification of the skull, to adjust it to the formation and increase of the proboscis; (3) in slight, but peculiar changes in the anterior teeth and in the assumption by the premolars of the molar pattern. This gradual complication of the premolars until they come to resemble the true molars is a very characteristic feature of the perissodactyls, and is repeated in all the lines that were sufficiently long lived for the transformation to be completed.

Throughout the Tertiary period, the tapirs ranged all over the northern hemisphere, and in North America they continued abundant until nearly the end of the Pleistocene, entering South America with the great Pliocene migration. This former range explains their present remarkable distribution, which is in South America and southern Asia, with nearly half the circumference of the earth between them. The simple explanation is that they

once inhabited all of the intervening region, but have become extinct everywhere, except in the two areas mentioned. This is an example of what is called "discontinuous distribution," and whenever the history of a group so distributed is known, it invariably proves to have been brought about just as in the case of the tapirs.

A fourth perissodactyl family, which long ago utterly perished from the earth, is so remarkable that it should not be passed over in silence. This is the peculiarly North American family of the titanotheres. It was derived from the common perissodactyl stock and was distinctly separated from it as a recognizable family at least as early as the lower middle Eocene (Wind River beds). The oldest known representatives of it were rather small but stoutly built animals, with relatively large and heavy heads and peculiar upper molar teeth, which differ from those of most other perissodactyls in having no transverse crests, but conical tubercles on the grinding surface. In the succeeding Bridger beds, the members of this family are the commonest of all fossils and are represented by many species, of which great herds must have wandered on the shores of the lake. Only a few of these species, however, belong in the main line of descent, the others being collateral branches; but they are all very much alike and differ only in minor details. The principal change from the Wind River forms is in the very notable increase in size and weight, although these Bridger animals (genus *Telmatherium*) are still far smaller than were their successors in the later geological stages, and resembled the modern tapirs in size and proportions. The canine teeth are sharp and formidable weapons, much resembling those of the bear; the premolars are all simpler than the molars, and the lateral arches of the skull are strikingly prominent and thick. There are four digits in the front foot and three in the hind, as in almost all the perissodactyls of that time. It should be noted that in these animals, as in mammals generally, the long bones are hollow and contain cavities for the marrow. In species of the same genus from the upper Bridger and from the overlying lower Uinta beds, indications of a pair of transversely placed

nasal horns begin to be apparent, while in the upper Uinta beds we meet with a new genus of the series (*Diplacodon*), which exhibits notable progress. In this genus the stature is much increased, and the horns have become quite conspicuous; the canine teeth are reduced in size and the premolars are more complex in pattern. The series attains its final stage in the wonderful animals of the genus *Titanotherium*, found in the lower division of the White River, to which it gives the name *Titanotherium Beds*, and to which it is strictly confined. Even within the limits of these beds, which, being only about one hundred and fifty feet thick, cannot represent any very great lapse of time, measured by geological standards, these animals underwent many and striking changes, and indicate several species.

In essentials, *Titanotherium* differs but little from its Eocene predecessors, but its appearance is very greatly changed. Most obvious is the great increase in the height and bulk of these animals, of which the larger species may fairly be called elephantine, and all parts of the skeleton show an elephant-like massiveness of structure. The head is enormous and the lateral arches are immensely heavy; the brain, however, has not kept pace with the enlargement of the skull and is quite absurdly small, being, proportionately, distinctly smaller than in the Eocene ancestors of the series. This is a reversal of the ordinary rule, according to which the brain is larger in the descendant than in the ancestral type, and it is doubtless the reason why these great and powerful animals had such a brief career. The increased size of the skull is due principally to the growth of the facial region and to the development of air sinuses in the cranial bones which form the brain case. The horns, also, are greatly enlarged, and in the males of some of the species, they have a grotesque size and shape. The neck is very heavy and the spines of the anterior trunk vertebræ are immensely elongated for the attachment of the muscles which support the huge head; these spines must have produced a conspicuous hump at the shoulders. The trunk is very large, and the hip bones are expanded, as in the elephants. The limbs are extremely massive and of proportions

much like those of the elephants; as in the latter, the long bones have lost their marrow cavities, which are replaced by a tissue of spongy bone, a feature usual in very large animals. The feet have lost no digits, and are not so much shortened as in the elephants, but the hoofs are reduced to just such nodules as in them.

Altogether, the titanotheres are a very curious and interesting family, and it is not easy to see why none of its members should have reached the Old World, when other perissodactyls migrated backward and forward between the continents so freely.

A second great order of hoofed animals, and one which is now, and long has been, dominant is that of the artiodactyls, or even-toed ungulates, which include such familiar forms as the pigs, hippopotamus, camels, deer, antelopes, sheep, oxen, etc. If we should gather together all of the living and extinct forms of artiodactyls, we should have a vast assemblage of families and genera, far exceeding in numbers and variety those of the perissodactyls, and it is, therefore, impossible to consider more than a very few of the more important groups here. Indeed, the mutual relationships of this great and heterogeneous assemblage of animals constitute some of the most complex and difficult problems of zoölogy ("the despair of the zoölogist," they have been called), and they cannot be determined until the history of each group has been traced step by step through a reasonably complete series of fossil forms.

The order makes its first recorded appearance in the Wasatch of North America, though our ignorance of the contemporaneous fauna of Europe forbids the inference that they had not already reached that continent also. In the upper Eocene of Europe, the artiodactyls are already so numerous, so diversified, and so different from those of America, that they must be regarded as migrants from some region not yet determined. In all probability, the artiodactyls were derived from the Condylarthra, the same group as that which gave rise to the perissodactyls, though the connection cannot yet be demonstrated in an altogether satisfactory way.

The first sub-order of the artiodactyls is the Suina (including the swine, peccaries, and hippopotamus), and is a very ancient branch, which had become distinct from the others as early as the Wasatch. In North America, only the peccaries are indigenous, and, in spite of many resemblances, they must have been distinct from the true swine, at least since Eocene times. The Eocene ancestors of the peccaries are still very imperfectly known; only fragmentary fossils having been found, though we may confidently regard them as the real ancestral forms, for the peccaries are typically developed in the White River, and from that time on the record is clear and unbroken. The changes are, however, comparatively few and slight, consisting chiefly in a reduction of the lateral digits to functionless dew-claws, the loss of the external toe of the hind foot, a very exceptional arrangement in this sub-order. The skull, teeth, and limbs also underwent some modifications, and the stomach became complicated in a way that suggests the highly complex stomach of the ruminants. Like the tapirs, the peccaries were very common in North America during the Pleistocene, but the events of the latter part of that period drove them southward, and now they are not found north of Texas, though they are still abundant in South America.

The true swine are an Old World group, and appear to have been derived from forms, which were very nearly allied to the early peccaries. They have simple stomachs, short limbs and feet, retaining four functional toes on each foot; the upper tusks are turned outward and upward in a very characteristic way. The grinding teeth of the swine are much larger and more complex than those of the peccaries, and in the African wart-hog these teeth reach an extraordinary degree of complication, almost rivalling that seen in the elephant.

An aberrant side branch of pig-like animals are the extinct elotheres, which are common in the White River beds and in the corresponding formations in France, and are remarkable for their great size. The large, conical front teeth and the very long and narrow skull, with its absurdly small brain case, have an almost reptilian appearance. The legs are proportionately

long, much more so than in the pigs, and the feet have only two toes each, the only known example of such extreme reduction in the whole sub-order. Altogether, these must have been among the most curious and grotesque looking animals of their day. No direct ancestor of the *elotheres* has yet been discovered, but nearly allied forms occur in all the horizons from the Wasatch to the Uinta, which makes it probable that the group originated in North America.

Nothing is yet known concerning the origin of the hippopotamus; it is first found in the Pliocene of India, but it had already attained substantially its present condition. The group never reached the western hemisphere, though spreading all over Europe and Asia; since the Pleistocene it has been confined to Africa.

The second sub-order of the artiodactyla, and one to which an unusual degree of interest attaches, is that containing the camels and llamas (*Tylopoda*). In spite of the fact that no representative of the sub-order is found in this continent, at the present time, it is, nevertheless, a most characteristically North American group, and was for ages entirely confined to that region, where it attained an extraordinary degree of development and diversification; imitating in a wonderful way the true ruminants of the Old World and taking their place in North America. The true ruminants did not gain a permanent foothold in the western hemisphere until the upper Miocene. Many diverging and branching lines of the *Tylopoda* may be traced through a longer or shorter course of the American Tertiary, but only one of these lines has persisted to the present time, and this is likewise the only line which has been found outside of North America. For this reason it may be called the main series or line.

This main series begins in the Wasatch with a very small animal (*Trigonolestes*) hardly larger than a rabbit, which, unfortunately, is still very incompletely known. The dentition, which was first discovered separately, is so like that of many of the smaller clawed mammals, that no one could have imagined that it belonged to an artiodactyl at all. The subsequent discovery

of the feet, however, made clear its true position. The teeth are the most primitive of any known artiodactyl dentition, and the cusps of the grinding teeth are conical in form, not having begun to assume the crescentic shape, which is characteristic of all the ruminants, in the broadest sense of that term. While not yet positively certain, it is extremely probable that this little animal had five toes on each foot and the bones of the forearm, as also those of the leg, were separate. In the Bridger representative of the series (*Homacodon*), a slight increase in stature is observable; the grinding teeth have grown more complex, and their cusps are rather pyramidal than conical, the first step toward the assumption of the crescentic shape; the first, or inner toe, on each foot has been suppressed, making four, which are arranged in two symmetrical pairs, the third and fourth of the original five forming a larger median pair, with a somewhat smaller lateral pair, the second and fifth.

In the Uinta genus (*Protylopus*) there can no longer be any question as to the camel-like nature of the animal; its whole appearance being that of a miniature llama. It is still very small, though somewhat larger than its predecessor of the Bridger. The molar teeth are now completely transformed, and are composed of four crescentic cusps, arranged in two transverse pairs, and the dental series is complete, without any gaps in it. The skull is very llama-like, but has a proportionately smaller brain capacity, and the orbits for the eyes are still but partially encircled by bone. The neck has become elongate, as have also the limbs and feet, especially the hinder ones. In the forearm the ulna, and in the leg the fibula, are very much reduced, and have begun to coalesce with the enlarged radius and tibia respectively. There are still four digits in the fore foot, though the lateral pair has become much smaller than the median pair, while in the hind foot the lateral toes are reduced to mere threads of bone, which can have had no functional importance whatever.

The next step is the White River genus (*Poëbrotherium*) which marks a notable advance, and even within the limits of the White River beds, the successive species of the genus continue

to progress in the same direction. Especially marked is the increase of stature, which much exceeds that of the Uinta type and, in the larger White River species, equals that of a sheep. The canine teeth are beginning to enlarge and show signs of assuming the formidable, lacerating shape of the modern camels, while the growth of the jaws begins to produce gaps in the dental series, tending to isolate the canines. The molar teeth have much longer crowns than in any of the preceding genera, taking the first step toward the development of the prismatic form. The skull is very llama-like in appearance and the orbits are completely enclosed in bone; the neck is much elongated and its vertebræ have acquired the extremely peculiar and characteristic shape found in the modern camels and llamas. The limbs are relatively much longer than in the Uinta genus and the external forearm and leg bones (ulna and fibula) are completely reduced. The fore leg has increased proportionately more in length than the hind, so that both are nearly equal, while in the Uinta genus the hind limb was considerably longer. The lateral digits are now almost completely gone and are represented only by very small nodules of bone; but the median pair are still separate from each other, not coalescing to form a "cannon bone." The hoofs are long, slender, and pointed, and evidently bore the full weight of the animal, which shows that the curious pad or cushion upon which the foot rests in the llama and camel had not yet appeared.

The John Day genus (*Protomeryx*) is very similar to its White River predecessor, but continues to advance along the same lines. In the Loup Fork type (*Procamelus*) the transformation is almost complete; the genus has several species, some of which appear to be ancestral to the true camels, others to the llamas, while others, again, are peculiar and have no existing descendants. These animals are much larger than their ancestors of the John Day, and have longer necks and limbs; the upper incisor teeth (except the external one on each side) are beginning to diminish and disappear, and the grinding teeth have elongate, prismatic crowns. In the feet, both fore and hind, the long bones of the two remaining digits coalesce to form cannon bones, and the hoofs are

reduced to small nodules, showing that the pad or cushion had now been developed. About this time began the migrations which led to the segregation of three quite distinct series of the sub-order. One series passed to the Old World and there gave rise to the true camels, the most ancient of which has been found in the Pliocene of India. The second series wandered to South America, where their descendants are the guanacos, llamas, etc., of the present time; while the third remained in North America and are, on the whole, more like the South American than the Old World genera. Some of these North American species are very peculiar and one species, in the immense length of its neck and limbs, closely imitated the giraffe. Very large llama-like forms persisted here till well into the Pleistocene, when they all utterly disappeared, as did the horses, elephants, and many other strange types.

Like the tapirs, the modern Tylopoda are discontinuously distributed, and for precisely the same reason, because they have become extinct in the intervening regions, in which they formerly abounded.

The history of the main line of the Tylopoda is thus almost as completely recorded and known as is that of the horses, and it is surprising to see how similar are the steps of evolution in these two widely separated groups. Both start from very small, five-toed ancestors, and in both we see a steady increase in stature, in the length of the neck, limbs, and feet, in the reduction of the external bones of the forearm and leg and of the digits. The reduction of digits culminates in the one-toed horse and the two-toed camel. The parallel might be carried into many of the minor details of structure, but the principle is sufficiently well illustrated.

From this main line of tylopodan descent, many side branches were given off from time to time. Lack of space will prevent more than a very brief mention of some of the more important of these. Most of these branches, all of which are entirely peculiar to North America, first appear in the Uinta; they become very abundant in the White River, somewhat less so in the John

Day, and die out at the end of the Loup Fork. Some of these were very small animals, closely resembling the so-called "mouse deer" of the East Indies, and none of them were large. One of the most curious and characteristically American of these side branches, which was apparently given off from the main tylopodan stem in the middle Eocene, is the family of the oreodonts. In the Uinta this family is already distinctly separated. The oreodonts were short necked, short limbed and footed animals, having much the proportions of the peccaries, but differing in the presence of a long and heavy tail; and they must have swarmed in vast herds all over the western plains, for they are by far the commonest of Oligocene and Miocene fossils. Some of the later representatives of the family grew to a much greater size than its earlier members, although none of them can be called large. Some of the genera developed a proboscis, some became adapted to an aquatic life, and several were very bizarre in appearance; but the amount of structural change that they underwent is comparatively small. For example, nearly all of them retain the full number of teeth; in none are the limbs or feet elongated, or any of the limb bones suppressed or coössified, and in none is the number of toes less than four. After the Loup Fork all traces of the family disappeared.

An extraordinary side branch of the oreodonts, which was given off in the Uinta, is the agriochœrid family, which dies out after the John Day. The skull, limbs, and feet of these wonderfully curious creatures, discovered at different times and places, were at first referred to no less than three different orders of mammals, until the finding of complete skeletons showed that they all belonged to the same animal. No one could have predicted such an association of parts. With skull, back bone, and teeth resembling those of the oreodonts, these animals have developed claws instead of hoofs, which is not paralleled in any other group of artiodactyla.

The Pecora, or *true* ruminants, form the third sub-order of the Artiodactyla. This is a group of Old World origin and the one which represents the highest grade of artiodactyl

development, and is now the dominant, the most abundant, and the most widely spread group of hoofed animals. Its origin is still somewhat obscure, but it seems to take its rise from certain small animals of the European upper Eocene (genus *Dicobune*), which closely resemble the Bridger ancestor of the camels. This supposed beginner of the pecoran series was a short limbed, short footed, four-toed animal, with complete dentition and with conical tubercles on the grinding surface of the molar teeth. From this point onwards, the Pecora pursue a course entirely independent of the camels, but in many and curious ways parallel with them. In the Oligocene we find the first genus that can be assuredly referred to the Pecora (*Gelocus*), which is still a very small and hornless animal; the upper canine teeth have become scimitar-like tusks, and the cusps of the molars have already taken on the crescentic shape, but still retain distinct traces of their original conical form. The ulna and fibula are already much reduced, as are also the lateral digits of both fore and hind foot; the long bones of these digits are mere threads, interrupted in the middle; the median digits are enlarged, to carry the whole weight of the animal, and are beginning to coalesce into a cannon bone. In the lower Miocene, the teeth and feet have attained nearly their modern stage of development; the upper incisors have all disappeared, and the cannon bones in the feet are completely formed. In the middle Miocene appear animals with horn-like growths from the skull, which at first are neither antlers, like those of the deer, nor true horns, like those of the antelopes. From this point, or even earlier, these series diverge; one is that of the hornless deer, which, in the males, retain the long, sabre-like upper canine; the second is that of the true deer, which, likewise in the males, have bony antlers, or horn-like processes, annually shed and annually renewed, and in which the upper canine teeth are much reduced or entirely suppressed. The other series leads to the hollow-horned ruminants (*Cavicornia*), in which a pair of bony processes of the skull are covered with permanent horny sheaths. Of this series the most ancient and the least advanced is the great family of the antelopes, and from

early members of this family arose the sheep, goats, and oxen. It is interesting to note that in these latter, as well as in many antelopes, the grinding teeth are much elongated, not forming roots till a late period, and are covered with cement, just as in the horses. Representatives of the ox tribe make their first appearance in the Pliocene of India, whence they rapidly spread over the whole earth, with the exception of South America and Australia. The Pecora did not reach North America, till the later Miocene, when the horned types had made their appearance; till that time the numerous and diversified Tylopoda had held their own against all rivals. Even of the Pecora now inhabiting North America only a few, at most, can be regarded as descendants of these comparatively early migrants, such as some of the deer and the prong-horned antelope. On the other hand, most of the deer, the mountain sheep and goats, and the bison, are very late immigrants, which did not arrive till Pleistocene times.

A side branch of the Pecora, given off at a very early date, is that of the Tragulina, the so-called mouse deer, or chevrotains. These little creatures never reached North America, and are at present confined to Africa and the East Indies, and they might be described as ruminants in a state of arrested development.

We saw above that the camels and llamas had pursued a course of evolution which, in many ways, was parallel to that taken by the horses. A third parallel is the line followed by the Pecora, though, as would be expected from their nearer relationship, the development of the latter more closely follows the camels than the horses. We find in both the same reduction of the upper incisors, the elongation of the neck, limbs, and feet; the ulna and fibula are greatly diminished and coössified with the radius and tibia respectively; the digits are reduced to a single functional pair in each (nos. iii. and iv. of the original five), and their long bones fused together. In all these series the modifications are all directed to an increase of speed.

While the foregoing series represent the principal lines of artiodactyl descent, there are many groups which have not been mentioned, and which have no representative in the present order

of things. There are a large number of genera of doubtful affinities and very varied in size, appearance, and structure, which abounded in the upper Eocene and Oligocene of Europe. A few of them migrated to North America in White River times, but the great majority of them have been found only in the eastern hemisphere. Hardly anything is known of their origin and they probably were developed in some region not yet identified, and reached Europe by migration. Most of them had but a brief career, and died out, leaving no descendants.

Another ungulate order, to which much interest attaches, is that of the Proboscidea, or elephants. Nothing whatever is known concerning the origin of these animals, but they cannot have taken their rise in either North America or Europe, for the group makes its appearance suddenly in the upper Miocene of these two continents, evidently as migrants from some other region, which may have been Africa or southeastern Asia. At their first recorded appearance these curious and exceptional animals had already acquired the most distinctive and characteristic features of proboscidean structure, though in many details the Miocene forms are decidedly less advanced than the modern elephants. These forms have been referred to the genus *Mastodon*, but they should be separated as a distinct genus (*Tetrabelodon*), for they are quite different from the Pleistocene species to which the name *Mastodon* was first given. The Miocene species are decidedly smaller than the modern elephants, though they were large and massive creatures with body, limbs, and feet differing in no material respect from those of the elephants; the striking differences are all in the dentition and the skull. The tusks are of moderate length and nearly straight, and instead of one pair only, there are two pairs, those of the lower jaw almost equaling the superior pair in length. The grinding teeth are all short crowned and of simple pattern, with three or four transverse ridges upon them and without a covering of cement. There is a complete milk dentition, and the permanent teeth succeed the temporary set vertically (that is, growing downward in the upper jaw, and upward in the lower jaw) as in normal mammals generally. The skull

is longer, lower, and more flattened than in the elephants, and has no such development of air sinuses around the brain case.

In the lower Pliocene of India and the adjoining parts of southern Asia is found a transitional type, between the mastodons and the true elephants. In this intermediate type, the lower tusks have disappeared, and the grinding teeth have become much more complex; the transverse ridges are much narrower and more numerous; the whole crown is covered with a deposit of cement, and grows longer before forming roots. In the true elephants (genus *Elephas*) which appear in the upper Pliocene, the grinding teeth become extraordinarily complex and grow much longer before the roots appear; these teeth succeed one another from behind forward, the new tooth gradually pushing out the one in front of it; an arrangement which is altogether exceptional among mammals. Only two of the grinders are in use on each side of each jaw, making eight in all, at one time, a method which supplies the elephant with fresh teeth through his very long life.

In the Pleistocene the Proboscidea spread all over the world; the mastodons seem to have died out in the eastern hemisphere at the end of the Pliocene, the true elephants taking their place; but in North America the two genera flourished together and in South America only the mastodons occurred. As to so many other large animals, the events which followed the Glacial period were fatal to the Proboscidea over much the greater part of the earth's surface, and reduced them to their present limited range of Africa and southern Asia. A curious side branch of the Proboscidea is the genus *Dinotherium*, which was common in the Pliocene of Europe, but never reached North America. It had a long, low skull and no upper tusks, but only a lower pair which are bent downward and backward.

Did space permit, many other series of hoofed animals would claim our attention and would offer much of interest and instruction. But it is necessary to make a selection, and the lines described will suffice to illustrate the general character of ungulate evolution.

Turning now to the clawed mammals, we shall find the records

less complete and satisfactory than in the case of the hoofed animals, though the main facts of advance and differentiation are clearly enough displayed. Concerning the history of the small forms, such as the bats and insectivores, we have very little information indeed, while that of the great order of the gnawing animals (Rodentia), by far the most numerous of all mammalian orders, is still in a very confused and unsatisfactory state. On the other hand, the main outlines of the story of the flesh-eaters (Carnivora) have already been recovered.

The most ancient group of the flesh-eaters is the extinct order Creodonta, which flourished exceedingly till the middle Eocene, but began to decline after it had given rise to the true carnivores, and became entirely extinct in the lower Miocene. The creodonts were a much diversified group, comprising several families, and were remarkable for their large, unwieldy heads, small and simple brains, numerous small teeth and primitive, five-toed, plantigrade feet. By plantigrade is meant that the whole foot was on the ground in walking, as in the bears, and the animal did not walk on the toes, as does the dog, for example. Most creodonts were quite small, but very large species have been found in the Wasatch and Bridger, which must have been exceedingly formidable beasts of prey. In Bridger times, or perhaps even earlier, the true carnivores began to branch off from the creodonts; but these early carnivores resemble their creodont ancestors so closely that any line of separation is quite arbitrary, and they are in all respects much more primitive than any existing flesh-eaters. In the upper Eocene of Europe, two carnivorous families, the dogs and the civets, are distinguishable, and in North America the dogs and possibly the civets also. In the Oligocene of both continents appear two additional families, the weasels and the cats, the latter represented only by the remarkable sabre-tooth series. In Europe the beginnings of the bear family, and in America of the raccoons, are to be noted in the Oligocene, while the remaining family of the land carnivores, the hyænas, arose in the late Miocene or early Pliocene of the Old World.

The history of the dogs (family *Canidæ*), using that term in

its widest sense, to include wolves, jackals, foxes, etc., may be traced very far back in time. It is altogether probable that this family originated in North America; at all events, this continent was the principal area of its development. The dogs began their career in the latter half of the Eocene, though their creodont ancestry goes much further back. These early dogs were very different from their modern descendants; almost the only point of close similarity is in the character of the teeth. They have large skulls, but of very limited brain capacity, short faces, and relatively small teeth; the limbs are short, the forearm and leg bones heavy, and the feet are five-toed and plantigrade. The minor differences could be made intelligible only by a technically anatomical description. Suffice it to say, that the fact of especial interest and significance is the very close resemblance between these primitive dogs and the earliest members of the other carnivorous families, which points to a common origin for them all. In the Uinta beds are found two quite distinct lines of dogs, the larger and heavier one ancestral to the wolves, etc., while the smaller and lighter one may stand in the same relation to the foxes. In the White River, the dogs became more numerous and diversified, and still more so in the John Day, when there was a wonderful increase of the family, representing several distinct lines, some of which have died out, while others persist to the present time. The principal advances to be noted are the enlargement and increased complexity of the brain, the increased size of the teeth, the elongation of the limbs and feet, and the loss of the plantigrade gait; the animals, like their modern descendants, walking on their toes and raising the wrist and heel free from the ground. In the Loup Fork substantially the modern condition is attained. Of all the Carnivora the dogs are the best and most enduring runners, and it is, therefore, not surprising that their limbs and feet develop in a very similar way to those of the hoofed animals.

In the Old World members of this family occur from the upper Eocene onward, but none that can be regarded as belonging to the main line of descent until Pliocene times, when they extended

their range into all the large land masses of the world. From some of the early aberrant dogs of the European Oligocene, was given off a side line which terminated in the bears (family *Ursidæ*). The steps of this transformation have not all been satisfactorily followed out, but it seems to have taken place within the Miocene, and was marked by the loss of the trenchant character of the molar teeth, which became more and more flattened and tuberculated, until they came to resemble those of the pigs, by the retention and exaggeration of the plantigrade gait, and by numerous minor changes of structure. The bears are thus an exclusively Old World family in origin and development, and did not reach North America until the great Pleistocene migration. At present they are still characteristically northern in distribution, not having found their way into Africa, and in South America they have only followed the great Andean mountain chain.

The raccoon family (*Procyonidæ*) long remained a mystery, but the recent discoveries of Matthew have thrown a very welcome light upon the subject. It would seem that they originated in later White River times from certain small members of the dog family. They never spread very widely, nor did they give rise to a great variety of forms. At the present time they range over North, Central, and South America, and are mostly small, arboreal forms, but they have only one representative in Asia, the curious panda (*Ailurus*) which, in Pleistocene time extended westward to England. The three families of the dogs, bears, and raccoons are thus derived from a common stock, and are more nearly allied to one another than to the other families of the order.

The civets (*Viverridæ*) are of somewhat uncertain origin, though their earliest representatives draw very near to the smaller dogs of the Wasatch and Bridger, and it is possible that they first arose on this continent. However this may be, the chief development of the family took place in the eastern hemisphere, and no member of it has been found in America since the middle Eocene. The civets, on the whole, have undergone very little change, and in Europe they were abundant from the upper

Eocene on. At the present time they are distributed over southern Asia, Africa, and Madagascar. A late offshoot of this family is that of the hyænas (family *Hyænidæ*) of which the first distinguishable members appear in the Pliocene of the Old World, and, for a brief period, extended their range to North America, but were unable to obtain a permanent foothold here.

The weasel family (*Mustelidæ*) is the most numerous and diversified of the carnivorous groups and includes such apparently unrelated forms as the weasels, martens, skunks, badgers, gluttons, fishers, otters, etc. This is likewise, in all probability, a family of Old World origin, and descended from an ancestry common to the civets. They are already abundant and varied in the Oligocene of Europe, but remain rare in North America till a much later time. With all their difference of habits and appearance, they do not differ greatly in structure, and are all marked by their elongate, short faced skulls, with teeth reduced in number, but enlarged in size, by their long bodies, short limbs, and plantigrade or semi-plantigrade feet, armed with long and sharp claws. The three families of the civets, hyænas, and weasels together form another group of closely related types.

The cats (family *Felidæ*) are still very puzzling. They fall into two quite distinct lines, the true cats and the sabre-tooth series, which for a long period pursued parallel courses, until the latter became extinct in the Pliocene of the Old World and the Pleistocene of the New. The cats are all remarkable for the shortness and breadth of the skull and for the reduction in the number of their teeth, but this reduction is compensated by the enlargement of the teeth that remain and by their conversion into a most effective sectorial apparatus for shearing flesh; the limbs and feet are very powerful, and the claws can be retracted or protruded at will. In the sabre-tooth cats the upper canines are drawn out into large, curved, scimeter-like tusks, and the lower jaw is especially modified to protect them from fracture. These most extraordinary cats make their appearance quite suddenly in the Oligocene of Europe and North America, although there are certain fragmentary Bridger fossils, which, when better known,

may prove to be the long sought ancestors of the group. The most primitive of the Oligocene genera are in all respects, except the dentition, suggestively like the contemporaneous dogs. Throughout the Miocene they increase in stature and power and in the size and effectiveness of the cutting and tearing teeth, and were evidently the scourges of the northern hemisphere. In Europe they gave way to the true cats in the Pliocene, but in North and South America huge and terrible forms persisted until nearly the end of the Pleistocene. The true cats must have been derived from the same ancestral stock, in some region not yet known. They make their appearance in the Miocene of Europe and North America and gradually developed to take the place of the declining sabre-tooth "tigers."

Of the seven families into which the terrestrial carnivores are divided we have thus a reasonably complete history of six, which, when traced back, are seen to converge in a single group of creodonts in the lower Eocene. The cats are still obscure, but when the record of their ancestry has been recovered, it seems likely that it will lead back to the same group.

Of the marine carnivores, seals, walruses, etc., nothing is yet definitely known, but it is highly probable that they also were derived from creodonts, but from some family quite distinct from that which gave rise to the terrestrial flesh-eaters.

For us, by far the most important and interesting of mammalian groups is the order Primates, which includes the lemurs, monkeys, apes, and man; and materials for a history of the order are by no means lacking, but their tantalizing incompleteness is such as to leave a great deal to conjecture and to prevent the attainment of satisfactory results upon which observers may agree. The group is a very ancient one, and is already distinct in the Torrejon division of the lower Eocene and in beds of corresponding age in Europe. It seems to have been derived from insectivorous or creodont ancestry. In the Wasatch and Bridger and in the upper Eocene and Oligocene of Europe, representatives of the order, all of small size, are extremely abundant, and many different genera have been described. These early Primates

are, of course, more primitive than their modern descendants; they have smaller brains, the orbits (eye-sockets) encircled only by a bony rim, but not by a complete funnel-like bony case; and their teeth are, in most instances, more numerous and simpler. Unfortunately, not enough is known of the skeleton to be instructive. These genera are usually referred to the lemurs, and some of them may have been such, but others are much more probably ancestral types of the true monkeys.

So far as North America is concerned, the order began to decline in the Uinta, and it is doubtful whether any persisted as late as White River times; certainly none have been found in any subsequent formation. In Europe the true monkeys, distinguished, among other things, by the complete enclosing of the orbits in bone, begin to appear in the Miocene, and some of them seem to connect the monkeys and the anthropoid apes into one continuous series. All these fossils belong to the existing family which includes all the monkeys of the eastern hemisphere, save the higher apes. The latter also make their appearance in the European Miocene, and persist until the Pliocene, when the gradual refrigeration of the climate confined them to the warmer regions of Asia and Africa.

The zoölogical position of man has been well summed up by von Zittel:—

“In bodily structure man is most closely allied to the apes, especially those of the Old World, so that it is difficult to draw a sharp anatomical line between them. According to Huxley, the gap between the highest and lowest monkeys is much greater than that between man and the anthropoid apes. The round, vaulted form of the very spacious brain case, the great preponderance of the cranial over the facial region, and the lack of a sagittal crest distinguish the human skull very clearly from that of all Old World apes; but some South American monkeys are very close to man in this respect. True, the human brain considerably surpasses in size and weight that of any ape, but the same structural plan prevails in the anatomy of the different parts, in the development of the great hemispheres, and in their convolutions. * * * The steeply descending facial profile, as compared with the projecting snout of most apes, gives to man his nobler expression; with this are correlated the almost vertical position of the symphysis of the

lower jaw and the prominent chin. The lower jaw is horseshoe shaped, and its two firmly coössified halves enclose a much broader space for the tongue than in any of the apes. In number and form of the teeth the dentition corresponds with that of the Old World apes, but the canines hardly project above the level of the unbroken row, and the cusps of the grinding teeth are lower, broader, and less pointed than in the apes. * * *

“Important peculiarities of the backbone and limbs produce man’s erect gait. These are the double, S-like curvature of the backbone, the elongation and powerful musculature of the legs, the breadth of the shoulders, and the relative shortness of the arms. The human hand far surpasses in mobility and adaptability that of any ape; the thumb is strongly developed, opposable and very mobile. The sole of the foot is horizontal. The ankle and instep bones form an arch, and the strong, non-opposable great toe cannot be used for grasping, but only to carry the weight of the body.

“In his whole anatomical structure and bodily development man undoubtedly belongs to the Primates, and if he is often assigned a position outside of the animal kingdom, this assignment does not rest upon the facts of bodily structure, but upon his high intellectual capacities, upon the possession of mind and articulate speech.”¹

These are simple statements of fact, to which no one can take exception, but the questions of man’s ancestry cannot be satisfactorily answered, despite the optimistic statement attributed to Haeckel, that “there are no missing links.” On the contrary, man’s pedigree is almost all “missing links.” Of late much interest has been aroused by Dubois’ discovery of *Pithecanthropus erectus* in the supposed Pliocene of Java, and great controversy has arisen over the significance of this remarkable fossil. Some authorities regard it as a low type of man, others as an unusually large anthropoid ape, and others, again, as a connecting link between the two. The fact is that the known remains are too fragmentary for a definite judgment, and it is greatly to be hoped that the expeditions now projected, or on the way, may succeed in gathering material for a clear answer to the most profoundly interesting and important of all biological questions, the descent of man.

This paper has already grown to an unmerciful length, and

(1) *Handbuch der Palæontologie*, Bd. iv. pp. 713-4.

must be closed ; but it should not be forgotten that it is hardly even an outline sketch of a vast subject, for the greater number of mammalian order have been passed over in silence. It seemed better to concentrate attention upon a few, the history of which is fairly well understood ; and these, as Huxley long ago pointed out, actually give us demonstrative evidence of the theory of evolution.

THE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF WESTERN EUROPE UNDER THE INFLUENCE OF THE CRUSADES

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History's conception and judgment of the Crusades have undergone in the course of time many highly characteristic changes. Even contemporaries assumed towards the beginning and the progress of these great folk-movements very different attitudes, determined by their own spiritual and intellectual tendencies; by the point of view from which they observed events, they interested themselves in one or the other aspect of them, and accordingly, in a greater or less degree, allowed their discernment free play. In the anonymous author of the *Gesta Francorum*, a knight in the train of Bohemund of Tarentum, we have with regard to the First Crusade an informant who did not, enthusiastic though he was for the God-inspired holy war, lose sympathy with the things of this world,—who observed them rather with kindly impartiality and described them vividly and distinctly. On the other hand, the Provençal Raymond of Aigüilles, writing also as an eye-witness, displays that overwrought spiritual state that caused the hot-blooded natives of Southern France surrounding the Count of Toulouse and Bishop Adhamar of Puy to become, with their blind faith in miracles and their unreasoning hatred of unbelievers, representatives of the wildest fanaticism. Later, the papal court, looking after its own interests and regarding such a point of view as eminently favorable to its own spiritual supremacy, endorsed and upheld it, with the

result that subsequent accounts of the Crusades came to be ever more and more at variance with historical truth. We know how William of Tyre, though free because of his birth in Palestine from many erroneous notions that beset Occidental historians of the Crusades, yet made important concessions to this as it were official position of the Church. Even he, a man of education, possessed of sound judgment and of the historic sense, ascribed to the miraculous in the course of this religious war, which he likewise wished to regard as divinely inspired, a far greater influence than would seem to be consistent with a mode of thinking so enlightened as his.

Thus it came about that the centuries immediately succeeding more and more lost sight of the real character of the Crusades, and looked at them through a thick veil of poetry and saga, of legend and myth. Of the real significance of these movements to whose ascendancy they had so completely yielded, they possessed but the faintest conception. Not until later did the reaction occur that opposed to the exaggerated misrepresentation of the Crusades, from the point of view of the Church, an equally one-sided, equally overdrawn picture of them from that of the enlightened eighteenth century. The champions of Rationalism neither realized how important the mediæval Church had been to the history of the world, nor what beneficent influences had proceeded from it, despite the many errors and inexcusable misrepresentations for which it later became responsible. They identified the Church of the eighteenth century, degenerate, pope-ridden, a foe alike to progress and to culture, with the institution of the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries. Having before their eyes as they did a Church dominated by papal selfishness and priestly deceit, they considered the Crusades, which, without understanding, they regarded as the greatest triumph of those qualities, to be the outcome of a state of spiritual darkness, of monkish craft directed toward mere worldly advantage. Still another change in the estimate of the Crusades followed in the time of the Restoration, when mediæval civilization came once more into favor, and when, in science as well as in literature,

men inclined to the view that the Western races had never attained a higher grade, and a more harmonious development, of the spiritual and intellectual life than during the brief flowering period of the Middle Ages. The splendor of Romanticism, in which the Crusades were just then bathed, exercised a magic power over the minds of men who, after the horrors of a revolution now decried as infidel, sought peace and repose in the contemplation of a period when every nation seemed to bend all its energies to the attainment of exclusively religious ends.

It was modern historical investigation that first reached a juster point of view from which to treat this body of material, which possesses particular significance in that it has to do, not simply with one of the Western nations, but with all of them. Unseduced by the splendidly iridescent glory of its mere outward aspect, we can now let our glance penetrate into the very real, indeed partly material, relations that, reinforced by intellectual and especially by religious motives, directed the movement of the Occidental peoples back toward the East, determining at the same time its course and the character of its results. Bewildering and disheartening must seem to every serious student the long series of adventurous struggles that were so often carried on to little purpose, and that during two centuries enticed ever new bodies of men of all nations over the sea (*ultra mare, d'outre mer*), only to find for the greater part of them unprofitable graves. Must not one, contemplating the spectacle they present, be inclined to agree with the writers of the eighteenth century who refused to see in the Crusades anything save a confirmation, in the grand style, of human folly, if they really served no other purpose than to free the West repeatedly from its burden of overpopulation, to afford an opportunity for the perfection of the art of war, and to set on foot a deadly and age-long feud between two religions that might have existed side by side in peace and friendship, despite the original and irreconcilable contradictions that had been brought out in earlier times, and whose followers might have been of assistance to each other in many ways, and thus have helped to elevate mankind?

The importance of the Crusades for universal history, however, does not consist in the long series of military happenings of which they seem to be made up. It lies rather in the great work of peace and civilization that, in the midst of passionate national and religious quarrels, was accomplished through common interest and mutual exchange on the part of bitterly struggling enemies, and that provided an essentially new basis for the entire development of the West. Only a study of mediæval civilization pursued from the standpoint of economics can do justice to this most fruitful page in the history of the Crusades.

In what follows, an attempt will be made to present, with the aid of recent investigation, a picture of what may be considered the outcome of these wars, a picture embracing those permanent influences that they, though ending as regards their object in complete failure, nevertheless exerted upon the economic life of Western Europe. So the preliminary warning must not be omitted that we are to deal with processes that escaped, even when going on, the observation of the sharpest sighted men of the time; that are consequently discussed in none of our sources, and in the great majority of instances are to be detected only through their results. That we may, in any particular case, avoid making mistakes while establishing such primary relations, which are not capable of definite proof, but which can only be discovered, or indeed conjectured, from that which came later, it will be necessary to begin somewhat farther off, and to get some idea of the means and of the routes employed in an exchange of civilization such as that with which we are concerned, and to sketch the way in which friendly and unfriendly intercourse affected, in the first place, the Western Christians and the followers of Islam, and, in the second, through them their countrymen at home.

In this connection, immediate contact between man and man or nation and nation comes far less into consideration than one would be inclined to think. We have more to do with the half-unconscious persistence of impressions made by foreign countries upon those who had fortunately returned to their own people from the adventurous journey to the distant Orient, and who lived

out their lives under conditions long familiar to them. Those who acted as what we might call the transmitting agents of civilization between the West and the East, and by means of whom the Crusades exercised so momentous an influence upon the economic development of Europe, were not at first those adventurers who after fulfilling their crusading vow settled in the Orient for the purpose of acquiring reasonable fortunes, in no way corresponding to their hopes, but rather those persons who resumed their home life after a longer or shorter stay beyond the sea, took pattern by some new thing learned in foreign lands, and turned their experiences to good account, or related them for the satisfaction of neighborly curiosity.

Howsoever strange this statement may seem, it is substantiated by the fact that the reaction of Eastern culture upon that of Western Europe began long before any numbers of those who had settled and become at home on the Syrian coast returned to their native lands, recognizing the impossibility of holding their possessions as a Christian colony. Moreover, it is confirmed by another fact, namely, that the number of those who did at length return to their homes, now become alien, must have been so small that we should not be justified in asserting that they transmitted stimuli affecting civilization so deeply or so persistently. In order that an influence that was gradually to extend so far and to affect so deeply all classes should be exerted, there was need of long persisting and regularly recurring transmission. Such an influence could come into existence only through an intercourse between West and East astonishing in its extent, an intercourse that covered a generation and that led untold thousands belonging to the West European races to make a temporary sojourn in the Orient, and then to return, with what new ideas and impressions they had there acquired, to take up life under the old conditions.

It is a mistake to think that the people of Western Europe were in the Middle Ages more settled, and so less migratory, than they are to-day. If we take into consideration their smaller numbers, we shall incline rather to the opinion that they were

more unquiet, more fond of wandering than are the Europeans of the present time. It would be difficult, for instance, to over-estimate the amount of travel that went on between the Christian states in the Holy Land and the western part of Europe. This assertion is supported by what approximate estimates we are able to form of the travel that passed through the Italian seaports, though, to be sure, these do not enable us to make any exact calculations as to numbers. At the same time, in no estimate, of course, can we take account of the unbroken ranks of those that strove to reach the same goal by means of the overland route through Hungary, Servia, and Greece, or that took ship from the Atlantic coast, from the Netherlands and Flanders, on the one hand, on the other from Norway, or that, starting even from the Baltic, sailed around the Spanish Peninsula and through the Straits of Gibraltar. Twice yearly did the stream of crusaders and pilgrims, as well as of those whom commercial or other reasons compelled eastward, gather volume and become a sort of folk-movement. In spring, at Eastertide, and again about the time of the summer solstice, there took place from the coast cities of Italy, and particularly from Venice, a general passage or transmigration of the bands that had assembled from distant countries. So twice yearly many thousands were carried over to the coast of Palestine in large vessels that were specially adapted to transporting weapons, and the fitting out of which proved so profitable to the ship-owners of Venice, Genoa, and Pisa, as well as to those of Amalfi and Marseilles, that even the Knights of St. John and those of the Temple allowed their galleys to be employed in a similar way to their own pecuniary advantage. At other times of the year, to be sure, similar voyages were made, but the numbers of those taking part in them were much smaller. We should think of this whole carrying system, making possible such an almost continuous folk-movement, as partaking quite of the character of those arrangements that are now made in the interest of emigrants from the Old World to the New. The only essential difference between them consists in the fact that in the former the religious character of the transmarine expedition was

steadfastly maintained, even though the travelers, despite their wearing of the Red Cross, at one time the almost universal custom, were bent upon mere worldly business. For the Cross assured them the enjoyment of a number of advantages that were of assistance to those making their way eastward in fulfillment of a vow. A greater degree of hospitality was accorded them; they might, in cases of necessity, obtain the protection of one of the orders of knights, besides having a claim to lodgings in the houses or stations established by charity for the accommodation of pilgrims.

A distinctly international character distinguished the travel that proceeded from the Italian seaports, particularly as regards Venice and Genoa. Yet by far the greater number of the South and Middle Italians went east from Pisa, Amalfi, and Bari, just as Marseilles and Aigues-Mortes formed the principal starting-points for pilgrims from Southern France and the regions beyond. Toward the end of the period of the Crusades, however, when the constantly unsettled state of Italy made dangerous the roads that lead to the Italian seacoast, Marseilles seems to have acquired the foremost place in this intercourse between West and East. We learn incidentally that about 1246, in the ships belonging to the Knights of St. John and the Templars alone, there went to sea from this port no fewer than six thousand pilgrims yearly. If we consider that, as the result of a suit that the ship-owners of Marseilles instituted, on the ground of unlawful competition, against both these orders, and that was pressed before the papal court, they were forbidden to make use of more than four ships in this way, are we not compelled to believe that the total number of the travelers who from Marseilles alone passed over into Palestine must have amounted to some multiple of this six thousand? And this at a time, too, when the ruling conditions beyond sea had lost much of their power of attraction, when, in other words, the volume of the stream of travel thither had, in comparison with earlier times, greatly diminished.

No figures denoting just how large these crowds passing back and forth from country to country may have become, can of

course be given. Nevertheless, the various computations to be found in our sources justify us in assuming that the total number of those that took part in this movement must have been very great, even when one takes into consideration, as one should, the fact that estimates made by mediæval writers are always to be suspected, and must be somewhat reduced: only large figures were capable of making any impression upon the blunt senses of the men of that time. At any rate, what we are told of the numbers that every year sailed to Palestine from the port of Marseilles on transports belonging to two religious orders alone, is substantially confirmed by mentioning incidentally the fact that a ship, wrecked in 1182 on the Egyptian coast near Damietta, carried as passengers no fewer than 1,500 pilgrims; again, when in 1180 several vessels also carrying pilgrims met a similar fate near the same place, 2,500 persons were drowned, and more than 1,600 fell captive to the Mohammedans. We are told further that the Mohammedan pirates that from Beirut on lay in wait for the pilgrim-ships as they sailed down the coast, took prisoners and sold into slavery 14,000 Christians in only a few years. More such statements might easily be adduced. With whatever degree of caution we may make use of them, they are sufficient, when taken in connection with what has been previously brought forward, to justify us in making definite assertions. Looking at the thousands upon thousands that, during the Crusades, whether as pilgrims, religious warriors, or what not, streamed back and forth each year between Syria and Palestine and the seaports of Southern and Western Europe, and so created what might be called a small folk-migration, we may safely assert that at that time, aside from the Crusades themselves, from the large warlike expeditions that were periodically set on foot, there went on uninterruptedly an active and peaceful binding together of Western Europe and Western Asia. By this means, there was supplied to the former a number of new culture elements that were unconsciously assimilated, and so altered and extended her economic relations.

The immediately economic influences exerted by the Crusades upon the development of Western Europe withdraw themselves,

in the course of their development, almost without exception from our notice, and only in occasional instances is it possible to determine the way in which this or that new thing became known to the Occident. We should consequently be careful whether we ascribe to any one of the races that took part in the intercourse a particularly important part in the transmission of civilization; we should hesitate even in the case of the French and the Italians, who, as regards mere numbers, outshone all other nations, and consequently had the largest and richest share in that hybrid or composite culture that came into existence among the motley western crowds composing the population of Palestine, who had received throughout the East the name of Franks, and who became a bond of union between Oriental and Occidental, Mohammedan and Christian civilization. In considering the immediate effect upon the West of its contact with Oriental ideas, we are accordingly interested chiefly in the question of how well acquainted the people of Europe were with Eastern products, tools, and articles of use generally, or of how rapid was the introduction of those that hitherto had been brought into the West only occasionally or in small quantities, and that passed into general use at this time, though they had hitherto been rare and costly. This process, having to do with the history of civilization is for us recognizable chiefly through its linguistic precipitate. For the Franks and the Occidental nations interested in the European colonies in Syria took over the Arabic name when they took over the thing, and consequently the words borrowed in this fashion by the Western languages make it possible for us to find out, with tolerable exactness, wherein their indebtedness to the East lay.

Some at least of the groups of words and ideas that concern us here may be readily brought to mind. Arabic expressions adopted by all the Western languages occur in the terminology of commerce and of the sea, by which both civilizations were brought into the closest and most enduring contact. It is necessary to cite only such words as *bazar*, *baracke*, *fondaco* (from the Arabic *funduk*, itself derived from the Greek *πανδοχείον*),

zecca, *zecchine*, and *dinero*, besides *tarif*, *dogana*, *douane* (from *diwan*); further, *admiral* and *arsenal*, as well as expressions like *kalfatern* (*gulafa*), the appellation *carraca* for a fire-ship, *kabal*, *korvette*, and many others. Yet more numerous are such borrowings as the names of parts of domestic appliances and furniture, for example, *alkoven* (Arabic *alcubba*, Spanish *alcoba*), which appears again in French as *ancube* and in German as *Ekub*, *amulet*, *talisman*, *elixir*, *salep*, and the names of certain musical instruments native to the Orient (such as even *die Laute*, Arabic *aloud*, French *luth*, Italian *liudo*, Spanish *laude*, Portuguese *alaude*).

A third group is composed of those Arabic words that became known in the West together with the natural products designated by them. To this group belongs the sesame, employed in Syria particularly for the preparation of oil, and the originally Arabic name of which, *la jugeoline*, was adopted in the West at the same time with the cultivation of the grain itself. The same thing took place in the case of the carob tree, the Arabic name of which, *karubla*, was taken into French in the form of *caroubier*, into Spanish as *garrobo*. So with saffron, with maize and rice, and with sugar, which last, although previously known, yet came into general use in consequence of the intercourse brought about by the Crusades, and then, for the first time, began to play an important part in the domestic life of Western Europe. Certain sorts of fruit in particular became then first known in Europe, such as the pistache and the lemon, as well as the apricot, not infrequently called the Damascus plum, and the little onions now known as *échalottes*, though originally called *Ascalonettes*, that is, onions from Askalon, a name which the Italians have corrupted into *scalogno*, and the Germans into *Eschlauch* and *Aschlauch*. Finally, there is the watermelon, which has acquired such great importance as a food for all the peoples of Southeastern Europe, and which is called after the Italian fashion *anguria*, a Greek word brought from Byzantium, whereas the French give it the name of *pastèque*, taken from the Arabic, a fact that makes plain the manner in which the communication brought about by the Crusades between West and East struck

out for itself paths entirely unconnected with one another, along which these processes of exchange took place.

Besides bringing the Western nations acquainted with these natural products, the commercial relations engendered by the Crusades made known to them many new kinds of manufactures and other productions of Oriental industry, or made what had been hitherto with difficulty attainable to be had easily and commonly. This process can also be traced with greatest certainty through the influence it exerted upon language. For example, the word *coton*, employed by the Romance language as a name for cotton, is of Arabian origin (*al-koton*), and corresponds to the fact that the material made out of it, which we still call cotton, coming from Syria, passed into general use throughout the entire West as a result of the commercial intercourse brought about by the Crusades. A similar connection is to be observed in the case of muslin, brought from Mosul, and of a finely woven cloth called *bucaranum*, which came from Bokhara. By the word *baldachin* was originally signified a costly stuff brought from Baldach, i. e., Bagdad, and not until later was it applied to the kind of ornamental furniture that it suggests to our ears, and which is covered with the same material. A rich and brilliant tissue brought from Damascus was known to commerce as damask; others derive the word from a stem that means something like "brilliantly woven," and assert that the noble capital of the Omayyads had its own name from the same source. Great importance, moreover, attached to the Syrian industries of silkworm culture and of silk-weaving, whose flourishing condition and great productivity assured to the various silk-stuffs, which had hitherto been held at extraordinarily high prices, a wide and varied use in Western Europe, so that they came to form a considerable part of the clothing of the upper classes. This is particularly true of the material called atlas, which was woven out of silk after a special method—the word means, in the first place, smooth, beardless, and, in the second, a particularly smooth, non-fibrous silk tissue,—and also of what was called sammet, the production of which was peculiar to Constantinople, and which was spread

thence over the West by means of the Crusades. Under their influence, furthermore, the carpet-weaving industry of the Occident flourished extremely, for it received a great stimulus through the new models brought from the East, and it imitated the patterns and colors that were there in especial favor, besides employing the methods of dyeing in use among the Oriental weavers. This practice of imitation is well illustrated by the fact that the French weavers, of whom in the time of Philip II. (1180-1223) there were already a considerable number, were called "sarrasinois," and that by the words "tapis sarrasinois" was understood a carpet somewhat like sammet, and woven after the Oriental fashion.

Some of these borrowings from the Orient, which not only revealed to the inhabitants of Europe many new customs, but also brought into existence among them new wants, though at the same time supplying the ways and means to their satisfaction, appear as unsought and quite natural results of the settling in Palestine of peoples of Western origin who maintained relations with their home countries. At the same time, other borrowings not only presuppose a connection with the Orient of this peculiarly personal character, but can have been accomplished only gradually, and by means of an intercourse prosecuted continuously for generations, an intercourse having its roots in a commerce firmly established, and consequently carried on in regular channels, that was conditioned by the economic relations of the countries taking part in it, just as it conditioned itself those same relations. It was precisely in these respects that the Crusades exercised over the nations of Western Europe a particularly momentous influence, and thereby created, in many ways, entirely new conditions, under which the economic relations of these countries were further developed.

Even before the Crusades began, the commercial relations between the Occident and the Orient had become very close, though they had had to encounter many obstacles and difficulties. After the Seljuk Turks became masters of Palestine, intercourse with the seaports of that country greatly decreased. The old paths of communication were closed in large part, and the only

route that could be substituted for them was a roundabout one through Egypt. Furthermore, the people of Byzantium endeavored to restrict as much as possible the competition of the Italian cities, which they did not relish, and consequently, now on political, now on religious pretexts, put hindrances in the way of commerce. This state of affairs became changed after the First Crusade, when Western Christianity gained a firm foothold in Palestine and the neighboring country of Syria, and had been able to establish against the heathen a sort of common frontier. In this the French and Italians took the lead, of whom the former bore bravely the burden of the unceasing religious warfare, while the latter, trading both on land and sea, played the chief part in laying the foundation for the economic future of the colony. None of the other nations of Western Europe, however, failed to bear its share in this task, though they were not so numerous represented. There were to be found Spaniards,—especially Catalans, and in greatest numbers those from Barcelona,—Flemish, Lothringians, and besides, though to be sure in smaller numbers, Germans, Scandinavians, English, Irish, Scotch, and Hungarians. Not only did the commerce carried on by Europe with these colonies assume extremely large proportions, but it gave rise to a great many new trade relations that made accessible markets hitherto out of reach, or that brought them closer, and then opened up beyond large districts in which commerce could be carried on. Traders went from Palestine to the Mohammedan “Hinterland” on business that brought them into very close touch with the inhabitants of those regions, and did not allow themselves to be deterred from their profitable toil by the threats of punishment launched by the Church against those who engaged in a traffic with the unbelievers. Such a traffic the Church believed to be hurtful to herself, fearing as she did that in this way the Saracens might obtain more easily, and in larger quantities, the means wherewith to prosecute the war against the Christians. For, besides importing into their own lands Oriental products, the Occidental merchants that were carrying on business in the East exported large quanti-

ties of the superfluous products of Europe to the colonies, and then sent them farther on into the more distant Mohammedan countries. The colonists, when it came to supplying their needs, were compelled to rely chiefly upon the mother country and the assistance that she afforded them. The stately fleets that twice yearly sailed from Europe to the Syrian harbors were heavily laden with supplies. Among them the most prominent place was naturally occupied by those things that had to do with the warfare against the heathen, which the Church, misunderstanding the actual state of affairs, continued to regard as the special business of the Christian colonists, and of the reinforcements that they were constantly receiving from the West. Consequently, in the commerce of Western Europe the exporting of weapons, armor, and horses to the lands settled by the crusaders played a very considerable part,—a part that was all the more considerable, doubtless, because under the conditions that then existed there was at all times a great demand for these things in Europe itself. Further, there was exported to Palestine whatever cloth the Franks dwelling there needed for their garments, and in this trade Lombardy and Flanders were particularly prominent. By far the most important of all, however, was the importation of grain. As regards the grain produced in the colonies, it was by no means sufficient to sustain their population, particularly at a later time, when the territory under control of the Christians became ever smaller, and the almost incessant petty warfare with the Mohammedans rendered it impossible to cultivate the soil. We can hardly give an exhaustive list of the other things that were sent out to the crusaders. The motherland had to provide a multitude of necessary articles of all sorts, which custom and habit had made indispensable, even in a foreign country, alike to traveler, pilgrim, and crusader, and the lack of which none of them knew how to supply. Among other things, there were great numbers of pictures of saints, for which, as we should expect, there was a very great demand, and in Jerusalem itself these much desired objects found a special market.

We are not, indeed, in a position to say which of the West Euro-

pean countries supplied any one of the above named articles whereof the settlers of Palestine stood in need, and which of them was influenced in its particularly economic relations by this trade. We are more fully acquainted with the influence that the introduction of Oriental products and manufactures into the Occident exerted upon certain of the Western nations. We can trace out minutely the process whereby the large stream of importations from the East, after entering Europe, became diverted into ever more numerous smaller branches that supplied the various markets, just as we can see how, in consequence of this process, there slowly grew up, in connection with the chief centres of distribution, centres of the second, third, and fourth rank, at which was stored the stock of Oriental goods destined to supply particular districts, and from which these goods were sold to the consumer in the ordinary course of retail trade. In this manner, there came into existence very well defined commercial highways, so to speak, as well as regularly recurring fairs, and the whole course of commerce was carried on in such a way that labor and risk were lessened for both seller and consumer; profitable trading was made easy, and special commercial customs grew up, which after remaining in force for some time developed into rigid commercial rules. It must be admitted, however, that the peoples and countries of Western Europe did not share alike in this evolutionary process, and that the influence exercised by the Crusades upon the different nations varied accordingly.

Generally speaking, even as early as the period of the Crusades, the chief part of the trade between West and East passed through the Italian seaports. The merchants of Venice, Genoa, and Pisa handled by far the most of the imported Oriental goods. The next place was held, then as now, by the people of Southern France. For all of these, but especially for the Venetians, this trade became a source of wealth, all the more inexhaustible because they not only supplied the entire demand of Italy itself, which was very considerable, but also in the capacity of middlemen traded with the countries lying immediately to the north, and through them distributed the products of the Orient among

the other nations of Europe. Venice and Genoa, in particular, were the marts from which these goods were sent over the Alps into Germany, and thence still farther into the North and East. Even those goods that reached the region of the Middle and Lower Danube seem not to have been brought upstream from the neighboring kingdom of Byzantium, but to have been sent over the Alps, and then down the river from Regensburg. The starting-point of this entire distributory process was the "Fondaco dei Tedeschi" in Venice, where the traders of Regensburg, Nürnberg, Augsburg, Ulm, Constance, and other German cities not only stored products of German industry with a view to sending them to the East, but also purchased spices, coloring matter, silk-stuffs, and so on for the home demand. The merchant princes of Nürnberg pursued this particular traffic in what might be called the grand style; at the same time, they brought many Eastern products from Genoa, which was a city much visited by the tradesmen of Upper Germany in particular. Through Genoa, moreover, the products of the Levant penetrated to France; at least she outstripped in this branch of trade, all the other Italian cities, active as they were in prosecuting it. Thus we find most of them represented at the crowded marts of Champagne, while, toward the end of the period of the Crusades, Nîmes obtained the chief place in this international commercial intercourse, without, however, being able to maintain itself in this position. At the same time, direct communication with the East was maintained by the cities of Southern France, especially by Marseilles, as has been already mentioned, and even by some of the cities situated inland, such as Montpellier. On the other hand, the trade between the Orient and the Netherlands, whose wool fabrics were also exported to Palestine, remained almost entirely in the hands of the Italians, although the sailors of the Lower Rhine had repeatedly taken part in the Crusades, and had consequently been over the direct route from their home ports to the East. Italian merchants went from the markets of Champagne into the neighboring Netherlands, and there bartered Eastern wares, such as spices, coloring matters, and silk cloth for

woolen goods. Later, Venice, and Genoa as well, maintained a regular intercourse with the Dutch ports, which served at the same time to introduce into Spain the materials that the Italians had brought with them from the Orient. Even the English markets were partly supplied in this way by the Italians. For although there was an English quarter (*Vicus Anglorum*) in Acon, yet we have no evidence going to show that the English settled there maintained regularly a direct intercourse with the mother country. The Italian galleys bound for the Netherlands, however, frequently put in at English ports. At the same time, the Germans, starting out from the Lower Rhine, and especially from Cologne, carried on a very active trade with England, and in particular with London, where, as is well known, the Hanse Steelyard was later very prominent commercially. The Germans, moreover, supplied England with spices that they had themselves brought from Genoa and Venice.

Of course, a commerce that dealt in such a multitude of articles of the most various sorts, that embraced so many countries, and that assumed a truly international character in consequence of its manifold divisions and subdivisions, in short, that was for its time a world-commerce, in the strict sense of the word, could not consent to remain cramped by the naturally evolved usages of a process of barter, however highly developed that process may have been. It was compelled to devise a means of exchange that could be employed in the settlement of accounts, that is, that could be transported from place to place, and whereby could be overcome not only the obstacles that time and space put in the way of commerce, but also could be avoided those dangers that grew out of uncertain means of communication and long and difficult journeys. Quite frequently, it was a matter of sums that, for the time, were extraordinarily large and that no man could carry with him by reason of their weight alone. Some process had to be devised whereby debits and credits could be made to balance without the necessity of transporting hither and thither large quantities of the precious metals. In this respect, the Crusades brought about a fundamental change in previously existing

conditions, and thus opened for the economic development of Western Europe, in particular, an entirely new era.

To be sure, at the time when the great eastward movement of the Western peoples began, the transition from a basis of barter to one of exchange by means of money had been everywhere begun, and here and there had progressed to a considerable extent: it was completed and made general by the Crusades and by the growth of commerce brought about by them. At the same time, as a result of the international character of this commerce, the trade in money had also become international, and a system by which accounts could be settled and exchanges made had developed; the fundamental principles of which have continued to maintain themselves, and proved in addition so capable of extension and improvement that they could be adopted into the exchange system devised by later centuries. Though we should not be justified in regarding the pilgrims and crusaders of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries precisely in the light of inventors of letters of credit and exchange, yet it was certainly they that gave to these commercial contrivances, up to that time but little used, a very great practical value, and thereby provided Western Europe, the economic development of which had already been considerable, with a new means of commercial growth, one that was theoretically very simple, and yet in practice accomplished astonishing results. It was at that time, not simply during the Crusades, but as an actual result of them and of the commerce that they had called into being, that money became a power, we might almost say a world-power.

From the very first, the Crusades necessitated the carrying about of unusually large sums of money. For though among the pilgrims there must always have been some who, in a state of absolute poverty, begged their way to their pious goal, thinking thereby to have fulfilled their vow in a way especially pleasing to God, yet the crusaders, and in general those making their way to the Holy Land, had to provide beforehand the money that was to pay for lodgings and defray the expenses of travel and transportation. Rarely did it happen that a man of ordinary station

in life did not have to sell or mortgage some part at least of his real estate or of his movables, while the landowner of rank borrowed money for the same purpose from the neighboring abbeys and cloisters. Princes, in order to obtain the necessary sums, which were often very considerable, were compelled frequently to carry on extensive business transactions, besides having to devise ways how they might carry with them their supplies of money in the shape of coin, so that they might be able, even in a foreign land, to pay each of their men the sum due him, however small it might be. Consequently, they usually carried the requisite amounts with them in the form of specie, the transportation of which was rendered comparatively safe by the warlike character of the expedition. The individual pilgrim, however, and the knight who did not travel with a large army to make war on the unbelievers preferred to take letters of credit instead of ready money. These letters of credit were of several sorts, among which the least frequent were letters of exchange, though to be sure we know of instances in which they were employed. The simple letters of credit, of which a great many have come down to us, were worded in various ways. Sometimes wealthy men, priests or laymen, gave one or more knights going to the Holy Land credit upon their account up to a certain sum; frequently protecting themselves against loss by exacting from those who received the letters, mortgages to an equivalent amount upon their real or personal property. It is to be understood, of course, that the money-lender or supplier of credit invariably tried to see to it in such transactions that the danger that he always ran was balanced by a profit correspondingly high. This he did at first by exacting a high rate of interest. Against such practices the Church to be sure labored zealously, and threatened with excommunication all those that indulged in them. Yet, as was to be expected, the power of actual economic conditions was greater than that of the commands of the Church and of the bulls launched by the Pope in their support. Moreover they were easily circumvented; the Church's curse upon usury was avoided in the case of such irregular transactions in this way, that the

rate of interest was not specified, but the total sum to which the interest would amount was added to the principal, of which the debtor had to acknowledge the receipt.

Without doubt business transactions of this character were very common in themselves. By virtue of the frequency of their occurrence, however, they exercised upon the money trade everywhere a powerful influence, and occasioned economic changes of a fundamental character. Inasmuch as a very considerable number of the many thousands that took part in the two regular biennial voyages to the East had to provide the means necessary to the journey in some way or another, the sum total of these various business transactions amounted to something tremendous, and money was circulated to an extent hitherto unprecedented; furthermore, this system of exchange was profitable, and thereby exerted a determining influence upon the economic life of the western part of Europe in all of its aspects. Naturally the importance and the commercial power of those in whose hands this money trade was held increased greatly, so that they were not only able to adjust and regulate the course of commerce in general, but were also able to control it absolutely, upon occasion, and determine it according to their own will and judgment. This was done most by the Italian bankers, and especially by those of Genoa, Pisa, and Sienna, who had their offices and correspondents placed for this purpose in all the principal cities of Cyprus, Syria, and Egypt. They formed themselves into corporations, and guaranteed to supply Western princes going on a crusade with the necessary sums of money, and to have them ready in the proper instalments at certain previously designated points. These princes were accustomed to have their regular bankers, who undertook once for all the management of their affairs; and, as a result, we are constantly encountering the same names in the papers and documents relating to these matters. On account of her geographical position, Italy became, in the course of this traffic, as it were the classic land of banking. The famous Genoese financiers, Catoni, Domenici, Amadeo, Farigo, Pancia, Perujji, Scali, Acciajoli, Bardi, Ammanati, as well as others, were particularly promi-

nent, and had their offices in Acon, Jaffa, Cæsarea, Tripoli, and elsewhere. A similar rank was held in Pisa by the Conti and the Vermigli, in Sienna by the Rosso Consiglio, and in Florence by the Spittatti. The Lambertucci di Frescobaldi, likewise of Florence, maintained direct business communication with Northern Germany. In Sienna, in the time of Louis IX. of France, there was a great company of financiers, who extended their commercial relations throughout Italy, France, and Palestine, and the chief among whom, Roland Bonseigneur, was banker to Clement IV., who held him in great regard.

All this seems to us modern in an extraordinary degree. The financial transactions carried on by princes bound for the Crusades with these corporations, or with firms capable of affording the necessary assistance, remind us strikingly of the way in which loans are now made. Closely connected with the monetary transactions of this nature were those between East and West, which no longer, as a rule, necessitated the transportation hither and thither of sums of ready money, but which were carried on by means of orders and letters of exchange, and by the balancing of debit and credit, and in which the orders of knights took a very important part. The Hospitallers particularly, in the interest of the finances of their own order, entered into business relations with the merchants and bankers of Southern France, who not only sent to the coast cities of Palestine large sums for their use, but also undertook to manage the return of this money to the West. The requisite portion of the income of the order was made over to them by its officers, and they directed their correspondents in Acon to deliver the necessary amounts to the chiefs of the order. At the same time, those orders that were accustomed to let slip no opportunity for increasing their incomes went into the business of banking on their own account. The Templars, especially, did this, and to the greatest possible extent, not confining their dealings to Palestine and the expeditions undertaken thither. To crowned heads, in particular, the order made loans that were sometimes very large, and on which, of course, it received a high interest. The Templars became a power capable

of regulating the money trade of the entire world, particularly through the fact that the Church constituted them, in a way, the treasurers of all Christendom, inasmuch as she entrusted to the order the management of the money that upon its suggestion, and under its supervision, was brought together for the good of the Holy Land. The collection of the money, of which the Church itself was wont to contribute no small share, was made according to episcopal dioceses. The sums got together were handed over by the bishops to the papal legates commissioned to take them in charge, who in turn gave the bishops receipts. The small coins that were obtained in the course of collection were exchanged for silver, and the whole then sent to Italian bankers by means of merchants that acted as intermediaries. Occasionally the bankers for the sake of safety had the money transported by their own agents. Through them it reached the Pope. He in turn entrusted it to the servants of the various orders, in whose swift sailing vessels, safer than the usual run of ships, it was taken over to Acon. In the same way, other classes made use of the Templars as a means of commercial intercommunication, in so far that by their assistance they not only made payments beyond sea, but also brought in money that lay out at interest, and were able thereby to satisfy their own creditors in the various parts of the West. As this same Order of the Temple, aside from its position in the East, was itself compelled, on account of the distribution throughout all the countries of Christendom of its great and extremely various wealth, everywhere to look after interests that were frequently very considerable, and to send the proceeds of monetary transactions, of whatever character, to the headquarters of its financial government in the chapter-house at Paris, so merchants made use of the order in carrying on commerce within the continent of Europe. By means of the subordinate agents and offices situated throughout the continent, they were able to collect debts, or to make payments that were due, and to settle their accounts at regular times in the Paris branch of the Templars, in order to balance debit and credit. So this central house of the Templars gradually acquired the importance of a

European exchange, where the transactions carried on through the order were adjusted and settled, and outstanding debts were balanced against liabilities. France became the rival of Italy in the market of the world.

Of all the results brought about by the Crusades, as regards the economic development of the countries of Western Europe, perhaps the most important and the most fruitful in consequences was this evolution of exchange, taking place as it did by what might be called an organic process. For the effect of creating new markets and of making exchange easier and more varied, was to make the previously existing political and national boundaries less important as regarded trade and commerce. While the ultimate result of this evolution was to consolidate interests that had hitherto been foreign or inimical to one another, to unite nation with nation through bonds at once beneficent and lasting, the first effects of this correlating influence were naturally felt by those smaller communities that stood in comparatively close connection with one another. Thereby the freedom of movement, and consequently the productive power of each community, increased *pari passu* with that of the nation at large. Through this there came about further important changes, not only in the economic, but also in the political life of Europe, which in their turn had a corresponding effect upon the commercial growth of the countries concerned. Up to this time, we have been discussing the immediate influences that the Crusades exerted upon the economic life of Western Europe through the introduction of natural products hitherto unknown, through the dissemination of new luxuries, the creation of new wants, and the comparative ease with which the facilitated circulation of large sums of money enabled these wants to be satisfied. When we proceed to treat the secondary results of these wars, we find that our investigation does not yield by any means as certain results. With what evidence we have, we cannot, in considering them, establish the connection between the changes taking place in the West and the Eastern influences that brought them about, whereas, in the former case, we had to do with relations that left traces in lan-

guage, and with processes that produced visible and tangible results in the shape of the use of foreign materials, the adoption of foreign dress, and the imitation of foreign customs. In the case of these secondary results, moreover, it may occasionally be disputed, of all the lines of connection imaginable or actually possible under the circumstances, which is the right one, or indeed whether by a *post hoc, ergo propter hoc* process we have not come to postulate courses of development unwarranted by the facts.

Nowadays, no one will in any seriousness combat the statement that the motives that occasioned the First Crusade, and so brought about a reflux of the Western races to the Orient that lasted almost two centuries, had only in part to do with religion and particularly with the Church. At the root of these so-called Holy Wars, there lay from the beginning causes of a very worldly character, some of which were social, while others were economic. It is for that reason that the results of these wars, if we look away for a moment from their religious character, appear to have consisted at first in the subversion and total destruction of the hitherto existing social order, and of the forms of economic life that it had called forth. Since, moreover, the evil conditions whereby such large numbers were brought to undertake expeditions against the Mohammedans varied greatly among the nations of Europe, it followed that taking part in the Crusades produced different results in different countries. Only one force acted upon all nations in a similar degree, namely, the movement towards social freedom, towards releasing the lower classes from the bondage that had hitherto weighed so heavily upon them. In France, the rural population groaned under the unendurable burden of the nobility, their landlords. The German people supported painfully and with difficulty the War of the Investitures, which had entirely destroyed the civil order, had set every man's hand against his neighbor, and had thrown thousands upon thousands into a consuming strife with conscience. Italy was in a state of irredeemable confusion. In England, citizen and peasant alike lay crushed under the inhuman despotism of the Norman Conqueror, who ruled by the right of the strong

hand. The whole continent was in a ferment, and the despairing masses were willing to rush into any course of action that promised an instant and complete change in their miserable condition. Moreover, to political unrest, to moral bewilderment, to ecclesiastical oppression, there were added burdensome material cares necessarily consequent upon a period of hard times. For years harvest after harvest had failed. Throughout by far the greater part of Western Europe, there existed, if not exactly a state of starvation, yet a state of want, entailing painful labor for his daily bread upon the common man. If compelled to turn into money what he could in any way spare from his narrow means, he must throw it away at a wretched price,—for there was a stringency in the money market. Many had thus deprived themselves of house and home, and stood absolutely destitute of provision for the future. To them the call to take a part in the great enterprises bound for the Holy Land came like a glimpse of salvation. In assuming the Cross, they freed themselves at a stroke from all their cares, and not only obtained the certain prospect of an eternal reward in Heaven, but at once came into the enjoyment here on earth of highly important advantages that, as matters then stood, could hardly have been theirs in any other way.

Even at such a time, when pious zeal was aroused to so high a pitch, the Church did not lose sight of the fact that abstract and lofty motives could not exercise an enduring influence upon the great mass of the people, and hence it very prudently strove to inflame, in a still greater degree, their crusading ardor by holding out the further prospect of earthly rewards. The serf was allured by the hope of freedom; the debtor, by that of release from pressing financial obligations; the outlaw, by a promise of pardon and of a reception into the fold. These inducements, and others of a similar character, she did not hesitate to employ whenever the safety of the possessions held in common beyond the sea by the Western nations came in question, and new armies had to be enlisted for a new crusade. In this way, bond-servants of various sorts actually became free, not only in those cases in which they themselves assumed the Cross, but also whenever their master, anxious

for the safety of his own soul, released them from their bondage before he joined the expedition, or when, desirous of providing the means wherewith to purchase arms and equipment for the journey, he sold his right to them and to their services. One of the results of the Crusades, then, was to increase considerably the number of free men of the lower classes. And of what significance must this fact have been at a time when the hitherto existing economic conditions, resting at bottom upon the enslavement of the common man, were just beginning to undergo change, and, thanks to their recovered power over their own movements, these freedmen were afforded a great many opportunities to employ their abilities profitably, and to the advantage of themselves or others. Industries and handicrafts came now to occupy, for the first time, a position on a level with that of agriculture, so long the most important of the occupations. The comparative facility with which commerce could be carried on, the increase in the volume of money and in the ease with which it could be circulated, surrounded them with entirely new industrial conditions, under which the towns became, in the natural course of things, more and more important; even before this, in many districts, had what might be called the centre of gravity of economic development shifted from country to city. Landed property and the degree in which it was productive, though not entirely left out of consideration, yet ceased to be the sole standard by which to measure the prosperity of a nation. The inhabitants of the towns obtained, from the point of view of economics, the upper hand and, from that of politics, were on the way to assume a different position from that which they had up to this time occupied.

In the nature of things, this evolutionary process, though everywhere following the same general course and exhibiting the same general features, took on different aspects in the different countries, according to the conditions prevailing in each of them. Consequently its results were not the same in all cases. As no other European nation had taken so active a part in the Crusades as had France, so in that country they produced the most notice-

able effects upon social conditions and upon the economic relations dependent on them. Although, as a matter of fact, during the First Crusade, the principal direction of this many-headed movement had fallen upon the Normans, inasmuch as they had had most experience in this particular sort of warfare, yet the brunt of the conflict soon came to be sustained by the French. To be sure, the influx into Palestine of representatives of all the Occidental nations was very great, and the Crusades bore a quite international character, as being armed expeditions sent out by Western Christendom. Nevertheless, the government of the conquered land along the coast, and the maintenance of the state there founded, both of which seemed at first quite impracticable, were made possible only by the devotion with which the French nobility, for nigh two hundred years, expended all its energies, moral as well as material, in the strictest sense of the word its very lifeblood, in behalf of this object. There could be pointed out few aristocratic families of France that at that time, through some one of their branches, did not have a share in these great Oriental undertakings. Many houses were most intimately bound up with them for generations, while some were, so to speak, transplanted to the East, and did not return to their homes, to which they had almost become strangers, until the end of the thirteenth century. Others, occupied in establishing feudal states in Cyprus or Greece, remained yet longer away from France. As a result of this great and long-continued emigration of the French nobles, the political and social conditions prevailing in France underwent profound changes. The throne became free thereby of its most dangerous opponents; it increased its own power and wealth at their cost without effort, and in consequence was enabled to afford greater protection to the citizen class, so rapidly becoming prominent, and to attach to itself the reviving peasantry. Moreover, the country as a whole was disburdened of those turbulent classes whose right to bear arms gave them importance, who depended upon war for their existence, and who decayed rapidly during a long period of internal quiet.

What significance all this had for the social, and consequently for the economic, development of France may be readily seen by a brief comparison with the state of things in Germany. The First Crusade, though to be sure great numbers of Germans had taken part in it, was not, on the whole, a matter in which the people at large were interested; for their attention was almost entirely taken up with the politico-religious struggle with the Papacy, in which the right of investiture formed the principal subject of disagreement. The tragic outcome undergone on the desolate plains of Phrygia by the expedition upon which, in the year 1100-1101, Duke Wulf of Bavaria, Margrave John of Austria, Archbishop Thietmar of Salzburg, and other German nobles had set forth in company with French and Italian crusaders, must have acted as a terrible warning. As a class, the German nobility would have nothing whatever to do with the movement for the recovery of Palestine. In consequence, they were neither impoverished nor reduced in numbers, nor was their military and political importance diminished. On the contrary, they constituted a burden even heavier than before upon the civil and economic evolution of Germany. Not only did the warlike barons, to rid the country of whom, even to lessen whose numbers, there were no outside interests, prevent a complete reconciliation of the opposing parties through the renunciation on the part of the Church of its interest in worldly affairs, and of its pretensions to worldly dominion, but their passionate contentions rendered of no avail the great work of peace undertaken by the German ecclesiastics, which, even after the accession of the excommunicated Emperor, had been accomplishing more and more for the good of the lower classes, of the artisans and laborers. Conditions of political and industrial order, under which bearing arms was no longer regarded as the noblest occupation, were not looked upon with favor by these lords. In order that such a state of affairs should not last, they made common cause with the irreconcilable Pope and with the Emperor's son, whom the former had seduced into treachery and revolt. To this coalition Henry IV. succumbed, and by it the great social

and economic question then confronting Germany was answered. She did not enter upon the path of social progress and industrial development that France, relieved through the Crusades of her unproductive military classes, had struck out for herself.

A glance at the peculiar character of the economic conditions prevailing in Upper Italy will enable us to see even more clearly how this state of affairs compelled Germany to lag behind other countries in the matter of commercial progress. There also, to the detriment of trade, had existed up to this time the sharp division between the productive classes, on the one hand, and a military nobility, living by arms alone, on the other. Like the German barons, who were kept at home by disorder in Church and State, the aristocracy of Upper and Middle Italy had taken comparatively little part in the Crusades, while the Italian citizens, whose interest in them had from the beginning been rather commercial than religious, took even less. Consequently both classes were able to come without difficulty to an agreement in opposition to the new industrial conditions and the demands that these made upon them. The nobles that had hitherto been dwelling on their estates in the country transferred their residence to the cities, and allied themselves with the old patrician houses, bringing into existence thereby a new city nobility. In return for the honor and social rank accorded them, they assumed the burden of the city's government and of its military affairs, so that the citizens themselves, free from responsibility, were able to devote their undivided energies to trade and commerce, which the Crusades, wherewith Italy was so closely bound up, made to thrive in a way most unlooked for.

Finally, in our consideration of the economic and industrial development that came about in Europe under the influence of the Crusades, we must take into account the fact that these great folk-movements, whereby in the course of generations unnumbered thousands were drawn to the East, had brought about a great diminution in population, a diminution that must have been particularly noticeable in the more thickly settled districts, whose inhabitants, in view of the limited productivity of the

land devoted to agriculture, had difficulty in obtaining sustenance. The power of attraction that the industrial activity of the cities caused them to exercise upon the country people, begot a great migration townwards, thus affording an instructive parallel to certain well known social phenomena of our own day. At the same time, this diminution of the rural population enabled those remaining behind, who were less thickly crowded together and who gained their livelihood more easily, to devote greater care to tilling the ground, and so to increase the productiveness of the soil. Another factor in this process is to be seen in the changes in the ownership of land occasioned by the Crusades. Many noblemen, in order to gain the money wherewith to prosecute expeditions to the Holy Land, sold their estates, in many cases to neighboring churches and cloisters, whose careful husbandry was of benefit to the land, and served usefully as an example to the landowners of the surrounding districts.

When we survey the various stimuli that the Crusades supplied to the economic development of Western Europe, and examine them in their totality, we perceive that their immediate results are the most apparent and the most easily established by proof, since they had to do with the introduction into the West of manufactures and natural products from the Orient, and since they left behind indelible traces in the shape of words and phrases that became a part of the European vocabulary. Nevertheless, these immediate results were on the whole superficial, and contributed comparatively little to the great revolution that transformed, during the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the economic conditions of Europe. This revolution is far more to be considered as the outcome of processes that cannot be referred definitely to any source, and, even while they were going on, were either quite misunderstood by the men of the time, or were not noticed at all. For we have here to do with processes insignificant in themselves and, at the same time, entirely independent of one another, so that they produced their important results only through being constantly repeated. Yet they were brought about under similar conditions, and affected whole countries in the same

way, and thus, for one who regards them from a distance as a whole, they compose the complete picture of a radical social change, and, by consequence, of a change in industrial conditions. The old foundations upon which, up to this time, the industrial relations of the Middle Ages had rested, were in this transition period for the first time shaken, overthrown, or destroyed, in so far that there now existed large classes no longer depending for subsistence upon the soil. Changes had been introduced thereby into the mode of life, and the great new principle of freedom of person and property had been set forth and established, in finance and commerce alike, with the result of calling into being a new social and commercial organization. This industrial emancipation, moreover, was accompanied by an intellectual one. Though the Crusades appear, at first sight, as the greatest triumph of the Church, they are ever more clearly seen, when considered from the point of view of their larger relations and of their ultimate outcome, to have been the cause of its fall. Then dropped the veil wherewith the Church had blinded the eyes of Occidental Christendom, and particularly of Western Europe. For the Europeans learned in a measure, through what they now knew of the East, to see and appreciate how little the world corresponded to the picture the Church had drawn of it, how, on the other hand, it supplied a multitude of things that were new, beautiful, and good, and the enjoyment of which they refused longer to forego. And, while enjoying these new pleasures, they overcame the prejudices sedulously fostered by the Church, and arrived at a state of intellectual and moral independence comparable to that industrial liberty that came to them as the outcome of the Crusades.

RECENT WORKS ON GREEK AND IMPERIAL ROMAN ARCHITECTURE

RUSSELL STURGIS, *New York.*

The appearance of every new book on the archæology of Greek building and sculpture is to be welcomed, and especially so a work like this, devoted to the immensely important Doric temples of the western colonies. Those buildings, though known to all students by too vague reputation, and half understood through the labors of Hittorff, Delagardette, and Serradifalco, have not been adequately published or criticized in the light of modern archæological science, and those who have known of Koldewey's measurements and drawings have expected from month to month the appearance of this longed-for book. It proves to be even more satisfactory than was hoped. It is singularly accurate, severe and convincing in tone, and the drawings almost suffice unto themselves as guarantees of their own exactitude. These drawings include twenty-nine plates, which fill the portfolio appropriated to the second volume, and a

(1) *Die griechischen Tempel in Unteritalien und Sicilien*; von Robert Koldewey und Otto Puchstein. 2 vols., folio, text and plates. Berlin: A. Asher & Co., 1899.

(2) *Pergame, Restauration et Description des monuments de l'Acropole*; Restauration par Emmanuel Pontremoli; texte par Maxime Collignon. Paris: Société française d'éditions d'art: L. Henry May, 1900.

(3) *L'Arc d'Auguste à Suse*. By Ermanno Ferrero. Bocca Frères: Milan, Rome, Florence, 1901.

great number of illustrations in the text. The separate plates are limited to the facts as they now exist. It is pitiful, sometimes, to see how little there is above ground; and the student feels the sharp pang of regret that the undertaking of these two competent antiquarians was limited to the measuring, drawing, and describing of what there was visible without the cutting of a single trench or the search for a single fragment of marble not lying upon the surface. We have, however, accurate measurements of what there is above ground, and with these we have also modest and trustworthy essays at restoration in the way of fragments of the work, details of the architectural ornamentation, statements about the stone setting and construction in general, and probabilities of staircase and doorway. The freehand drawings in the text are of singular firmness and severity, and have a charm of their own resulting from that very reserve; for what restoration drawings of a ruined ancient building are so interesting as those which one can trust absolutely, feeling that so and not otherwise must the building have been when perfect?

The restoration of the great altar of Hiero at Syracuse is one of the most interesting things in the book, with its curious details very different in the curve of the profiles and in the combination of mouldings from anything that Greece has given us so far. The careful elevations on a large scale of parts of the great temples are most valuable for comparison, and the perspective views of the same or similar large details elucidate their full significance. The student has only to regret that it was not found practicable to keep the measured drawings uniform in scale, which varies considerably, as 1/150, 1/112, 1/75, and yet they are not brought to the same size as if for comparison of the forms and proportions alone,—a plan resorted to by some draughtsmen, whom we must think ill-advised in that they ignore the important consideration of relative size.

The buildings covered by this most comprehensive work are, first, the temples of Pæstum and Metapontum with the temple of Juno Lacinia near the site of Crotona; these being considered

the work of the Achæan colonies in Southern Italy ; second, the Greek temple in Pompeii, the slightly known ruins at Reggio in Calabria, and the temple of Himera in Sicily ; these belonging to the Chalkidian colonies ; third, the much more numerous temples of the Dorian colonies, namely, those of Tarentum, Syracuse, Selinus (now Selinunte), Segesta (though these last our authors consider a foundation of the local Elymi), Gela, Akragas (Agrigentum, now Girgenti), and Taoromenion. Among these buildings are included the only known Doric columnar building with nine columns at each end, the basilica at Pæstum, which is divided through the middle by another row of columns ; the so-called temple of Neptune also at Pæstum, the best preserved of all Doric buildings except the Theseion at Athens ; the temple at Syracuse with the mediæval and neo-classic cathedral built in among and around its still standing columns ; the never-finished temple at Segesta, from which so much of our knowledge of the building processes of the Greeks has been drawn, and most curious of all, the strange temple of the Olympian Zeus at Akragas, which, as Mr. Frothingham points out, in the third volume of "The Dictionary of Architecture," is the most important hall which Greek builders ever devised, so far as we know,—the most serious attempt at an interior architecture which we can trace to Hellenic influences.

Following this examination of the buildings individually, an examination which has taken up 187 folio pages, though these are rather frequently interrupted by illustrations, there comes a general essay of fifty pages more upon the Greek temples of the south of Italy and Sicily. This essay covers the religious rites themselves, the artistic forms of the buildings, the processes of stone cutting and stone setting or building with solid stones, of proportions, and, finally, of chronology. This last section includes a table of the buildings thus arranged according to the Proto-Doric, Antique Doric, and Canonical styles, the buildings being ranked under these classifications.

It has seemed as if a full account of the book was what was most needed in this case, as the nature of the inquiry hardly

needs to be discussed nor its importance urged. Such a book as this must of necessity form the groundwork of an enormous deal of study in the near future, for it is probable that students who have been unable to feel that they understood at all the buildings of south Italy and Sicily may now proceed from these plates and this text as from an authentic starting point. It remains only to be said that the folios are much more than twenty-two inches high, that it is to be regretted that the modern desire for uniformity ruled in favor of a folio volume for the text, which might have been so much more conveniently handled in a quarto. Such a volume, not more than eleven inches high, would have held every illustration given in this text, and the convenience to be found in handling this volume by itself would be as nothing to that which would be gained when constant comparison between text and plates should be in order.

Another Greek study is of a very different nature. The volume devoted to the Acropolis of Pergamon is the third of that series of which the first was devoted to Olympia (1889) and the second to Epidauros (1895). The characteristic feature of each of these volumes is the great attention paid to attempted restoration of the ancient buildings. The present volume, the third, deals with the very surprising discoveries resulting from boldly undertaken and patiently carried out excavations, authorized and supported by the Prussian government. These were initiated by Carl Humann, an engineer in the employ of the Turkish government, who, while busied with road making, noted the importance of this site, and managed to interest in it the influential archæologist Ernest Curtius, and later the Director of the Berlin Museum for antique sculpture, A. C. L. Conze. The story of all this preparation and of the work itself is told again in the first chapter of the book before us, covering a quarter century of time and ending with the death of Humann at Smyrna in 1896. The principal sculptures, those of the Gigantomachia, or contest between the gods and the giants, belonging to the sub-structure of the great altar, were in the Berlin Museum as long ago as 1882, but then the large reliefs

were laid upon their backs on the floor, and an elaborate staging of wood had been erected to enable the would-be spectator to look upon them from a reasonable distance,—a distance measured vertically, indeed, instead of horizontally, but not altogether different in result from the more usual disposition. From that time until now there has scarcely been a course of lectures on ancient art or archæology in which one or two evenings have not been given to the Pergamon buildings and their carved decoration, especially to that astounding altar of Zeus, which has revolutionized the rather too severe opinions held by many as to the rigidity and unchanging character of Greek architectural dispositions. Many books have been devoted to these discoveries, and there is in course of publication the definitive work undertaken by the Prussian government, a series of folios of which three are already obtainable.

The present work, therefore, makes no pretensions to be a work of original research. It is a piece of popularization, as the authors plainly state. Moreover, as it is so largely devoted to the attempted restorations, by means of drawings, of the ruined ancient buildings, the question before us is rather as to the value and importance of such restorations. And as to this, it is to be noted that no Greek building stands on this earth in such condition that one by looking at it can form an idea of what Greek architecture was like. The attempts to excite in one's own or in another's mind an architectural enthusiasm in view of the ruins of the Acropolis of Athens or of the temples at Pæstum are misleading. The feelings excited by those ruins are not in the strict sense the admiration or love of architecture at all; they are the romantic association with the history of the past and the romantic love of ruins for their own sake, together with such enjoyment as is found in a cliff or a rocky gorge. In order to get an architectural impression from the Greek building, one must go to the nearly intact small temple in Athens called commonly the Temple of Theseus; and even then the impression produced is not that which the Greek artist endeavored to impart. This plain yellow building without any roof, with only a few of its

sculptures left even in a ruinous state, and without any of its elaborate coloring, is not that which the designer proposed. Architectural pleasure is to be got out of the Greek building only by the process of studying restorations: there is no other way as yet discovered; those restorations may be wholly in the mind of the student who has compared many theories and has thought for himself, or they may be on paper, carefully laid out and accompanied by a text which gives the reason for their detail—either way it is a theoretical restoration of the Greek building which the student of Greek architecture really studies, although that restoration may be his own in large part, or may be wholly that of another. Therefore, the very elaborate and carefully made plates given in this volume are to be studied; those which show accurately the present state of the monuments to be compared at every step with those not more elaborate ones which show the proposed restoration of the parts or of the whole, and with the drawings in the text, the half-tones scattered among them, and the very elaborate analysis given in the text.

The thin folio devoted to the memorial arch of Susa in Piedmont is published under the patronage of the Society of Archæology and Fine Art of the province of Turin. The single building, not very large nor very imposing, to which it is devoted has always been accepted as of the reign of Augustus. It is not in a ruinous condition; it preserves its architectural parts in their places, the sculpture of the frieze can still be studied and its character determined, and the inscription which once decorated the attic with great letters of bronze can still be puzzled out by means of the holes left by the pins which held those letters in place and the slight incisions in the marble where once they were closely fitted. The present book, with a French text and a host of Italian footnotes and appendices, has thirty-nine folio pages of text with a good many small illustrations and nineteen plates, of which all but two are in collotype. These photographic reproductions might have been better. Where sculpture is so shattered and so weatherworn it is peculiarly important to give what there is with that fidelity to be obtained only by an

excellent process, some delicate photogravure which will render the facts as they are in the negative and not so overlaid with the soft roughness of the inferior kind of photographic printing. The sculpture is curiously barbaric; and one needs the most perfect photographs of it so that the exact amount and character of its inferiority may be judged—for what could be more interesting than to compare the barbarism, the Gaulish provincialism of this work with the decadent art of the time of Constantine, when all the Mediterranean world had lost, or was rapidly losing, its hold on sculpture? This is an interesting monograph, however, and will serve a good turn when the important study on the arch of Trajan at Beneventum shall appear. We are only beginning to study Roman monuments as they should be studied; we cannot as yet quite believe that there was anything Roman which is to be compared in interest with that which we know of Greek work, and that is why Mr. Wyckhoff's book, reviewed by Mr. Day in the May number of this periodical, is so important to us. We have got to learn that Roman art, especially Roman architectural art, originating in the twofold study of Etruscan and Greek examples, became during the later years of the Republic an independent art as nearly self-originating as most architectural styles have been. It was prevented from being a national art by the conditions; Rome herself was no longer a nation, but the head of a vast subject confederation,—subject but each member of it gaining more and more every day in the councils of the Empire. A power stretching over land and sea and including men of many races and many languages would not be apt to have a national architecture in the strict sense, but a Roman Imperial architecture and a Roman Imperial decorative sculpture there surely was, so attractive and so important to all modern students that even the slightest fairly well preserved monument of it is worthy of such study as this book makes easy.

BRANDER MATTHEWS AS A DRAMATIC CRITIC¹

W. P. TRENT, *Columbia University.*

For some years, not a few of Mr. Brander Matthews' many readers and friends have wished that he would devote more and more attention to critical work, and that the public would recognize him as a writer whose attractive versatility set off rather than detracted from his serious qualities. Mr. Matthews' critical essays were, however, scattered through magazines and several books issued by different publishers; they thus failed to produce their due effect, failed perhaps to produce as much effect as the more uniform series of his novels and short stories. Now they are to be gathered by the Scribners into five uniform volumes, of which the two named below have already appeared. These books will sufficiently indicate the range of his powers, the attractive qualities of his style, his humor, his buoyant and aggressive, but not chauvinistic, patriotism, the keenness of his perceptions, and the essential soundness of his judgment.

I say "essential soundness" advisedly, because I believe that in his grasp upon life and upon the most important principles of art Mr. Matthews is not excelled by any of his contemporaries, although I am quite free to confess that I do not entirely sympa-

(1) *French Dramatists of the Nineteenth Century.* By Brander Matthews, D. C. L., Professor of Dramatic Literature in Columbia University. Third edition brought down to the end of the century. New York: Chas. Scribner's Sons, 1901. 12mo., pp. ix, 321. Price, \$1.25.

The Historical Novel and other Essays. By Brander Matthews, same publishers. 12mo., pp. iii, 321. Price, \$1.25.

thize with some of the critical opinions that are evidently dear to him. I find less inevitability than he does in certain forms of modern fiction, and I am still able to laugh over "The Pickwick Papers." The critical canons of Mark Twain and Mr. Howells, —if they have any such incumbrances— are apparently of more importance to Mr. Matthews than they are to me. But these matters are trifles, and trifling too is the question whether Mr. Matthews gets the better of Mr. Lang, or Mr. Lang of Mr. Matthews in their perennial philological tilts. What is important to American letters is the fact that we have in Mr. Matthews a critic who is wholly fearless, remarkably suggestive, always clean-minded and sound-hearted, possessed of wide sympathies, and democratic in the best sense of the term. It is a pleasure to have the critical work of such a man winnowed and collected in a permanent form, even though it shows us plainly that the author's first book is also his best. For it proves just as plainly that dramatic criticism is Mr. Matthews' *forte*, and that he can, if he will, give us in the future a great and elaborate treatise in his chosen line of study,—a line of study hitherto practically ignored by Anglo-Saxon critics, with the honorable exceptions of the late George Henry Lewes and of Mr. William Archer.

"A critic of the acted drama" is what Mr. Matthews, in one of his essays, terms Mr. William Archer, but the phrase is also accurately descriptive of Mr. Matthews himself. He has abundant literary appreciation, but he never forgets, or allows his readers to forget, that after all "the play's the thing." As he has written plays, his criticism of the drama has the technical merits that characterize good art criticism, and alas! so little literary criticism. No one can put down an essay or a book of his relating to the drama without perceiving why the plays he has been discussing are good or bad. In other words, Mr. Matthews is not an impressionist, describing in culled phrases the fortuitous impressions produced upon him, in a fortuitous mood, by a fortuitous combination of words arranged in acts and scenes.

"French Dramatists of the Nineteenth Century" appeared in 1881, and was Mr. Matthews' first important book. As I have

just said, it seems to be also his best. It is practically the only thing we have in English on a subject of great interest, and its soundness and usefulness have been tested by time. Its preparation involved an enormous amount of labor, yet it does not read like a ponderous treatise. Perhaps this absence of ponderosity accounts for the fact that the book is not more frequently referred to as a scholarly performance of very high merit. Perhaps, however, the title itself is partly responsible for this. The nineteenth century had twenty years to run when Mr. Matthews began his criticisms of the modern French drama, and it appeared that little finality could attach to his judgments of plays and playwrights that were but little older than their critic. When his book was reissued, in 1891, with a supplementary chapter, it seemed to carry distinctly more weight; and since that time, competent writers upon French literature have borne ungrudging witness to its worth. Now that it has almost literally reached its majority, we may fairly claim that it deserves to rank high among the critical studies of decided value produced in America during the last two decades.

Minute criticism of such a well-known book will not be expected now. I must express, however, my appreciation of Mr. Matthews' success in dealing with that very perplexing writer,—all the more perplexing on account of his indubitably great genius,—Victor Hugo. His treatment of "Hernani," for example, is sane in the best sense. He perceives clearly that Hugo is not "a great dramatic poet of the race and lineage of Shakspeare," but he perceives with equal clearness that, if Goethe be credited to the eighteenth century, Hugo is the greatest poet of the nineteenth. Quite as good as the chapter on Hugo is the one devoted to that virile genius, Émile Augier, whose masterpiece "*Le Gendre de M. Poirier*" is a most notable play. As for the criticism of Feuillet, especially of his "*Parisian Romance*," it seems to me to be as deserved as it is severe, and to make, as all Mr. Matthews' criticism does, for intellectual and moral soundness.

Whether or not many readers will agree with him in his treat-

ment of M. Rostand's "Cyrano," in the supplementary chapter,—which, it will be remembered, first appeared in the pages of this journal,—is somewhat doubtful. Allowing M. Rostand considerable, though not perhaps sufficient, credit as a poet,—for he has a narrative and idyllic faculty as well as a lyrical,—Mr. Matthews credits him with little originality as a playwright, and asserts that his most famous play, while "clean externally," should be characterized as "essentially immoral,—in so far as it erects a false standard and parades a self-sacrifice which, to use Mr. Howells' apt phrase, is 'a secret shape of egotism.'"

Personally, I recognize the truth involved in Mr. Matthews' strictures, yet I think something may be said on the other side. "Cyrano" does lie open to the charge of being romantically sentimental in parts, and of thus being both inartistic and essentially immoral. But it is this only to critics and philosophers. The public cares more for effectiveness than for artistic felicity, and with the instinct of self-preservation, it tracks, if I may so express it, the dominant moral motive of the play—Cyrano's self-abnegation—upwards not downwards. It does not perceive the misery that might have been wrought if the facile Christian had lived as Roxane's husband, but it does perceive that Cyrano was ready to cut out his heart-strings for the woman he loved. All the world loves a lover, nor does the average man inquire too curiously into every cause and effect of a passion without the higher phases of which this life would be brutal and unendurable. Yet, after all, I agree so thoroughly with Mr. Matthews in regretting the *opera bouffe* and other discordant elements to be found in "Cyrano," that I fear many of M. Rostand's admirers would consider me as complete a heretic as my colleague who occupies the chair of Dramatic Literature. I confess to a malicious wish that in his closing chapter, which is written with such a firm hand, Mr. Matthews could have paid his respects to M. Rostand's attempt to resuscitate the chronicle play in his more or less melodramatic "L'Aiglon." But if he had, he might have suffered the fate, reserved for a Harvard Professor, of falling a victim to the patriotic fury of the great French actress,—which

might have made him a less militant patriot himself. But I did not intend to be drawn so near the perilous ring in which critical encounters come off. I intended only to emphasize the merits of Mr. Matthews' dramatic criticism and to call attention to the reissue of an admirable book, which, experts tell us, is the best single volume on its subject, and, apparently, not in English alone.

SAINTSBURY'S HISTORY OF CRITICISM¹

H. O. TAYLOR, *New York.*

A life spent in reading and teaching literature and in writing books upon it is ample justification for an attempt which Professor Saintsbury admits to be audacious. He proposes to write "A History of Criticism and Literary Taste in Europe from the earliest texts to the present day"; and the volume before us carries the undertaking through to the fifteenth century. The criticism of which our author intends to give a history is, in his own words, "pretty much the same thing as the reasoned exercise of literary taste." More closely, he defines it as "that function of the judgment which busies itself with the goodness or badness, the success or ill-success, of literature from the purely literary point of view." In order to separate this sentence from the company of those phrases which reiterate without explaining, we take a pregnant statement from the latter part of the volume, "The criticism of literature is first of all the criticism of expression as regards the writer, of impression as regards the reader." Professor Saintsbury further says that his history of this criticism "will pursue the humble *a posteriori* method. Except on the rarest occasions, when it may be safe to generalize, it will confine itself wholly to the particular and the actual." His object is to furnish his readers

(1) *History of Criticism and Literary Taste in Europe; from Earliest Texts to the Present Day.* By George Saintsbury. Vol. i. Classical and Mediæval Criticism. New York: Dodd, Mead & Co. Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood and Sons, 1900. pp. 516.

the "Atlas" of which he has himself sorely felt the need. We may remark that some of the maps in this "Atlas" are crowded with a multitude of names, all, as it were, printed in the same type, and with nothing to distinguish the big towns from the little. This fault in Professor Saintsbury's map-making comes from his desire to make his work encyclopædic, and to "leave no period of literary history unnoticed in relation to criticism." Naturally, a work of this character becomes at times an account of the various criticisms which different men have uttered in the past, rather than a history of criticism. But to ask Professor Saintsbury to put the whole matter together, to make the current move, and to show the *rationale* of its movement—or its eddies—is to ask him to be himself the greatest critic in his story, which is unfair. And, indeed, he has well performed his task as he has conceived it. His book is interesting. His style is cheerful, pleasant, sometimes flippant, one minor element of its flippancy consisting in the use of words like "metacritic," "inuitate," "criticaster," "tractatule," "gusto."

Professor Saintsbury begins with a discussion of early Greek criticism, and then devotes a chapter to Aristotle. His exposition is clear and full; little fault is to be found with it in detail. Yet the author seems to write as an outsider, as one who does not feel as a Greek, and who consequently lacks an inner appreciation of the criticism which emanated from the Hellenic genius during its classical periods, before Greeks had become partially de-Hellenized citizens of the Greco-Roman world. For example, in discussing Aristotle, the author's apparent failure to realize how the metes and bounds of the classical Greek genius were the result of its greatest qualities, leads him to speak of "the very disastrous influence which this limitation of his [Aristotle's] subject-matter has on him." And again: "It is impossible not to feel, at every moment, that if he [Aristotle] had the *Divina Commedia* and Shakespeare, side by side with the *Iliad* and *Æschylus*, his views as to both Epic and Tragedy might have been modified in the most important manner. And I, at least, find it still more impossible not to be certain that if

there had been a Greek Scott or a Greek Thackeray, a Greek Dumas or a Greek Balzac before him, his views as to the constitutive part of poetry being not subjective form, but 'imitative' substance, would have undergone such a modification that they might even have contradicted these now expressed." Such only too obvious remarks almost make us suspect Professor Saintsbury of thinking that the classical Greek genius might have produced a *Divina Commedia*, a Shakespeare, or a Balzac, or at least that he does not feel the impossibility and essential contradiction involved in this supposition.

The chapter on Aristotle is followed by a detailed account of the critical views held by the long series of later Greek rhetoricians. This is required by the comprehensive nature of Professor Saintsbury's work, and will be of value to the student. The more general reader will be glad, however, when the discussion reaches a man of first-rate importance, the famous minister of Queen Zenobia. The author's very interesting treatment of Longinus is not the less instructive because of his towering estimate of that remarkable man. Yet perhaps Professor Saintsbury might have checked or controlled his judgments upon Longinus, as well as upon other critics, had he done something more towards showing the relations between their criticism and the views of life and systems of thought prevailing in the times when the critics lived. "Epoch-making," may have been the remark of Longinus that the effect of "consummateness and eminence of words"—of supreme literary excellence—is "not persuasion (*πειθώ*), but transport (*ἔκστασις*)." Still, Professor Saintsbury's appreciation of this great critic would have been more just, as well as more enlightening, had he pointed out that persuasion and reason were supreme Greek ideals in Aristotle's time, while, at the time when Longinus wrote, philosophy's highest goal had become this very *ἔκστασις*, or super-rational ecstasy, which the critic borrowed from current ways of thinking.

Our author's treatment of Latin criticism is good. One chapter is devoted to the older men, Cicero, Horace, Seneca the elder, and Varro; another to the contemporaries of Quintilian;

and a third to that great rhetorician himself. A fourth follows on the later Latin writers. The generalizations regarding Latin criticism are sometimes excellent: "Strong as is the oratorical preoccupation in Greek, it is stronger still in Roman rhetoric and criticism. Even the men who take the widest view of literature, and are most familiar with it,—Cicero, Pliny, aye, Quintilian himself,—fall unconsciously, or in the way of bland assumption, as of a matter not worth arguing about, into the habit of regarding it either primarily as an exercising-ground, a magazine, a source of supply and training for the orator, or as a means of sport and pastime to him in the intervals of his more serious business."

Quite excellent, also, are the chapters on Mediæval Criticism, on the *De Vulgari Eloquentia* of Dante and its predecessors. In fact, it is with respect to mediæval literature that Professor Saintsbury seems to us to show deepest insight, as, for example, when he points out how a stronger appreciation of literary form from a classical standpoint would have hampered the development of mediæval literature. "Had the appreciative criticism of Latin been stronger and wider, had it left any tradition in its own last age, and so been able to throw that tradition as a bridge over the dark time to come, it would have been no advantage, but a loss and mischief. Not only would it have been waste of time for the Middle Ages to appreciate Greek and Latin literature critically, if they could have done so, but it would have hampered them in the doing of their own great day's, or rather night's work,—their work of assimilation, of recuperation, and, not least, of dream." Such a statement, if extreme, is very suggestive, and contains much truth. Equally good is his remark upon the independence of mediæval writers with respect to the stories which they profess to follow, "The authors have the appearance of following; they are really straying, each at the dictation of his tastes and instincts only." One more chapter follows on the writers of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, whose contributions to criticism were comparatively unimportant. It may be added that the author's more important conclusions regarding

the characteristics of the different periods of criticism are contained in certain interesting "Interchapters."

The student of literature has reason to be grateful to Professor Saintsbury. His book is novel and unique; the labors involved in it have extended over many years. This comprehensive history of criticism cannot fail to be of great value, and we hope to see it completed in due time.

THE HISTORIC PLACE OF MR. MEREDITH AND MR. HARDY

EDMUND GOSSE, *London.*

Most of the objections which are habitually brought against the art of criticism are founded upon specimens of writing which have no real claim to be called critical at all. For the ordinary man criticism means reviewing; the word stands for the snapshots which are taken by the newspapers at authors, small and great, able and incompetent, honest and fraudulent, as they hurry past the kodak of the journal on the course of the rapid journey towards a perfectly uncertain goal. These attempts to bring down authorship upon the wing have some advantages. They familiarize the public with new books and with the names of their authors; they offer a rough-and-ready tribunal, a sort of literary lynch-law which has its social conveniences. But we ought to remove from our minds the idea that such current judgments often, or to any serious degree, present the reader with what deserves to be called criticism. They do not, for they possess a variety of disadvantages, which it is useless for even genius itself to endeavor to obviate. We cannot easily explain why it is that the mind of a very acute and candid man is not competent to judge his contemporaries so correctly or so safely as he judges those authors who are dead and gone. Even when the elements of partiality are absent, when no envy or jealousy on the one hand, or emotional friendship on the other, interferes with the balance of thought, even when the reviewer is abso-

lutely above all conscious bias, there is inevitably some disturbance of vision. We see it in the expressed opinions of the best and most candid critics. We do not rely for proof of this on what Johnson may have said of Gray, or Byron—as lately narrated in some unpleasant passages—of Keats, but we point to what so serene and so elevated a connoisseur of letters as Matthew Arnold wrote of a poet with whom he was in so much apparent sympathy as Tennyson, or to what R. L. Stevenson said of M. Bourget. These were judgments which those particular men could not possibly have passed on such writers as Bourget or Tennyson if they had been removed from them to the distance requisite for mental perspective.

It is with a full sense of this difficulty that an attempt will here be made to see whether we cannot begin to approach two very eminent writers of the day from the permanent and historic standpoint which is perforce denied to the contemporary reviewer. As time passes smoothly on, it takes the sheep and the goats of literature and gradually divides them. The latter are very numerous, and they are allowed to escape on to the open moors of oblivion, whence they never return. The former are very few, and history gradually selects them and puts them one by one into the sheepfold which is called classic literature, into that enclosure where some continue to be prominent, while others fade more and more into corners of the background, yet are never quite lost, and are capable of being, one day or another, brought to the front again and marshaled, for a time at least, with the flower of the flock. Of the immense crowd of living novelists, it must be obvious, even to those who acknowledge genuine entertainment from their works, that the bulk are doomed to pass away. Like "Venice and her people," in the poem, "they are born to bloom and drop." There are some of whom we may be in doubt whether their work is absolutely permanent or no. There are a few of whom we may be more or less certain that their fame will not be entirely deciduous, that they may have to endure vicissitude but never complete extinction. Of this minute residuum those who, in my opinion, are most certain of

enjoying this immortality, are George Meredith and Thomas Hardy. Of these one has been before the world as an author for exactly half a century; the other for thirty years. We risk little in taking for granted that the writers of "The Egoist" and of "The Return of the Native," will live in English literature. We should be rash in assigning to them any exact rank in the hierarchy, but they will unquestionably be there. They will be with Fielding and Jane Austen.

So much being likely to be granted by every instructed reader, it is proposed in the following pages to treat them as part of the great lineage of renown, and to begin to note where and how they take their places in the tradition of literature. What is said will be put forward without prejudice to whatever the one or the other (each so happily preserved to us in full mental activity) may yet see fit to produce. The customary practice in dealing with contemporary works being, of course, to concentrate the attention mainly on the latest publications of a man, we shall here reverse the method and speak mainly of the earliest. Such analysis can in the nature of things be merely transitory and incomplete, yet it may have the interest of being, in its nature, truly critical in the comparative sense, and not disabled by that fragmentary conception of the current reviewer of which I have already spoken.

The career of Mr. Meredith began with certain writings of an experimental nature, which, although of the most lively interest to us now, awakened but very little notice at the time of their publication. The beautiful little volume of his "Poems" in 1851 was unnoticed and unsold. For four years he was silent, and then in "The Shaving of Shagpat," he put forth an extravaganza the brilliance of which, the extraordinary display of wit and audacity, simply puzzled readers who were enjoying the numbers of "Little Dorrit" and settling down to a good laugh over "Sir Jasper Carew." A third time Mr. Meredith essayed, but essayed in vain, to capture the popular ear, in the German story of "Farina," in 1857. These publications form a sort of prologue to the Meredithian comedy. Delightful as they are, in their several ways,

they belong to a period in which the author had not begun to succeed in asserting an "influence," even restricted to a narrow circle. It is certainly difficult to realize that such a book as "The Shaving of Shagpat" could be put forth and awaken no particular notice, but such is unquestionably the fact.

At last, in 1859, Mr. Meredith found his predestined track. The wonderful "Ordeal of Richard Feverel" was the earliest of his three-volume novels, and, in fact, the author's first bid for general public acceptance as an entertainer. To realize the world into which it was flung, it is needful to recollect what were its early literary surroundings. A set of publishers' advertisements of the same year lies before me as I write these lines, and side by side with large announcements of "Mr. Charles Dickens' Works" and "Mr. Charles Lever's Works," I read a tiny paragraph which calls attention modestly to a new novel called "The Ordeal of Richard Feverel." Into a world, then, manifestly ruled by Dickens, and catered to very assiduously by Lever, the new talent came shyly asking for admittance. But we may gain a distinctive conception of the atmosphere in which English fiction was existing when we remind ourselves that the three great successes of that year, 1859, were "A Tale of Two Cities," "The Virginians," and "Adam Bede." In the ceaselessly recurring list of Anthony Trollope's industrious production, "The Bertrams" was just then reached. The other ruling spirits of the hour, in the higher fiction, were Mrs. Gaskell and Charles Reade, neither of whom was at that moment putting forth a masterpiece which could trouble the serenity of the newcomer. It would be easy to multiply names of possible competitors to Mr. Meredith at this his first appearance as a novelist, but it would waste our time to do so. It must be enough to point out that to a young man of ambition, in 1859, the field was held by Dickens, Lever, Trollope, and Thackeray of the old generation, and by George Eliot, Mrs. Gaskell, and Reade of the new. Practically, what excited novel-readers more than any other event was the fact that "A Tale of Two Cities" was coming out in monthly parts, with paper covers.

We may realize with no great difficulty the bewilderment with which people, trained to appreciate Dickens and Lever, would turn to, and no less promptly and decisively *from*, such a book as "The Ordeal of Richard Feverel." Nowhere has Mr. Meredith expressed himself more uncompromisingly; nowhere has he been more indifferent to the current taste of the day. Indeed, for twenty years after the publication of this book, he held himself in hand, he curbed his natural vivacity, he endeavored—as we may briefly note a little later on—to give his readers what analogy suggested that they would prefer to have. From this point of view, to turn the pages of "Richard Feverel" is now quite amusing. At the first dash, we are initiated into the mysteries of "The Pilgrim's Scrip," and the air begins to hurtle with epigram. The highest and brightest and most fantastic comedy-dance begins, and the fiddle of Diaper's enamored verse strikes up the measure. But, even from the first, the lines of passion and fate grow tighter round the feet of the romantic cousins, and a sense of moral intensity quite foreign to the superficial sentimentality of the Early Victorian Fifties begins to brood around us, to deepen at last into utter Tragedy, pitiless and complete. What could all this mean to novel-readers of 1859? Plainly, to any but the little ring identified with the reintroduction of passion into literature and art, circling round D. G. Rossetti (who was born in the same year as Mr. Meredith), it could mean practically nothing.

When we meet with Mr. Meredith next, with "Evan Harrington," in 1861, it is clear that a change has come over him. He had been, in "Richard Feverel," Coriolanus refusing to ask the *plebs* to make a consul of him; in "Evan Harrington" he wears the humble toga and stands, after a fashion, asking for votes in the forum. We have seen that popular favor was divided between certain dissimilar writers of great and independent merit. To whose manner was it to be expected that the new writer of genius so arrogant and individual should make a concession? I confess that I should have expected that in determining to march for a while under the flag of a contemporary, the general whom

Mr. Meredith would have selected to serve with would have been Thackeray. Superficially, there was not a little in common between the two. Both were extremely literary, both were occupied with the ideas and the traditions of the past. For each of them Fielding, with his episodic manner, his deliberate asides and confidences, had a singular attraction. Of the novelists thriving in 1860, Thackeray was the most patently cultivated, the most addicted to those artificial turns of thought which signify in an author the consciousness of high breeding. Yet at no time has Mr. Meredith in the least degree suggested to a critical reader the study of Thackeray. There was one signal distinction, which readers who took up "Lovel the Widower" and "Evan Harrington" for the first time may or may not have remarked, namely, that underneath his conceits and epigrams Mr. Meredith was searching for the basal truth about the nature of Man as a physiological phenomenon, while Thackeray, in spite of the glow and the emphasis, was really averse to any radical examination of the human animal. To Lever and to Trollope it is not likely that Mr. Meredith would pay very great attention. The faults rather than the merits of these facile observers would be likely to come uppermost to so sedulous and so minute an analyst of humanity. To George Eliot, then occupied with "Silas Marner," and to Charles Reade, who was publishing "The Cloister and the Hearth," his attitude would be that of a rival, respectful, indeed, but fully conscious of his own independent value. By a process of exhaustion, then, we come to the solitary novelist in whom we could expect to find a master for the young adventurer of "Evan Harrington."

If we turn to the book, indeed, we find our suspicions justified. In "Richard Feverel" there was scarcely any trace of the influence which we find constantly recurrent in the second novel, and that of course is the influence of Charles Dickens. It is not uniformly spread over the texture of the book; it comes and goes, like a flush of color, now deepening into what we may almost term imitation, now fading and disappearing altogether for a chapter or two at a time. But on the threshold the note is

sounded. The death of the impossible and grotesque Melchisedec, and the way in which his requiem is sounded by the three preposterous mourners, is superb, but it is undiluted Dickens. Save for a certain purity of diction to which the elder novelist seldom attained, these opening pages might have slipped into "Great Expectations," which was at that time appearing, and there might scarcely have been challenged. We pass on to the beautiful trio of sisters, and we are in a different world. Never would it have come within the range of Dickens to have conceived that amazing "female Euphuist," the Portuguese Countess. These ladies belong rather to Congreve than to Dickens; they are elements in the purest Meredithian comedy of romance. But Raikes, the ridiculous practical jester, that absolute and deplorable failure of a figure, Dickens, one fancies, might have set on his feet and turned from a mannikin into a man. On the other hand, the wild embroglio in the Green Dragon on the night of the supper, and all the business with Old Tom, wherever this latter recurs, are neither better nor worse than what the author of "Pickwick" and "Nicholas Nickleby," respectively, had been able to accomplish in the hot days of his youth. In all this, as we may now think, Mr. Meredith was adding nothing to the treasure of his great precursors. He was merely repeating the effects of Dickens so cleverly that there was no sense of loss.

But when Evan rides back to Lady Jocelyn's house after listening to the maid's tattle, and to its climax in the intolerable word "snip," we get something which is entirely Mr. Meredith's. This incident, or monologue, in the domain of passion, and the magnificent central dinner-scene, in the domain of wit, are examples of what the younger writer, and he alone, had it in him to bequeath to English literature. The touch of exaggeration in the often inimitable Countess de Saldar is, perhaps, the earliest example we come across of Mr. Meredith's most signal fault, a violent and garrulous redundancy of intellectual high spirits. In "Evan Harrington," as a whole, this fault is scarcely manifest; it is no more than a blemish here and there, but a blemish that acts in the curious way of obscuring the outline of the story at the

very points when it is obviously the intention of the writer to illuminate it with the coruscations of his ingenuity. What Dickens could not do is often, as early as this, excellently done by Mr. Meredith, and already the intensity and subtlety of love, in Evan, in Rose, in the pitiful cripple Juliana, are superbly distinguished. What, perhaps, interferes more than anything else with our pleasure in reading "Evan Harrington" is the initial preposterousness of building up an entire story on the shame a man feels at the occupation by which his father earned his living.

Three years later Mr. Meredith published the novel which he then called "Emilia in England," and which he now calls "Sandra Belloni." This is a book which has plainly caused him considerable uneasiness, and he has altered it so much that, as it now stands, it is almost a hybrid growth, partly of his youth, partly of his old age. It should be read in connection with "Vittoria," which was published in 1867, and which forms a sort of continuation of it. In these two books Mr. Meredith deals with contrasted aspects of the Anglo-Saxon and the Latin types. The charm of the comedy of "Sandra Belloni" certainly lies in those exercises in the fine shades which are so absurdly, but yet in the main so heroically, undertaken by the three Miss Poles. It is to be noted that Mr. Meredith delights in trinities of fair and passably foolish women. In Martha Chump we have Mr. Meredith's idea of a farcical providence; but this substantial figure has wavered on the mirror of his mind. It is doubtful whether either of these half-Italian books presents to us types which advance our conception of Meredithian high-comedy beyond the stage to which Mrs. Doria and Lady Blandish had brought it in "Richard Feverel." And, on the whole, in this our rapid survey, we are tempted to dismiss "Sandra Belloni" and "Vittoria" as of comparatively little interest to us.

On the contrary, it will be difficult to detach ourselves from "Rhoda Fleming," a book by no means perfect in construction, by no means in the first line of merit in the series of the author's books, but most curiously representative of certain alterations and developments proceeding in the evolution of his genius.

The first thing to note in arriving at the close of "Rhoda Fleming" is that Mr. Meredith has now definitely separated himself from Dickens on one essential point. A most remarkable idiosyncrasy of the whole early Victorian school had been its defiant disregard of the element of sex in human life. It had been the great source of the anger of the critics against Charlotte Brontë that she had, as it may now seem to us, with infinite caution and reticence, insisted on this element. But Thackeray's timidities in this respect amount to cowardices, and Dickens, from all the immense complexity of his invented world, deliberately and consistently excludes the animal instincts. When "Rhoda Fleming" was published, however, in 1865, a reaction was beginning against this hypocritical prudishness, and the best younger writers were beginning to wake up to the fact that it was not merely ridiculous, but unseemly. Next year, Charles Reade was to set it utterly at naught by that splendid book, palpitating with sex, his northern romance of "Griffith Gaunt." This was to be the immediate precursor of stories like "Cometh Up as a Flower," and "Not Wisely but too Well"; and the walls of Jericho began to fall down. But the first to blow the trumpet was Mr. Meredith in "Rhoda Fleming." Meanwhile what people were mainly reading—and much were those readers to be envied—was "Our Mutual Friend" and "Wives and Daughters."

In the admirable opening pages of "Rhoda Fleming" Mr. Meredith is exceedingly himself. The rich description of the garden of Queen Anne's Farm; of the idealistic farmer's wife, who dies on the breath of one of her own June roses; the growth of the beautiful sisters, flaxen Dahlia, ebon Rhoda, through the mysteries of girlhood to the stateliness of womanhood; the farm figures, Fleming herself, soft Mrs. Sumfit, Master Gammon, that fossil saurian,—all these are described in the somewhat highly-pitched, fluent, ornate voice which Mr. Meredith, smiling the while, seems to adopt when no reminiscence of another author, no uncertain rivalry, is there to trouble his composure. But with the arrival of Anthony all this is lost, and the village of Wraxby is suddenly, without a warning, annexed to Dickens-land.

Throughout those parts of "Rhoda Fleming" which deal with the old miser and his relations to the other characters in the book, it is not merely his great rival who is constantly in Mr. Meredith's recollection, but a single novel of his. "Great Expectations" had been published three or four years before, and the mark of this grotesque and powerful story is discoverable over and over again in "Rhoda Fleming." But it is not alone there; it shares its influence with "David Copperfield," and in particular there is perhaps in the study of comparative fiction no more curious parallel than that between Peggotty's search for little Em'ly and Robert Eccles's for Dahlia.

It is to be gathered that, in making these concessions to the ruling manner of Dickens,—and it should be noted that these culminate in "Rhoda Fleming," and then begin to die out of Mr. Meredith's works,—it is to be gathered that the younger novelist was acting with a certain amount of deliberation. At any cost he must secure an audience, even at that of appearing now and then in popular motley not his own. Some curious, bitter phrases from this period of his career are worth quoting; they offer evidence of his contempt for those who so stupidly continued to ignore the gifts he fashioned for them:—

"The public likes to have its back slapped, and critics, frozen by the Medusa-head of Success, are soon taught manners. The office of critic is now, in fact, virtually extinct; the taste for tickling and slapping is universal and imperative; classic appeals to the intellect, and passions not purely domestic, have grown obsolete. There are captains of the legions, but no critics. The mass is lord."

We dare not linger, in so brief a survey as this, on the successive books by which Mr. Meredith slowly beat back the indifference of the critics, and brought them over captives to his camp. When we meet with him next, after the publication of "Vittoria," the field of competition is very remarkably narrowed. Dickens, Thackeray, and Mrs. Gaskell have all passed away. Of his immediate rivals, George Eliot has reached the ripeness of her mannerism in "Middlemarch," while Charles Reade has practically retired from the field. Among new favorites of the pub-

lic, two are particularly prominent, in neither of whom do we feel the presence of elements which are likely to be permanent; these are W. Black and R. D. Blackmore. Such is the moment, transitional and rather empty, which Mr. Meredith selects for issuing "The Adventures of Harry Richmond" in 1871. After this, succeeding a silence of five years, we reach "Beauchamp's Career," and with this the early part of Mr. Meredith's history closes. These books will be found to recur in large measure to the manner of "Richard Feverel." The romantic glow is fuller, the undulations of the flowing, comic suavity are longer, there is a greater ease and unity and elaborate splendor of presentment in these stories than in any others that the author produced between 1859 and 1879. Yet, if Mr. Meredith had died soon after completing "Beauchamp's Career," he would remain in English literature as an agreeable secondary figure, full of grace and wit, the best of all disciples of Dickens, but not an independent inventor of the first class. He would be as Ferdinand Fabre is to Balzac. Many of the traits which now appear to us to radiate the fullest originality from the pages of Meredith's early books, owe their illumination to the position with regard to them which his later books have enabled us to take. For nothing is more curious than the paradox that by writing a great book a writer improves the quality of the earlier books which he had not written quite so well.

The novelist had now passed his fiftieth year, and his name was one which was murmured with enthusiasm and wonder in certain literary sets. But the critics were still cold or mocking, and the general public was quite indifferent to him. What was most in his favor was that such few readers as his books attracted were mostly of the literary class, and that it was particularly among young writers that his fame, a shrouded glory, was kept alive. Until a little while before, Robert Browning had enjoyed a similar position as a writer caviare to the general public, whose works were read secretly and with ecstasy by the coming generation. But since "The Ring and the Book," there had been no credit in admiring Browning. He was accepted by 1869, but it

was still possible to put on a martyr's crown in general company by admitting to a partiality for Meredith.

Among those who wore this particular rue with a difference was Robert Louis Stevenson, whose influence in widening the circle of Mr. Meredith's admirers and (in general) in bringing him into his popular estate was greater than that of any other person. From the first, Stevenson had been prepared by nature to appreciate the proper Meredith, and to divide it from any dross of imitative work. The pleasure which he received from such books as "Richard Feverel" and "Harry Richmond" was greater than was given him by the fiction of any other elder contemporary. The illuminating varieties of Meredith's humorous observation of mankind were full of exquisite pleasure for Stevenson. He, with a brain scarcely less rapid than Meredith's own, could appreciate what the novelist was doing as he flashed, in a manner so bewildering to common readers, from corner to corner of his glittering web. Stevenson was not speaking of any particular novelist when he laid down the axiom that "the comedy which keeps the beauty and touches the terror of our life (laughter and tragedy-in-a-good-humor having kissed), that is the last word of moved representation, * * * telling its story, not with the one eye of pity, but with the two of pity and mirth"; but that was precisely the light in which he viewed Mr. Meredith's books.

Early in 1878 Stevenson stayed for a while at Burford Bridge, and for the first time met Mr. Meredith. This was a great event in his life, and he threw himself with extreme enthusiasm into the acquaintance. I remember hearing at the time that the elder writer was not very responsive at first, that he was a little bewildered at being thus carried by storm. But one likes to fancy that this flush of generous juvenile admiration from without spread a certain additional lustre over the book which Mr. Meredith was then writing, and gave body to "the human, red matter he contrived to plug and pack into that strange and admirable book," "The Egoist." At all events, it is worthy of note that the entrance of Stevenson into the life of Meredith is coincident

with the composition of the novel which brought his merely tentative career to an end, and planted him in the sight of all men among the great writers of his country.

In 1880, then, when people had had time to digest the impression produced on them by "The Egoist," Mr. Meredith's probation came to a close, but he was not, on that account, universally received. It was no longer possible to ignore his name, or to ask ingenuously "What has he written?" It was no longer a mark of culture to confound George with Owen Meredith, or to prefer, on the whole, "Lucile" to "Love in a Valley." But from 1880 to 1890 Mr. Meredith continued to be "an acquired taste," although it became more and more fashionable to acquire it; and through these years it was never certain that some senseless attack on his position might not turn up in an accredited quarter. He wrote "The Tragic Comedians" in 1881, and "Diana of the Crossways" in 1885; but mainly in these ten years he employed his newly found authority over the public by making it read volumes of his exceedingly difficult verse. Then, about 1890, he passed into his final estate. He became—as Arnold, Browning, and last of all Tennyson, passed away—the almost unquestioned leader of living imaginative literature in England.

With this blossoming of his tardy fame has come the imitation of his style, not only by his followers but by himself. The curious way in which, since Mr. Meredith's release from anything like practical criticism, his mannerisms have grown upon him, will certainly form an amusing chapter for future literary history. In the old days, he seemed to be kept in wholesome check by the certainty of being misunderstood by the reviewers if he laid the reins on the necks of his thundering metaphors. Like the American humorist, he "never dared to be so funny as he could." In his latest books, to use his own phrase, "language has become a flushed Bacchanal in a ring of dancing similes." Here is a passage, taken at random from "The Amazing Marriage" (1895):—

"Swallowing your egg, the fiery-velvet triune behind slips after it, in an easy milky way, like a princess's train on a state-march, and you are com-

pletely transformed, very agreeably ; you have become a merry demon. ' Well, yes, it's next to magic,' he replied to Woodseer's astonished snigger after the draught, and explained that it was a famous Viennese four-of-the-morning panacea, the revellers' electrical restorer.' "

This reads like a deliberate parody of the style of "Harry Richmond," and is quite within the range of the myriads of clever young men who now reproduce, with slight exaggeration, the florid and euphuistic excesses of the master. In books like "Lord Ormont and His Aminta," (1894), it is necessary to devour the delicious morsels with as much care as is required by the "paté de foie gras" of a material feast. They are exquisite, but the least excess produces what Mr. Henley calls "an indigestion of epigram." Yet of this dangerous dainty almost every budding novelist who has tried to be "cultured" since 1890 seems to have eaten as boldly as though it were bread and cheese. What these disciples do not imitate is the memorable little thoughts, the flashes of brilliant insight, the power of filling the canvas with living figures, the splendor and dignity of movement. All these things are Mr. Meredith's birthright ; these are part of himself. The extraordinary robe of style, partly gold lace and partly shoddy, which he chooses to fling over his shoulders when he dances, this can be torn from him and worn by almost anybody who will take the trouble to adjust its folds. But it is a very interesting comment on Mr. Meredith's historical position that these solemn parodists are now so numerous.

Mr. Thomas Hardy had made his position from long before the imitation of Mr. Meredith began. He had not nearly so long to wait for appreciation, but he enjoyed the advantage of having the way in some measure prepared for him by his eminent predecessor. It is a great part—perhaps it is even the greatest part—in our debt to Mr. Meredith that he has always insisted on treating fiction as literature of the most ambitious class. Above all, he stood out early, in company with Charles Reade, against "the false literature" of which Mr. Hardy himself has spoken, and of which all three of these admirable novelists have always preserved a horror. The ordinary teller of a story,—and story-tell-

ing has come to be in our days as directly a commercial enterprise as the retail of milk or any other perishable merchandise,—the ordinary novelist eagerly desires to produce what will please, and what will show its pleasure-giving quality by instant and abundant sales. The purveyor of popular fiction addresses a hundred thousand typical readers, and what they desire is a type and not an exception. If we study the conventions of the latter half of the nineteenth century in England, we shall find in the records of feeling exactly the fallacies, the superficialities, the acquiescences which we find in the novels which illustrated the surface of life in those years, and which fall like flowers. The determination to avoid truth at any cost, to paint what should be, what we think other people ought to believe, what strikes the majority as a safe and discreet presentment of life, this is what in almost every instance takes the place of what really is.

This it is which has made the greater part of Victorian fiction and drama, in spite of all its varied skill and merit, essentially what Mr. Hardy, in a valuable little essay which he published some ten years ago, called “a literature of quackery.” By some valuable irony of historic purpose, it has always proved impossible for quack literature, however highly it is appreciated in its own time, to survive, and the result is that already a sort of mildew is growing over some of the most admired of Victorian productions. The dread of mental discomfort, exemplified by the commonplace remark of novel readers that they “hate a story that has not a nice ending”; their desire not to be disturbed by anything which makes them doubt the justice of existing schemes of religion, ethics, and manners, exemplified by their eager horror of what can be described as a “problem,”—these are symptoms common to the vast body of novel buyers. This attitude in the public makes irresistible to the caterer, who wishes to be popular, the temptation to sew pillows to all arm-holes, and to give us nothing but replicas of the worn and optimistic pictures of existence, not as it is, but as it should be. This temptation it is greatly to the honor of Mr. Meredith and Mr. Hardy that they have strenuously resisted. Their punishment has been that their

books long sold in tens, and even now sell only in hundreds, where the ephemeral books of their rivals sell in thousands. But their reward is that they lose nothing of their lustre as the years roll on, and that they are more and more certain of survival in the body of English literature. And, even in these most sordid and un-ideal days, that should be some consolation to them.

The first story published by Mr. Hardy was "Desperate Remedies," in 1871. This was a book long inaccessible to English readers, although, I believe, frequently reprinted in America. Five years ago, however, Mr. Hardy consented to its being included in the uniform edition of his writings. When it originally appeared, it attracted no notice, and was long unknown to Mr. Hardy's admirers. Now they must all read it, for although it is very crude and in several respects unusually faulty, it yet displays, as a first book seldom does, the essential qualities of its author. If the manuscript of "Desperate Remedies" were suddenly to be found in an old chest, no competent judge would dream of denying its authorship. He might say that the author writes much better than he did then, and that he no longer depends on such coarse entanglements for the production of excitement in the reader, but his name is Thomas Hardy. There are more than two or three scenes in this earliest novel which only Mr. Hardy could have conceived. Eminent among them is that in which Cytherea Graye comes upon the elder Springrove conducting the operations of the cider press, while his laborers shovel up the pomace with shovels that "shone like silver from the action of the juice." Old Mr. Springrove's arms "were stained by the cider, and two or three brown apple-pips from the pomace he was handling were to be seen sticking on them here and there." Meanwhile Gad and Clerk Crickett converse in that slow vein of rich bucolic humor which in due time was to become famous as the special gift of Mr. Hardy's Wessex peasants. All this, for five or six consecutive pages, is a finished specimen of the author's most personal and most original manner.

If a critic were now to examine "Desperate Remedies,"

which is still a neglected book, for foreshadowings of the novelist's mature characteristics, he would be astonished at the number of examples he would find. We have here already the woman but slightly raised above the level of her people, yet uncomfortably raised, by a slight veneer of education. We have the quiet cunning of rustic rivals intriguing for the love of a man, admired and pursued. We have the labored introduction of such phenomena as wind and thunder and fire as persons in the drama, Mr. Hardy's curious and native kinship with the Greeks coming out in this. He has himself remembered that the very treatment of certain moral conditions which provoked discussion in such late books as "*Tess o' the Durbevilles*" and "*Jude the Obscure*" are present in "*Desperate Remedies*," showing the unaltering consistency of his attitude towards the mysteries of life. We have typical incidents in this first book, such as the blaze at the Three Tranters, the fatal confusion about Mrs. Manston's train, the pursuit of the murderer, the curious way in which important events occur to the characters in lodgings (whither they seem to go for the purpose); all these features, slight in themselves, build up in that soft and brilliant air of Wessex a kind of mannerism which is that of Mr. Hardy as we have known him since, in such far more satisfactory conditions and with such a far greater certainty of method.

On the best authority I am informed that the first novel which Mr. Hardy wrote has never been published and will never see the light. The name of it was "*The Poor Man and the Lady*," and it was full of the revolutionary and anti-social extravagances which are native to the unripeness of a youth of genius. It happened by a strange and interesting coincidence that the "reader" for the publisher to whom this manuscript was submitted happened to be no less a person than Mr. Meredith. He saw the rough power in the book, and he recommended it for publication. But he also sent for the young man, and with great courtesy and friendliness urged him to consider whether it would not be wise to adopt, on his first introduction to the public, a gentler guide. The result was that Mr. Hardy asked leave to

suppress "The Poor Man and the Lady," and retired to write "Desperate Remedies." This duly passed Mr. Meredith's censure, but it seems that his advice, on this occasion also, was to lighten and brighten a tone which still leaned too much to the saturnine. Is it to conjecture too boldly to see the hand of the author of "Harry Richmond" in the astonishing change of temper distinguishable when we pass to Mr. Hardy's second published novel, "Under the Greenwood Tree" (1872)? This is, and always will be, on its own account, one of the most beloved of its author's books. It is known to have had two great poets, Tennyson and Browning, among its earliest and most delighted readers. To this hour, it is not unusual to hear people of intelligence say that they wish the author had been content to continue the cultivation of this mood. But "Under the Greenwood Tree" really takes, in the succession of Mr. Hardy's books, something of the same position taken by "The Shaving of Shagpat" among Mr. Meredith's. It is an experiment, carried out with complete success, which the author has never thought fit to repeat. "Under the Greenwood Tree" is delicious; it is a dream of elfin revels in the warm colored orchards of Wessex. But it is not characteristic; it is the one entirely gay book which Mr. Hardy has written, and after having finished this innocent and rustic love tale, Mr. Hardy excluded from his work for the future mere irresponsible, pastoral gaiety.

In the next year, 1873, he attempted again to use the elements which he had dealt with in "Desperate Remedies," but even "A Pair of Blue Eyes" does not quite represent him as we have become accustomed to see him now. It was on the line of the later Wessex novels, but it was less seriously carried out. The story is tragedy, indeed, but conducted with a light-hearted extravagance of plot, a sort of preposterousness, which is not favorable to our pleasure in it. I have to confess that I find Elfrida the least comprehensible of Mr. Hardy's heroines, and the bewilderments of her two simultaneous lovers the least encouraging to follow. Here, more than elsewhere, there is

something artificial in the evolution of the story. Never, perhaps, did a man of genius make a more sudden and surprising advance than Mr. Hardy did in passing from "A Pair of Blue Eyes" to his next book.

Mr. Leslie Stephen was editing the "Cornhill Magazine" in 1873, when there began to appear anonymously, in that serial, a novel of country life, entitled "Far From the Madding Crowd." The "Cornhill" was in those days the most literary of the English periodicals, and nothing like it has been seen in London since. It was almost wholly written by the young men who were making a name; a list of the contributors would reveal the fact that J. A. Symonds, R. L. Stevenson, Mr. Sidney Colvin, Mr. Andrew Lang, and Miss Anne Thackeray were among the simultaneous and habitual contributors. Whatever appeared in the "Cornhill" in those days was regarded with curiosity in "advanced circles" as likely to be the work of some one of whom more would presently be heard. The novel of "Far From the Madding Crowd" was an object of speculation from the first, and when some sapient critic announced that it was from the pen of George Eliot, whose "Amos Barton" and "Romola" had already appeared in the "Cornhill," there was an excitement concerning it at once. As a matter of fact, it would have been astonishing, indeed, if George Eliot, now rapidly passing into the last and driest stage of her talent, had turned upon her steps to compose a book so dewy-fresh as this melancholy tale of Wessex. She had finished the publication of "Middlemarch" two years before, and she was to publish her laborious and didactic "Daniel Deronda" two years later.

If "Far From the Madding Crowd" recalled the style of George Eliot in any degree, and it is obvious that in a superficial sense it did, it was not these late novels of hers that it recalled, but certain passages in the early pastoral books. Readers who wished that George Eliot had remained where "Silas Marner" had left her, managed to persuade themselves that she had returned to her rustic simplicity. It was very soon known, of course, that "Far From the Madding Crowd" was written by

a new author, for such Mr. Hardy practically was to the great body of readers. All this discussion of the authorship of the novel in its serial form led to an increase of curiosity in it when it was ultimately published, at Christmas, 1873, with an author's name on the title page, in book form. Mr. Hardy found himself suddenly famous. It is curious to recall the way in which this novel was received by the best critics of the hour. It was recognized at once that the new novelist had a great advantage in dealing with a side of English life which was almost untouched. The scene of the book was solemnly identified with "the country of Mr. Freeman's favorite Seaxseates, in a remote, agricultural, and pastoral district of Southwestern England," the name Wessex, which Mr. Hardy has made so famous, being then quite unfamiliar.

The critics were captivated from the first by the novelty and splendor of Mr. Hardy's dramatic treatment of natural scenery. But, oddly enough, there was raised quite a general cry of reprobation against the conversations of the agricultural laborers, a feature of Mr. Hardy's novels which we have since learned to set a very high value upon, and the absence of which in his last two or three books has caused many a shake of the head and many a sigh in the circle of his admirers. The reviewers of 1874 could not away with Henery Fray and Jan Coggan, and some of them profanely described Joseph Poorgrass, that element in the gaiety of nations, as "a preëminent bore." It was very curious that some of the brightest and quickest of the readers of that day, accustomed to a purely urban fun, and hopelessly out of sympathy with the rich humors of Wessex, could see nothing but "odd scraps of a kind of rural euphuism," and "a queer mixture, very dreary and depressing," in the priceless conversations of the shepherds. To appreciate the humor of the good-men neighbors, an apprenticeship to Mr. Hardy's genius, it seems, was necessary.

A writer who is conscious of wide interests and curiosities is impatient of being shut up within one range of subjects by the imperious demand of the public that he should continue to pro

duce what has already pleased. In the next novel Mr. Hardy published, "*The Hand of Ethelberta*," (1876) he made a violent attempt to free himself from the bondage of Wessex and to occupy himself with London and the world. In a variety of ways this book occupies a curious place in the evolution of his genius. He had now arrived at a time of life when he felt his powers of observation, of creation, of intellectual susceptibility, at their highest and their most sensitive pitch. With this consciousness of maturity he felt, too, that he was wedded, and had been from his earliest efforts, to certain mannerisms which seemed to his readers to be artificialities and eccentricities that interfered with their full enjoyment of his work. He was, and his readers were, just at the point where it is impossible to say whether these peculiarities are weaknesses which threaten the decay of a talent or conditions which precede the ripening of a genius. It is easy for us, after a quarter of a century during which Mr. Hardy has been steadily advancing in power, and his readers in appreciation,—it is easy for us in the light of what Mr. Hardy has become, to say that everybody in the early seventies ought to have perceived that his very defects were undeveloped qualities. But, as a matter of fact, this kind of divination is not easily made, and in the case of Mr. Hardy, who has always been modest, self-suspecting, and hastily daunted in spirits, it could not be made even by the author himself.

In "*The Hand of Ethelberta*," then, we have Mr. Hardy determining that, as so many people dislike and misapprehend his Wessex laborers and his Wessex scenes, he will try pastures new. As people call him artificial and eccentric, he will try to be perfectly simple and commonplace. He takes a woman of genius, superior to her station, and carries her through such intrigues and adventures as he supposes to be welcome to the ordinary novel-reader. He starts her in the toils of a bankrupt music-master, and he leaves her strutting across the scene, a visible viscountess. Where the quaint fancy of the author broke out was in the group of oddities with whom he surrounded his heroine. The one conception which the world connects with

this novel is the fact that Ethelberta, in the hour of her display, surrounds herself with her own relations as servants; the faithful sister-maid, Picotee, the father who is her butler, and all the rest of her docile family. A certain unreality broods over this novel, across the face of which a number of ingenious and amusing puppets are constantly flitting in groups of three or four. But they are "ombres chinoises," and there seems no substance behind their shadows. The fact is that Mr. Hardy has wantonly divorced himself from the places and the persons that he knows and loves best. Critics of "The Hand of Ethelberta" congratulated the public that there was "much less deliberate topsyturvification of thought and language" in it than in "Far From the Madding Crowd." Happily, as has so often proved the case in our "old island story," it was the critics themselves who were standing on their heads. Mr. Hardy, always humble and docile in spirit, stood for once on his head beside them, to please them, but fortunately he did not like it, and he never tried it again.

It is very difficult indeed, to remember that the slight and fantastic "Hand of Ethelberta" came in order of time between the two massive and nobly serious stories in the radiance of which it is now swallowed. "Far From the Madding Crowd" has given promise of a rustic novel of the highest class which should present us with an epical record of the fading life of the high, open moors of Dorsetshire. This promise passed into fullest performance when, in 1878, Mr. Hardy published "The Return of the Native." The present writer expresses a merely personal opinion, yet one which has been shared by many of the best judges of the age, when he admits that he regards this book as the most distinguished work of fiction produced in the English language during the last quarter of the nineteenth century. In deliberately recording this, it is impossible to avoid perceiving that it gives to "The Return of the Native" a place not merely superior to admirable novels by other accomplished writers, but also above the eight or nine charming and valuable books which Mr. Hardy has published since 1878. But in replying to that objec-

tion, I would say at once that, in their own class and of their own kind, I think no stories of recent times are more perfect than, for example, "The Trumpet-Major" and "The Woodlanders." I might even admit that the former of these is more enjoyable than "The Return of the Native." It is obvious that books by several writers of very great and various talent, whom I will not name here, present sides of life and literature so charming that they deserve the highest appreciation. But when I think of them all, in their varied charm and cleverness, it is as when from a distance one surveys a rolling mass of mountains. There are a dozen which illuminate various portions of the landscape, but there is always one which dominates it all. That central position in the fiction of the end of the nineteenth century seems to me to belong, beyond all contradiction, to "The Return of the Native."

There is, perhaps, not another modern novel, out of France and Russia, which is pervaded with so serene a sense of unity. In the breadth of the conception, the simplicity of the details, the extraordinary prescience with which the author seems endowed, in the irresistible march of destiny, all seems drawn with the broad lines of ancient tragedy. The smallness of modern life seems to have disappeared; we walk with vast primeval figures, largely sketched against the lustre of an antique sunrise. We are like tow in the hands of what Victor Hugo calls "*l'ananké des choses*," the pitiless force of nature. Yet with this pristine grandeur of the composition, the actual personages introduced are of the most daring humility in conception,—Clym Yeobright, the furze-cutter; his widowed mother, with her narrow, inflexible passion; the weak, bright, wayward Eustacia Vye. Scarcely could a novelist present to us three protagonists less adorned for the stage with fortuitous attractions. Yet the interpenetration of these characters and of a few more—Damon and Thomasin Wildeur and the sturdy "reddle-man," Diggory Venn—weaves a web of such splendid literature that it is only with the greatest masterpieces that we venture to compare it.

The current fortunes of books are marvelous. Very few of

the critics perceived, at first, the consummate power of "The Return of the Native." It is true that the magnificent first chapter, with its vast symphonic study of night falling upon Egdon Heath, was generally applauded. But one of the acutest reviewers ventured the rash remark that it was "not by any means so good a book as 'A Pair of Blue Eyes,'" which is but another evidence to the truth of the axiom that the best books are like the best wine, and cannot be appreciated until they have been kept a while. The sales of "The Return of the Native" were not remarkably large, and the general public was a little shy of the rigid and searching analysis of character. Nothing is so certain as that if a book is written above a more or less definite standard of mediocrity, the general reader is shy of it. All tempestuous momentary successes are made by novels which are lacking somewhere in thoroughness of workmanship. To use a homely phrase, "The Return of the Native" was for the instant, a bolt shot over the heads of the public. But by the best judges it was extremely admired. I recollect the zeal with which the late Bishop of London, Mandell Creighton, scandalized a company at his own dinner table, by what seemed then an absolutely extravagant laudation of it. Everywhere, among choice spirits, it met with its reward, and since then the question has merely been to allot Mr. Hardy his rank in the hierarchy of letters. That he had a place somewhere in the immortal company was not questionable by any wise man after 1878.

It is to be noticed that although Mr. George Meredith is some twelve years the senior of Mr. Thomas Hardy, the general acceptance of these two great writers by the critics dates from about the same time. Indeed, if we admit that it was "The Return of the Native," in 1878, which settled the question of Mr. Hardy's genius, it was not until the publication of "The Egoist," in 1879, that Mr. Meredith was granted a like immunity, and the younger writer was, therefore, by some months the elder in critical estimation. In 1876, one of the most influential English reviewers, after a careful and by no means ill-natured examination of "Beauchamp's Career," had closed his remarks

by saying "We rise from perusal of this book with a conviction that it is not as a novelist that Mr. Meredith can look for a permanent name in literature. As a critic or an essayist there is probably a career open to him." It is well to bear in mind that such things could be said as late as 1876 without exciting a protest from any but friends and close admirers of the writer. From this kind of criticism, at least, both Mr. Meredith and Mr. Hardy were safe from 1878-9 onwards; they could still be found fault with, each could still have his honest detractors, but they could no longer be overlooked, or dismissed as unimportant elements in the literary history of the period.

In the midst of much unlikeness, the two novelists, whose rise we have been considering, have this in common, a strenuous determination to express in adequate literary form the ideas and experiences which distinguish each of them from all other human beings. In each we have a man who puts the trivial and the oft-repeated surface-tricks behind him, who will stoop to nothing which he knows to be insignificant because he thinks that it will please, and who deals always with great emotions as he personally has seen them revealed in the words and actions of living men and women. By dint of the earnestness with which these two great imaginative writers have approached life, something harmonious and stately has transferred itself to their pages. In Mr. Meredith it is the sparkle and rhythm of a divine and incommunicable grace, the melodious movement of a dancer. In Mr. Hardy it is the impressive solidity, the suffusion, the strength, the fulness of color in a solemn landscape. But the more we reflect the less can we trace a resemblance between two authors, whose main point of kinship is their sincerity, and their priestly adhesion to all that is best in the traditional ritual of letters.

JOSEPH LE CONTE

JOSIAH ROYCE, *Harvard University.*

The debt of gratitude that one owes to the teacher who gave him his greatest early inspiration, is a debt which there is little adequate opportunity to repay, especially during the teacher's lifetime. In a busy world, where our meetings with so many of our best friends are but like the encounters of ships at sea, which signal, and pass on, and are then lost to view in the wilderness of waters, there is far too little opportunity to come into direct personal coöperation, in our later life, with our early instructors, unless we chance to work in the same studies and in the same community with them. And even in case we are dwelling near them, the customs of the modern world give the pupil, at no time, the opportunity to bear wood to replenish his master's fire, as was the fashion of the ancient Hindoo disciple. In the absence of such opportunities of direct and material service, praise of the doings of our teachers, so long as they still live, is likely to seem indelicate, because, if it is just to our own gratitude, it may appear to strangers mere flattery or partisanship. Criticism of the living master by the former disciple may, in similar fashion, seem to savor of impiety; and yet criticism itself is often one of our best means of expressing our true indebtedness.

And so, as the world goes, we have far too little chance to express what we owe to our teachers, until death gives us its own sad occasion for saying of a beloved man what there is far too little chance, in our world of human separations, to say to him, or to utter while he is present. Especially is this the case when

the debt that one owes to the master is of so subtle and personal a nature as the one that I owe to Professor Joseph Le Conte. Le Conte was best known during his life as a naturalist, and as a writer who, whatever his topics or his theses, never forgot the naturalist's point of view. Philosophy occupied not exactly an intentionally subordinate, but certainly a very much less focal, position in the field of his mental concerns than it has in my own study; while I know almost nothing of some of his chief ranges of research. Now, where the range of work takes men a good way apart, spiritual indebtedness is harder to formulate; it can less easily be acknowledged by means of direct citations. One cannot say from moment to moment, as one writes, precisely what piece of information is owed to the master. The sources of an inspiration cannot be formulated in footnotes. A mention of volume, chapter, or page, is in such a case generally useless, if it were possible. One can only say, "The whole of my work, such as it is, is other than it could have been, if my teacher had never spoken. And whatever little good there is in that work is especially colored by his influence." In some such wise, the present writer has to express what Le Conte has always meant for him.

I.

The main task of this paper, however, is not to express a purely personal sense of indebtedness (important as, from my own point of view, that aspect seems), but is rather to help others to appreciate what we have all lost in Le Conte, and what an individual place he occupied amongst our American thinkers. The rarity of the type ought, in his case, to make clearer its preciousness. The course of present educational and scientific work tends away from the formation of men of his sort. His ideals are different from those of most recent specialists and public teachers. Yet, in the long run, if our science succeeds in winning not only wealth, but clearness of self-consciousness, his type is sure to be needed, and in ideal at least, to recur. Let us try so far as we here can to portray that type.

Joseph Le Conte, late Professor of Geology and Natural History in the University of California, was born in Liberty County, Georgia, February 26, 1823, and died in Yosemite Valley, during a camping trip in that region, July 6, 1901, at the age of seventy-eight. He was devoted already in boyhood to a study of nature, added to this in youth a wide general literary cultivation, received his Bachelor of Arts degree from the University of Georgia, in 1841, and then took a course of medical study in the College of Physicians and Surgeons in New York, obtaining his medical degree in 1845. After a few years of medical practice, he abandoned that profession for the study of science, and became a pupil of Agassiz at Harvard University in 1850. After receiving the degree of Bachelor of Science at the Lawrence Scientific School, he taught as Professor of Natural Science in Oglethorpe University, in Georgia. A year later he took the chair of Geology and Natural History at the University of Georgia, where he remained four years. From 1856 until the outbreak of the Civil War, he was Professor of Chemistry and Geology in the South Carolina College at Columbia. During the war he was engaged in technical chemistry in the service of the Confederate Government. The close of the great conflict left him without property, and although he was again appointed to a professorship in the University of South Carolina, the poverty of the stricken community made it necessary for him to look elsewhere. In 1868 he was called to the professorship in the University of California, which he held until his death.¹

Professor Le Conte went to the University of California along with his brother John, the physicist. The appointment of two prominent Southerners to chairs in the new State University was in part due to the influence of a political reaction, which swept over California in the years following the war, and which gave

(1) The foregoing details of Le Conte's early life were apparently furnished, or at any rate revised, by Professor Le Conte himself, and appeared in print, along with some other facts regarding his career, in the "Popular Science Monthly," for January, 1878.

the State for a time to the Democratic party, despite its record as a decisively Republican State during the war. Certainly no incident of that political reaction had a more benign influence upon the academic life than the new university represented than did this appointment. Professors Joseph and John Le Conte stood, from the first, in the public mind of that community for high scientific and educational ideals. In the end the younger brother, Joseph, proved to be the more productive of the two, both in a literary and a scientific sense, as he always was the more directly impressive personality, and the more many-sided mind. But both of them were extremely winning natures. The native grace of bearing that suggested their French Huguenot ancestry, the Southern courtesy of manner in which their temperaments found expression, the fairly saintly unworldliness and gentleness of soul that, in very different fashion but with almost equal heartiness, showed itself under all sorts of trials, in both of them,—these traits made them, from the first, not only honored, but also warmly beloved in their community. Other professors of the University might have their less respectful nicknames, more ingeniously invented, but the brothers Le Conte were, from the first, to the student community, “John” and “Joe,” and the familiar abbreviations were expressions of affection rather than of any lack of reverence.

I remember how eagerly, in my own Freshman year at college, I looked forward to the time when I should reach the level of work where “Joe’s” lectures would form part of my task. More than once I listened, as others did, near the door of Professor Le Conte’s lecture room, unable to hear more than scattered words, or to understand any of the connections of his discourse, but fascinated by the wonderful quality of his voice, with its marked rhythm of emphasis and inflection, which even to the distant listener suggested already that fine adjustment of the modulations of his speech to the refinements of his thought which was always so characteristic of the man, and so powerful in holding the attention of the student. I first heard him in an evening lecture, delivered to the general University public, in

which he undertook to expound the arguments, then fairly new to popular science, by which Sir William Thomson and others had opposed the once favorite hypothesis that the interior of the earth was to be regarded as a molten and fluid mass. Le Conte had come to agree with this opposition. He undertook to state, to an altogether untrained audience, the conditions of the problem, the evidences on both sides, and the grounds for his own decision. No single lecture that I ever heard in youth gave me a deeper impression of what the architecture of an argument upon a complex subject, wherein indirect evidence and general theory had to furnish the interpretation of the accessible facts of experience, might, in the hands of a master, become. The whole discussion, delivered, in his usual fashion *ex tempore* (except for the analytic table of contents which his beautifully written notes always provided), had a structure and a development fairly dramatic. So often has the issue been popularized since that one no longer easily appreciates the skill that Le Conte then showed. But popular science, especially in that community, was in those days much rarer, and the whole discussion as to the probable relations between melting point and pressure under such inaccessible conditions, and as to the indirect evidences of the rigidity of the earth, was unfamiliar in popular literature. At all events, the lecture found me possessed of all the naïveté that is the condition of wonder. The union of empirical data with speculative ingenuity which the whole discussion involved appealed to my deepest instincts, as music, when first heard, awakens a sensitive young appreciation. The artistic mode of exposition charmed as an exciting story charms. And the wonder thus aroused was, for me, a beginning of philosophy.

With the next year came my first courses of lectures under Le Conte. The scope of his instruction was, in the old fashion, inconveniently large for the powers of any one man. Botany, zoölogy, and geology, he had to treat, in succession, in an elementary way, and did so in lectures extending over three years. The lectures were fairly well illustrated with material for demonstration, but very ill-supported, from the present scientific

teacher's point of view, by any closer contact, on the part of his pupils, with the facts of nature, since Le Conte had to work without assistants, and laboratory and field work were not then recognized parts of instruction in the elementary college courses in these departments. But what the courses lacked in thoroughness (a lack for which the youth of the institution rather than Le Conte himself was responsible), they made up, so far as that was at all possible, in philosophical spirit, in breadth of view, in the before-mentioned architectural and artistic skill of exposition, in depth of insight into problems, in a desire to give our minds true freedom, and, finally, in attention to what Le Conte himself recognized as the *Logic of Science*. Upon this last aspect of his topic Le Conte laid no little stress. We were certain, he told us, to forget, in later years, most of what he said. He hoped and desired that we should not wholly forget the method of work.

As a fact, I myself have always been conscious, ever since, of an effort to think in Le Conte's spirit, whatever it has been about which I have been thinking. His wealth of knowledge, his instinct for order and lucidity of reflection, have, indeed, always remained my hopelessly distant ideal. I believe in the world's unity, and by indirect proof feel sure of it. But the world of concrete facts will never seem to my unaided thought, as perfect and as clearly visible a union of the One and Many, of harmonious principles, and of multitudinous empirical illustrations, as it seemed to me while I listened to his lectures. But his spirit was contagious, was compelling, was enduring in its effect. In no one else with whom I have come in personal contact have I ever found the same union of the love of details with the success in an artistically beautiful oral presentation, in elementary lectures, of what he conceived to be their system. Many as fascinating lecturers you may find, but such are seldom as thorough workers as he was. Many more productive men of science exist, but few of them are as much artists as was Le Conte. On the systematic side of his exposition, Le Conte always had some similarity with Lotze,—a similarity which, as I need hardly say, was not due to any influence of Lotze's thought upon his own. The artistic

spirit, the love for a beautiful, systematic architecture, was common to them both. But Lotze lacked something of Le Conte's lifelong familiarity with the collection of scientific details. On the other hand, it is easy to mention amongst recent leaders in science and in philosophical thinking more original, and decidedly more rigid, systematizers of knowledge than Le Conte ever became. But such men, too, have seldom or never shown, so far as I know, his fine artistic sense. To join all of these qualities with the characteristics of the successful elementary teacher,—this constitutes, indeed, a rare combination.

II.

I have given some of my early impressions as a young student, not because they have much value in themselves, but because they suggest what Le Conte stood for in the lives of many thousands who came under his influence as a lecturer or as a writer. If one turns to the list of his published essays, lectures, and books, one finds far more evidence than there is here time to set down of his lifelong interest in joining minute and detailed special studies with an interest in the unity of all human undertakings. No man ever worked, in a painstaking way, in empirical researches with a more constant sense that every topic upon which he worked not only had its other side, its meaning that could only be grasped from an opposite point of view, but was capable of being judged by himself, also, from this opposite point of view, and that, without any hindrance to the conscious harmony of his thinking.

His educational ideals were especially molded by such views as these. He retained to the end, so far as I know, an ideal of harmonious and many-sided intellectual training which he expressed in one of his early addresses. This was entitled "The Principles of a Liberal Education," and was delivered before the literary societies of South Carolina College in 1859. It was then published by the students. Far away seem now those hopes as to the possibility of the uniform and artistically finished educational plan which Le Conte embodies in this most character-

istic address. "A complete educational course," says Le Conte, "is divisible into three and only three subordinate courses of equal dignity; namely, Science, Art, and Philosophy. Science, commencing with mathematics, and passing upwards through physical, chemical, organic science, and geology. Art,—including all human works,—commencing with language, as most fundamental of man's works, and passing upwards through literature, fine art, and history. Philosophy, commencing with logic, and passing upwards through psychology, metaphysical science, and theology." To such an educational scheme, so Le Conte explains, the college course should be devoted, after the schools had laid the necessary basis. And this entire plan should be centred about the ideal of the development of the individual, whom modern social organization tends too much to reduce to a mere machine. Hence the utilitarian considerations should be rigidly ruled out of the collegiate course. Life's business belongs elsewhere; and there the social order claims its own. A liberal education must be in conscious opposition to the calls of the outer world; for its purpose is the training of individuals who shall be strong enough to resist the crushing power of the social forces, and thereby to become the centres whence new social forces shall radiate.

The opposition of liberal to utilitarian or technical education is, indeed, familiar enough. What attracts attention is the stress that Le Conte nevertheless lays upon the importance of a scientific curriculum, and the skill with which he endeavors to balance its claims and the scope to be assigned to it against the equally valid claims of the other portions of his curriculum. The idealism and hopefulness of the paper lead one, as one reads, wholly to overlook its inadequacy to the complexity and to the conflicting interests of the modern world. One rejoices to find such faith, even in 1859; and the paper has the added pathos of having been delivered to the young men of South Carolina College in that particular year,—to those who were "about to die," together with their whole social order, in a struggle into which such fatal social forces were then hurrying them all.

Now, Le Conte's value as a man of science, and as a student, in all his later years, of the problems of evolution, depends upon the fact that he always conceived the interests of the human spirit in this unity, and always had not only the philosopher's desire to find the rational unity of these interests, but something of the artist's intuitive perception of the harmonies that, as he felt, were to be found underlying all differences. Like many other of the naturalists of his generation, Le Conte met the new Darwinian thoughts, when they first appeared, at the outset with doubt and hesitation, and then, as time went on, with an increasing sense that the evolutionary process, if incompletely defined by Darwin, was still a universal, continuous, and strictly natural process. Le Conte, however, was not one of the very earliest of the evolutionists. His own studies, rudely interrupted by the war, ripened in the years of renewed scientific study in a characteristically continuous and deliberate way. Always keen and swift as to his most general intuitions, Le Conte was also always cautious as to details. He felt the tendencies of his time promptly, sensitively, deeply. But he formulated his thoughts somewhat slowly, being content, as he used to say, to "let the seed germinate in its own time." In consequence, he was never swift to claim priority for his own ideas, and he could have won much more reputation as one of the original thinkers of the early evolutionary period, had he been less cautious in deciding upon particular points, and more ready to rush into print.

As a fact, his transition to the acceptance of the general doctrine of evolution seems to have occurred early in his California period. Within a few years it had determined the whole character of his lectures. I myself heard him speak as a convinced evolutionist; and already during those years, as some of his lectures showed, the thoughts were taking the form which he later expressed in his "Evolution in its Relation to Religious Thought,"—his most considerable philosophical treatise.

As I have said, the especial contribution of Le Conte to the philosophical interpretation of the doctrine of evolution is determined by his before-mentioned sense of the unity of human

interests. Every definite series or province of facts or of processes becomes at once, for Le Conte's thought, a subordinate part of a larger whole, intolerable in its fragmentariness, unless, in the definition of the province in question, *all* of the great interests that lead men to conceive their universe in its entirety have been met. A doctrine of evolution which has not yet taken account of the nature of human individuality, or of the relations of God to the world, or of Immortality, may be a valuable generalization; and as naturalist Le Conte might cordially accept it. Only he would not say, "Here is a result, but rather, Here is a baffling problem," unless he had begun to see how this doctrine was not only reconcilable with, but an aid in, the interpretation of the world of man's spiritual nature,—the world of religion,—the world of freedom and of immortality. Others have felt such concerns, of course, in presence of the doctrine of evolution, but Le Conte grasped them in his own way, because he had always conceived his natural history studies as part of a philosophy of nature and of life, and now merely felt the old interest in a new form, when he became an evolutionist. Especially, therefore, he devoted himself, in his studies of the philosophy of evolution: (1.) To the problem of the relation between the *continuity* of the evolutionary process and the apparent *abruptness* of the transition from lower forms of life to man, and from lower to higher spiritual types in general; (2.) To the problem of the Individual, and above all, of the human Individual, whose moral and self-conscious isolation from the rest of the world seems so difficult to understand in case he is a product of continuous processes; and (3.) To the question of the relation between evolution and an idealistic philosophy. In dealing with all these problems, Le Conte showed his characteristic union of traits not often found together. Intuitions guided him to hypotheses which at first remained vague. But Le Conte was patient and cautious. He "let the seed germinate" in his mind. He used a wide range of empirical analogies to guide his thought. At last he formulated his results with great discretion, without polemic, but with all his wonder-

ful simplicity and directness. That in all this Le Conte chose problems that the philosophical students of evolution most need to consider, is plain. What he contributed was ingenious and at the same time considerate. It was in general more impressive in statement than it was entirely original in content. But his thinking upon these matters deserves more attention than it has received. And it was in some points decidedly original.

But while all these developments were taking place in his mind, Le Conte, never hasting and never resting, continued his wide range of detailed researches. His book upon "Sight" was, in its time, a valuable contribution to the progress of knowledge regarding its topic. To the end he remained keenly interested in the advance of the theory of vision. His contributions to geology and to comparative studies in natural history were frequent, and continued far into his later years. I must leave to others the judgment of these parts of his work, which, of course, in the stricter technical sense, constituted his principal task. As critic of the work of others he was a model of urbanity and at the same time of keenness. As an adviser and coöperator in the work of his scientific fellows, and of editors, his aid was valued, and was patiently rendered.

Amongst his beloved mountains it was his lot to die. He has left in his ideals and in his life-work a model for an age of specialism and of divided sympathies to reverence and to follow.

ART AND ARTISTS

JOHN LAFARGE, *New York.*

The reading of Mr. Emile Michel's "Essays on the History of Art,"¹ lately published, led me to try to remember, even by reading again, some large part of the mass of art criticism of the last ten years. Naturally, that excursion had to be extended further, and goes back as far as Mr. Ruskin's time, and that implied still a wider, though a less connected, reading. On returning to the little book of Mr. Michel, I felt inclined to repeat in some similar shape his statements, and some of his arguments, especially as many of them were connected with the art of painting. Notwithstanding the rather colorless tone of his book and its pressing no point strongly, it seemed to me worth restating, partly because of the essential value of his attitude, and partly, also, because he is probably right in predicating a certain reaction against the trend of some of the art criticism of the last quarter of the century. His book has also the merit of not bringing in as arguments questions that are still on trial, and whose statements should be confined to technical investigations and not thrown out to the public as definite acquirements. This reasonable view was much strengthened in my mind by recalling

(1) Emile Michel (de l'Académie des Beaux Arts), *Essais sur l'Histoire de l'Art*, Paris, 1900. Taine, *Essais*, etc. Ruskin, Nordau, Lombroso, Mrs. Van Rensselaer, Russell Sturgis, W. C. Brownell, Morelli, etc., etc.

the confused argumentations of hasty vulgarizers of science who use the supposed facts of one category of thought and of observation for direction in another path of investigation; thereby humiliating the dignity of science and throwing doubt on whatever views they may have tried to enforce. The main error is a very simple one, but one to which our day is especially subject on account of the multifariousness of our reading. I am confounded at thinking that thousands and thousands of pages were read by me *à propos* of Mr. Michel's book without finding anything that a person seriously devoted to his profession of art could find of the slightest use. I cannot think of a more absolute condemnation. That a theologian should find nothing in works on theology and a chemist nothing in works on chemistry would be enough, to their minds, to regret having wasted their time. One serious confirmation of previous likings I met in the rereading of Fromentin's "Masters of the Past," which remains by far the most perfect of essays in the criticism of the art of painting. Whenever anything that resembles his approach of the subject has been made,—and we have had such attempts of late years,—the results have carried some greater advantages for understanding the subject; and I am all the more reminded of his work, because the meaning of my observations based on Mr. Michel's book is most splendidly unfolded in the wonderful passages wherein he shows Rembrandt working steadily and gloriously through every possible trouble that an artist can ever have met; or, again, when he unfolds the sweetness and nobility of the works of Van Eyck and Memling, as the flowering of a moment of brutal luxury, treachery, murder, savagery, and loss of all faiths human and divine. The secret of Fromentin is accessible to every one. We cannot all have the special eye and the poetic temper which belonged to him, but the main basis of his thought is sincerity accessible to all men;—a sincerity so great that it is possible to disagree almost entirely with some of his remarks, but, at the same time, to consider them as necessary and valuable, and to feel all the more sure of the accuracy of the critic.

One of the most artistic of all the Greeks, and one who has been held to be the wisest, has said this :—

“I should not like us to be imposed upon by the appearance of a number of names, all tending in the same direction. How true being is to be studied or discovered is, I suspect, beyond you and me to determine ; and we may be content to admit that the knowledge of things is not to be derived from names. No ; they must be studied and investigated in themselves, and not their names.”

This is a criticism which may serve as a continual reminder that the different forms designated by names, within which we try to imprison our views of art, can only be partial memoranda limited by the quantity and quality of our general information concerning the evolution of mankind, and that the formulas and the names designing them that we must use for a time are not so different from the markers that we place in a book to find the passages we desire to refer to. This is not to say that those marks or slips of paper inserted between the leaves had not better remain until we have done with our book or put it aside for further study. The course of a few years' acquaintance with views and theories shows us a gradual displacement of the different manners of approach to a subject which is as inexplicable in a certain way as is human nature. Art criticism is beginning to change again its methods of approach, owing to the changes brought on daily by greater facility of study, knowledge of documents, and enormously increased facility of communicating points of information from one end to the other of the field of criticism. It is not to be wondered at that much of the criticism of the past years should be deficient, and that its beginnings, which are very recent, should show to us of to-day so little of general habits of comparison. Hence we cannot be severe upon our predecessors, who did not have the resources that are only open to us within a short number of years. The collections that we call museums are a recent institution, and their use has never been made too easy. Travel has not, until lately, taken notice of works of art in any comparative way. Nor could we always make such comparison of facts as to be sure of exact

reports. We had vague judgments as we had inexact engravings and reproductions. In fact, even to-day the drawings and reproductions (not photographed) in works of general information have a singular want of differentiation. So that one sees that it is, after all, the view and the habit of hand of a given person. With us, take, for instance, such a book as Sir Henry Layard's *Handbook of Painting*, "The Italian Schools," which I happen to have at hand. Notice how all the figures have similar hands and faces and eyes and feet, etc. In fact, every detail of these very useful and excellent representations is a twist from the original. It is a little better than, for instance, the engraved outline work of Landon's "Musées," on which my earliest childhood was brought up. It is even a little better than some of the very beautiful engravings of the last century and the beginning of this, because of the larger acquaintance with more examples, which has to a certain extent influenced the mind of the draughtsman, who was nearer our day. Representations of varying examples, then, have not been sufficient in such cases, up to a very recent date. Perhaps it is only within some thirty years, or let us say forty, that there has been a great anxiety on the part of the draughtsman and engraver to establish just the quality of the time of the work of art and of the peculiar turn of the artist or maker whose work he reproduced. We can remember how extraordinary seemed the work of Jacquemart, the etcher, when he passed from mediæval works of art to the different periods of the Renaissance or of Dutch art, giving in each case the peculiar uncouthness or felicity of the originals. Let us not, however, sweep all the older and falser documents aside. They, too, have an extraordinary value for comparative judgment. Not only are they the view of average people, representing very many things antagonistic to themselves or superior to themselves, or things seen in a false view of admiration; but by their ignoring an enormous number of facts, they have left a curious residuum, which to the sincere student may be of extreme value. This is the point. In such works as the old outline prints, the rendering of Rubens in a hard, meagre outline by a sectator of

the schools of the beginning of the century, say the school of David, the Frenchman, allows one to see distinctly the scaffolding and pattern of the gorgeous originals; a pattern only visible to the eye of an accomplished critic, or of a close student of decorative form. That same process applied to the work of the early Italians, say Fra Angelico or Gozzoli, reduces them to the same mode of representation as an inferior Guido or Guercino, the hobbies of the end of the century. And that is extremely interesting. We see persistent in these absurd copies the dignity of arrangement, the simplicity of intention, and the naturalness of the first idea of those early masters. The intrinsic superiority to the Guidos and Guercinos, which time has made us sure of to-day, is forced upon us in a more intellectual manner, a "drier light" than we can be sure of when we see each original charged and covered with the special pictorial beauties of each master. Such a stiff outline engraving, applied to the work of Titian, explains the absurdity of the criticism of some few years back, which insisted upon strict demarcation between "decorative art" and "representative art." We can see that the surfaces of the Titian are held together (like Rubens') by a very perfect balance of lines and spaces, quite as accomplished and learned as any mere ornamental pattern. This is the solid foundation of the schools which have not divided the representative and the decorative, that is to say, the ancient schools of all kinds. That division of modern times is merely a fiction of the moment, devised recently for relief from certain bad kinds of decorative work, and as a scheme which would allow the poorer artists of all kinds to do something not bad, by confining them very strictly within limits that they could always attain. I do not mean that the idea has not persisted to the very hour in which I write. But the error is still merely the apology for the man who cannot do otherwise. It is so essentially delightful to believe that the world is very small and that we can touch its extreme borders with our hands. The fact that a greater number of people can thus attain excellence by placing excellence very low, is also a comfort in an age of leveling down.

I have slightly digressed because I especially wish to show how with improvement in the advantages we secure by our being able to see originals more distinctly, we must not consider that any effort at interpretation may not be of use, and cannot even to-day give us a manner of escaping from our own views. These may be more correct and ineffably better, but there is always a residuum somewhere which no one view can embody. I wish to say this all the more that I can insist again upon the inadequacy of much of our best information with regard to any artistic questions; let us say, for instance, the lives and development of the different artists. It is only of late that we have had the efforts made for means of going beyond the slight stories and anecdotes formerly repeated, which were convenient as putting a pin into the name of the artist, but which, to a certain extent, injured accuracy of view, and which showed also an indifference to any reasoned way of looking at the causes of the importance of each individual. These narrow bases of information injured evidently also the scaffolding of generalization built upon them. *Æsthetics* have served continuously as a basis for working up freely systems which might corroborate political, religious, or philosophic theories.

These, again, one must only object to in part, because any basis has some good which allows the discussion of the greater views regarding human aspirations. Mr. Ruskin's many writings have had, I suppose, a certain value in interesting the "middle class," to use an English term, in works of the past, in their preservation, in the meanings which they may have had, and many other questions; in asserting, for instance, the extreme value of the works of Turner, on whom alone he does not seem to have "gone back." The sadness of his work is the amount of Pharisaic criticism which has thus been let loose upon the public. "With time, also, the vain abstractions of philosophers, through which they decided for artists what should be the rule and the law, have ceased to interest us, as we begin to feel more distinctly how little most of these theorists really felt of art and how little interest they really took in it." I can hardly think

that it was from any exertion of mind that mere abstract theories concerning art became tiresome to us, the public ; it seems more as if faith in getting truth handed to one in a given block had diminished, and that the doctrines led nowhere in particular and were continually undermined by the examples offered. There may still survive people who really do believe that Beauty is a pattern of such and such a form ; but they are out of the domain of criticism of art, in so far as directing or appearing specially interested in the question. No one interested in plastic art, no, not even a painter, would say to-day as used to be said to me, "Can there be any beauty in Japanese women?"—as if beauty consisted of women, and had for its exponent a certain relation of the nose and forehead or a certain color of eye. Whether there be or not such survivals, that attitude of mind concerning beauty has disappeared to a great extent among art lovers, even the unintelligent and the fashionable. Most of them would be quite satisfied, if obliged to have a formula, with Mr. Rodin the sculptor's dictum, of there being a beauty of form and proportion, of there being a beauty of motion or movement, and of there being a beauty of expression or rendering (as for modeling in sculpture, for instance). Mr. Rodin was content with this triad, which as we know is pleasing to the gods, but had he made out four or ten forms of beauty, the modern turn of mind would, I think, accept them, and more yet no doubt, as they might be formulated. It is possible that this easier way of enjoying art has been largely fostered by the appreciation of music, whose development can be considered as both scientific and personal, and also to the wider reading of many literatures, and also, perhaps, to the spreading of the drama through more situations, which, whether natural or unnatural, have carried certain beauties in many of its worst forms of exaggeration. But I wish to keep more particularly within the plastic arts.

Direct studies of art from an archæological point of view have necessarily established many data that could not be reconciled by the older forms of criticism, and the very exaggerations of those who discovered that the modern Japanese art was exceedingly fresh

and valuable, and even went so far as to suppose it equal to the older arts of the same races, have allowed us to appreciate Japanese art and to become familiar with it, and consequently to be obliged to give it a reasonable place in the whole scheme. The semi-religious, semi-philosophic diatribes of those who placed the limit for art before the date of Raphael's Madonnas,—who thought "Corregio a toad,"—helped us to become more acquainted with the period that they recommended as a panacea for all ills. Even the hatred of Raphael by the smaller and greater realists of a few years ago has begun to fade away with the attempts at developing decorative art. I do not mean to say that he is thoroughly understood, but it is possible to-day to appeal even to a painter with regard to the decorative value of his lines, his spaces, and his cadences. Fifty years ago, the battle was wrongly engaged on the question of his methods of modeling, and the most personal part of him, really inaccessible to all men, his "expression," his "airs de tête,"—were recommended as the basis of motive and study. It is not so long ago that Mr. Ingres, Senator of the Empire, dictated those laws both to government students and to critics who used to stand high in the public estimation.

With the accumulation of documents, of examples, there came up naturally the wish to coördinate them into some scheme which naturally, as at all times, would represent the advance studies of the moment. That moment in the nineteenth century must be subject to the scientific scheme—so-called, in the same way as far back in the moment of, let us say, the Middle Ages, it was fashionable to use theology as the basis of criticism. I do not wish to go into any of the less known manners of treating art criticism—besides that an exhaustive treatment would be impossible within my limits; but we can take some of the more common, meaning the more popularly known, attempts, as being typified by Taine's handling of the philosophy of art. How, after all, did the work of art come to be produced? What were the essential conditions which could favor or oppose such a production and came to determine them? Taine has shortened the

statement of his theories into this formula, "The productions of the human mind, like unto those of living nature, can only be explained by their *habitat*." I translate the word "milieu" by *habitat*, the naturalist's word for the place wherein the animal has his being. Skilfully disentangling from a multitude of facts those which could serve his theme, Taine placed them in a brilliant shape before us, in such a way as to be himself the best exponent of views of that kind, and also in such a way as to give to his theories a fixed place in literary and artistic criticism.

Certainly this view had never been placed so powerfully before the average reader. It is not that before Taine others had omitted to study the development of art from that point of view, but the studies had been more fragmentary. The turn of mind of Taine was that of the debater, the expounder of the thesis, and he naturally attached a very unreasonable importance to the formula upon which he worked. I do not mean that the point of view is not a necessary one, but that a view of that kind, if insisted upon, alone, allows us to construct too easily the other and extremely important side. Not only did it tend to limit the development of art to its production by the average man, who is more evidently the result of outside pressure, but it also tended to run together into the common result special cases which had their own contradictory history. It also absolutely neglected the influence of personal development and spiritual freedom of will, which, however limited they may be, are still the essential basis of all the greatest examples of art. For it might be well to ask one's self whether it be not true that it is not from the smaller efforts (more controlled by circumstances) that the great ones take their origin, but that the greater efforts by the more remarkable individuals gradually mould and influence the works of the smaller ones. This statement alone, if true, might seem to disprove the absoluteness of the point of view that Taine was fond of. As I like examples which have a distinct scientific value, since they have to be accounted for by any scheme that may seem in opposition, it pleases me to recall a discussion which I had many years ago with a writer on

art. This was very long ago, when the name of the Frenchman Millet was beginning to trouble the artistic world, and when, though recognized as a great artist by a few, (and to our credit be it said, many of those few being Americans,) still a great mass of people of culture, and critics and artists and directors of art, were opposed to him in a way that we can hardly understand to-day. As being also so discussed, the art dealers of that time, who had not yet learned how to push new names, were as a mass, from strong and most reasonable and justifiable commercial reasons, largely enlisted in opposing this sentiment of favor towards the coming man. I am speaking of some thirty or forty years ago. This is the argument which my art critic used: "The artist is the exponent of his time, or else he has no value. Now our time is one of scientific inquiry, of observation of the real fact; of antagonism to modifying fact by sentiment, and to any synthesis based upon spiritual motives; our time dislikes the pleading for things of the past and too great sympathy with *what is not progress*; therefore, most decidedly, Millet's idealism of the present retrograde, being born of the Middle Ages, is opposed to every life current of the world at present; and Millet's work must necessarily be both useless and harmful and doomed to forgetfulness." I could not see, nor do I yet see, that this argumentation was not excellent, but it convinced me in no way, because I had never believed that the artist was manufactured by his time, though he could not absolutely escape it; and I could see quite well, as I explained, that Millet did not escape his time, only that the main motive of his view was eternal, as far as human things can be said to be eternal, and that it was that side which we all cared for who saw what was in him, and that that side was also the side which persisted in the artist, and made him able to speak across centuries;—and to be sometimes better understood by the future than he had been by the people who lived about him, and who were supposed to have made him. The argument of my friend, therefore, can serve as a destruction of his own thesis by its proving too much, and its bringing up, on the contrary, the value of the other side.

It is from this more spiritual view of the individual efforts, within the circumstance of time and place, that I should like to follow out a few cases in the making of the work of art which will allow us to see more distinctly the value of personal development and freedom of the will as opposed to a fatal and necessary result.

I think it extremely important to consider this side of the growth and development of the work of art, because the pressure of modern life tends more and more to affect the development of the artist, in so far as his most valuable characteristic, his personal equation, has a free development.

The tendency towards great centres' and great capitals' absorbing the vitality around them helps, to a certain extent, to allow a more easy sight of what has been done, and to encourage a certain emulation, but it tends to destroy that relative peace of mind in quiet action, which seems the only environment that can help in the creation of what is to last. Some years ago, one of the very successful and much-producing artists of Paris said to me that he envied the chance that we must have so much more easily in America of doing work for itself, and not for the art dealer, or the government requirements, or the still more demoralizing yearly shows and exhibitions. In places feverishly active and subject to fashion, moved by so sudden impressions, the temptation is strong to produce something which shall draw attention to one's self; and then to yield to keeping that attention centred by rapid and hastened productions. It is necessary to strike often, and harder and harder. Strange subjects, brutal subjects, anything that looks original has to be chosen to attract attention, and art, which is of all aristocracies the most legitimate, from the democratic point of view, since it is equally of use to all, then appeals to the crowd, and changes its aspirations according to the motions of the crowd. Any moral compromise is also essentially degrading and in such cases all results will be matters of compromise. It may, therefore, be necessary for the artist to expend still more energy and to be still more disinterested, if he wishes to run up the course of the stream, which has

grown more and more swollen and impetuous. Of course these rather moral observations are not meant to appeal to the man who is looking for what is called success, that is to say, something definite, which he can absolutely handle, and exchange for other commodities. We are now thinking in another mode and considering the birth and development of the works of art which are to last over their generations and carry comfort and pleasure and often inspiration of a spiritual kind to the minds of the later time. This is not against the recognition of the separate existence of the artist who chooses to work for the moment,—for what may be called a fashionable existence,—and in fact, the divisions that we are now making are made, like all divisions, for convenience; they do not exist absolutely, but are to serve as guides and marks to allow us to see our way more clearly. For example, let us take a modern art, the art of portraiture, which has become very much specialized within the last four hundred years. It is evident that to a certain extent the exercise of that more specific division of representation must depend on the artist's meeting some particular fashion or inclination of the moment, and the two questions of working for the moment and working for the future become entangled. Take, for instance, the case of Sir Thomas Lawrence; the fads of his day bore him up, the fads of another day pulled him down; some of the fads of to-day are pulling him up again, showing that to a certain extent he touched the living current, which is to carry certain examples through history. I take Sir Thomas; there might be better examples, and there are many to-day of whom one can think. But it is not for me to speak of the men of our time.

We can see that these last examples are in part the result of the time, the moment, the environment, the ideal of the school represented by Taine; we can see how on one side they belong to the common mass, and why they must touch it and must be influenced, especially to the average eye, by the outside. If a portrait painter like Holbein were to come among us, he could not be allowed to represent the celebrities of our day. A something both cowardly and evasive would prevent us to-day being

satisfied with representations so accurate, impartial, and dignified.

Of course every reasonable person believes that in whatever a man may do or think or write or paint, he depends very closely upon his race; he depends no less on the environment of society which has more or less trained him, and, of course, through continuous ups and downs, also on the moment, whose sudden circumstances come upon him, and to which he may have to yield; though also, from another point of view, these circumstances are a part of the web that he weaves. This oppression of circumstances strikes us personally at many moments of reflection; we recognize it practically at every moment, and especially do we recognize it more fully in the moments of difficulty and of dejection, disappointment, and disillusion. From this latter fact, we can see that the whole story is not told by the environment, and by the training, and by the race, for it is the obstacle to our will which comes up before us in these moments of the contemplation of unsuccess and disillusion. We all remember how beautifully Taine studied out the differences which race and environment and momentary circumstances have contributed to historical examples of talent. His description of Greece and of its art and of the homogeneous development of that art remains as a masterpiece of explanation, and of beautiful placing of the subject before the mind; and yet there remains, also, the statement with which Theophrastus begins very early, "I have often admired, and I acknowledge that I cannot yet understand, whatever serious reflection I may give, why all of Greece being placed under one sky, and the Greeks trained in the same way, it is seen, nevertheless, that there is so little resemblance in their manners and morals." I do not remember that Taine has referred to this remark of an observer who was better fitted than we are to feel acutely the differences about him. Indeed, without going further into what is, perhaps, the most studied of all such subjects, the persistence of styles that divide Greek expressions and their development, and their coming to bloom even in contradiction to the circumstances of dissolution around them, is enough to balance the question of the environment and the moment.

Of course in the art of architecture, which has continually to take in the most practical of all circumstances, the weather, the light, the materials, and the uses of the given place, we must, of course, see that the outside influences can rarely be protested against by the art itself. Its special point, more visible than that of all other arts, for they all have an exceedingly practical side, is the use of these circumstances to represent the will of the maker. Out of the difficulties he constructs the object which is to represent his desires, and out of its very negation he builds beauty. As the sculptor takes the hard and cold and rigid stone to give us softness, fluidity, and life. In this contradiction consists, at bottom, the pleasure that we take in representation by sculpture.

We recognize how harmonious and clear and simple is the Greek expression in architecture, how uncomplicated and simple its idea of construction, how well it meets the few demands of a favored climate. Let us consider what has been done in countries whose climate is continually varying, where rain and snow and frost alternate with heat to try the construction; and behold, in contradictory ways, how boldly the Middle Ages accumulated problems, and sought out difficulties, to express feelings more or less moral or intellectual, and divided the opposition of an inharmonious nature. Could a reasonable, let us say a Greek, mind have foreseen the development that would be in contradiction to its surroundings, while yielding ingeniously to such as were to contribute to the impression and the meaning desired? How ingeniously has the wonderful statuary of the Middle Ages protected itself in part from the harsh climate, which could never have suggested the statue's standing in full air, but half sheltered them in the openings and pinnacles; covering the great cathedrals with an embroidery of images, whose real if immature beauty is as great as any that art has ever shown us.

Again, under dark sky and dull weather, one would not at first expect to find a rivalry of color-decoration as successful as the

ornamentation born in the East, where the use of color has remained an inheritance.¹

However sweet the Northern climate, however lovely it may be, the scale of its importance is pitched in a lower key than that of the sunlit countries. But in the stained glass of the Middle Ages the colors that in nature are visible only in the most favored and splendid of all lands live again in opposition to the dullness outside. Under manners and appearances whose ease and courage seem instinctive our more careful study has shown us a scientific art, a habit of measuring the influence of colors one upon the other, and controlling by close reasoning a delight in splendors which existed for their makers only in these creations; for, as we are just recalling, they were not buoyed up by what they had about them.

The beauty of outside nature, influences of harmonies of color and grandeur of lines, vast horizons, splendid skies, and edges of a fairy sea have not created landscape painting in Southern Italy. The flowering of landscape painting is to take place in countries whose make is unimportant and whose light is attenuated, and where indoor life has assumed greater proportions. Under these contradictory skies, the great painters of Holland have so represented the beauty of the outside world as to make their native land intimately interesting; and a visit to Holland is a visit to galleries of its painters. Of course they used the material which was about them, which was dear to them, and, as

(1) I have said inheritance, which is a point of great importance (and which I have to leave untouched); the value of so much of Eastern work being the teaching of laws discovered in far back ages and persisted in to the present day, depending for their continuation neither upon climate nor light; for these works vary but just a little through all changes of climate. Of course it might be contended with success, that the glorious jewelry of the Western glass comes from the East, or at the least from the great Byzantine Empire, whose workmen must have traveled enough to teach the farther West. We have traditions of some such work in the Gaul which was to become France. But, however much it may be so, and I should rather like to uphold some view of that kind, it is not the origin, but the enormous development which is so astounding.

in all arts, out of oppositions and exceptions they built their successes.

Northerners, like Claude Lorrain and Poussin, wandered down, like their barbarian ancestors, and discovered Italy. That is to say that they found in Italy the expression of feelings which they could not obtain at home; and sea and sky, far-away plains and mountains, and ruins of the past gave them that escape from the present and the mean which was a necessity for them. They worked in solitude away from their native land, whose social laws or whose level of morals and habits were, perhaps, opposed either to the simplicity of the one or the high-mindedness of the other.¹

Again in poorer Holland, and not in countries where the lap of nature is filled with flowers and fruits and foliage, shall we find the development of a special school of flower painting. Of fruits and flowers difficult to raise in the cold Dutch climate its painters make much, while the Southerners pass all these motives by. Of course that is not to say that art is not influenced by geography, but it does not depend upon it. In Holland, a country without stone or iron, and of little wood, the development of certain forms of architecture is not to be looked for. But why, with its neighborhood to Germany, and a certain similarity of habits and religion, has Holland not developed music, so fostered by the early Lutheran development? Why, again, has Germany, in which began so much of the art of painting, stopped short for centuries after the flourishing of Dürer, who, it is true, is not of pure German descent; or of Holbein, who is also on the edges

(1) As, after all, I wish as much to show that there are no hard and fast lines and that the human mind is free relatively in its manifestations, I should not like to pass over the question of the real importance of the ideal and contemplative landscapes of so many of the Italians of more central Italy, and the inauguration of great landscapes, further back than that of the Dutch by the Venetian painters with a flat land about them. The more confused the question can be made without losing the thread of each variety of investigation, the more satisfied I am of the issues that we are now considering.

of the less Teutonic world. In some such cases, the crossing of race, the placing of an individual in contradictory circumstances by transplanting him, seem to be efficient causes of individual flowering.

Of course the reasons for many breaks of artistic development are of the most elementary kind, and, however obscured, can be read in the story of history. Great social disturbances, foreign or civil wars, have broken up the possibility of individuals continuing the careers of peace. The religious difficulties of France and the great social changes connected with them, the struggle of the great lords for a supremacy which could not be obtained at the same time that they encouraged the arts of peace; the enormous destruction by the fanatic mobs of works of art broke up the peaceful growth of French art, just beginning to be influenced by the Renaissance. The Reformation had enormously to do with the checking of the German development of painting, though Luther, the friend of Cranach, has recorded his desire of seeing all arts united in the service of their Creator.

On the contrary, he was able to help the art of music, which as we saw a moment ago, did not go on in Holland as did painting under the new influences.

The desire for acquisition of works of art and enormous wealth spent in that direction, implying abundant personal perception, the plundering of more civilized nations, have not allowed England, which had every chance of communication with the rest of the world, to develop a large number of artists capable of carrying their ideas beyond the expression of their race. While the Venetians, also on the sea, and having the wealth of other nations brought to their doors, not only used the influences which they received from outside, but developed a school so powerful as to have affected permanently the art of painting. That its main representatives were usually from outside, does not stand against a special common characteristic in the taste of Venetian art. All this, however, has to be roughly stated, for the connections with Northern Italy are so delicate

that they should be stated one by one. Flanders, connected with the Southern world both by sea and by land, having the use of great wealth, and one of the most natural predispositions towards painting, struggles for a long time in the attempt at realizing the Northern admiration for Southern art. It is necessary at length that some special individual should rise, who, largely influenced by that Italian art, is still, in what he does, the prominent exponent of many characters of his race which had never before found expression; while, for a long time previous, the methods of painting had been cultivated, and some of them born, in his native land. It would be wiser, within our narrow limits, to go no further East, and not to undertake to examine the contradictions which have allowed a logical development of architecture in India and in the farther East, and have not encouraged, in the greater way, the development of sculpture (which yet was favored by religious uses) to the same extent reached in Western countries, where image making was also encouraged by the religious needs or inclination. Again, one must expect remarkable cases, so important as to emphasize the freedom of great individual expression, for Japan has marvels of sculpture; but a single page would number them all. There, again, when not encouraged by the higher artistic taste and culture, and, on the contrary, looked down upon by the more refined and the more intellectual, the Vulgar School, the School of the Passing World, works for the common people in opposition to the literary class, and produces, in the series ending gloriously in Hokusai, a number of documents carelessly treated by the race itself, but destined to affect us, and to receive with us Westerners a full appreciation. There, again, the prophets are not honored in their own country and carry their message much better to other times and other lands.¹

(1) I need not say that personally I sympathize with the intention and meaning of the Japanese who opposed the Vulgar School, or rather cared little for it, and agree with them in their worship of past Japanese art, but, notwithstanding, they were, as often is the case, wrong at that moment. Notwithstanding the encouragement that was given them, they were unable to produce characters powerful enough to surpass the greater worker for ordinary people.

Of course geographic interests have their influence, varied and contradictory, as in a similar way political and social action not seldom limits the development or appearance of art or literature. Intellectual culture must need some form of security, and in the great crises which distress a nation, art may absolutely disappear, at least to the eye or in the records. The Barbarian Invasion, the dismemberment of the Roman Empire, the attempt of France at freeing itself from English domination, the Revolutionary period both in France and the adjacent countries, are moments which would account for the disappearance of any arts of peace.

Occasionally writers have amused themselves by finding in the forms of government, according to their personal theses, the causes of prosperity or decadence of art. But, whatever may be the value of such considerations as studies of special facts, art has flourished under democracy or oligarchy; under Italian Republics, in Flanders crushed by Spain, as well as in Holland fighting for its life; in the civil wars of the Italian cities, in the constant contradictory successions of Popes at Rome, under the despotism of Louis XIV. in France, or the still greater despotism of Spain. Therefore, the great developments of art do not correspond exactly to periods of great peace or of great wealth any more than to moments of violent crisis and extreme distress. Apparently, however, after commotions and dangers past, there are moments of peace which relatively seem favorable. It is probable that the interpenetration of rival nations has often exercised influences greater than would appear from their forced antagonism. Thus, with the war of France against England at the beginning of this century, English literature influenced the very beginnings of the new schools. Even the fighter himself, as in the case of De Vigny, carried the influence of a former enemy's ideas, willingly and with joy into his own expressions. Greece after the Persian wars, Italy after the struggle between the Papacy and the Empire, Holland after the driving out of the Spaniards, France after the Crusades and after the Italian wars, after its own civil wars and the wars of Napoleon, began to show exuberance of creative life. Contrariwise, the long peace of Italy, during the seventeenth and

eighteenth centuries, witnesses a slow decadence in great original production. Certain men have died and that is all the story.

I am reminded just here of some talks I once had with a Japanese Imperial Commissioner, who was engaged in an attempt to rebuild some of the practical arts of his country by the foundation of a school. These were minor arts, but arts in which Japan had reached the furthest limit of perfection yet attained, and then had seen these arts disappear, with the enormous social changes taking place in that contradictory country ; which social changes brought suddenly the habits of the Middle Ages to meet the exigencies of to-day. I was delighted at some of his explanation of methods to be followed. With us Westerners it would have been natural to establish a system of instruction ; a corps of professors who would have to learn the theories which they were afterwards to profess and apply ; and perhaps a corps of young beginners of promise or obedience who would begin to learn afresh from these theoretic views. With my Oriental a part of the mechanism was based on the idea just expressed, that the arts lived in certain men. He told me that there still existed older men, thrown out of the practice of their arts, who earned livings in other ways, and that his very simple programme was to find some man who had been a most successful practitioner, and have him establish the practice again, and with it, incidentally, the theory for each different branch of these minor arts. The immediate success which attended his experiment and the influence of this renovation on outsiders justified the correctness of his very simple view.

We are more at peace to-day and the arts are not only in favor, but artificially encouraged, and yet the unity of France has not produced architectural work as important as was created by its little struggling communities, nor has the unity of Italy done anything more as yet to establish an Italian form of artistic expression. Thus peace, also, or certain forms of peace, are not inevitably conducive to the great expressions of those arts which we think of as being the arts of peace. For that, of course, there are many reasons which are evident ; the lowering of stand-

ards by the necessities of trade and of obtaining wealth, and consequent struggles which establish a form of war in peace.

Not only is it difficult to establish a set of rules which would allow us to predicate the development of art by certain aptitudes of race, favored by geographic or social conditions, but we shall also find similar difficulties when we come to look at the personal influences that determine individual vocations. Though our documents are increasing in the direction of the influences of heredity, we cannot establish the constancy of the turn of mind. Of course we know that among painters and sculptors, some of the most illustrious, and certainly many of the well-known ones, are the sons or the fathers of others more or less illustrious. Let us take the names of Raphael, the Bellini, the Pisani, the Lippi, Titian, the Veronese, the Van Eycks, the Cranachs, Holbein, the Teniers, Ostade, Paul Potter, Cuyp, as among musicians Bach, Mozart, Beethoven, Weber. Then there are certain dynasties of artists: the Della Robbia, the Van de Velde, the Breughels, the Vernets, and among the Bachs a long line of chapel masters and composers. But for all that, how much of this evolution is merely the presentation to the child of some art, which he sees to be delightful to his elders, and for which he finds an easy apprenticeship more natural and more suited to himself because of its handiness, than any other influence which he sees outside. A salutary reciprocal influence is, in that case, as much a moral result, that is the result of the trained will, as of any physical predestination.

In the art of painting, also, the physical tendency to imitate is common to almost all children, and the facility of the use of the hand determines in that art the direction of the mind. In all these cases of the influence of one of the grown minds on the younger one, there has been some special and sometimes marvelous personal answer. One child will catch the sacred fire and the other turn away from it, and the very precociousness of certain great examples implies a personal equation of a different

calibre from that of their educators. On the other side, unfavorable conditions seem to have had no influence on the destiny of many of the greater examples in painting and music. Many of them are absolutely the sons of their own works. The facilities given by wealth and education are often rather temptations than encouragements. Though there, again, the case of such a man as Rubens, carefully encouraged by his family, or the relatively aristocratic conditions of Michael Angelo, serve as steps towards a form of independence of thought and largeness of mental development, that allow them to be free from preoccupations of attaining social positions, which often affect the mind of the lesser artists. Mendelssohn, also, is a case of the artist able to resist wealth and to use in entirety the advantages of his education. Again, the young shepherd, Giotto, has left us examples of dignity and elevation of style which are a lesson to all culture. Millet, the peasant, stands also for us of to-day as a type of high moral attitude. The pastry cook, Claude Lorrain, is a representative of elevation and refinement attained in the study and contemplation of external nature; Correggio and Rembrandt,—the furthest expressions of grace and of sentiment,—are men from the smallest stock, who yet in their own lines are the extreme flowering of feelings which belong to the highest culture. For some of the highly favored, art has been, as we have noticed before, an escape from the sadness of feeling born of the world around them, and enveloped in the luminous cloud of their art they have been able to see nothing but light around them, and to forget, in the intervals of work the moral troubles which they had felt outside. This, of course, we know to have been the case with Michael Angelo, not only by tradition, but by what he has said of himself, and by the contradiction of his work to the confusion and degradation about him. The cause of Poussin's calm abstraction, amounting almost to coldness, is also this wish to retire from unworthy associations. We feel how Rembrandt carried his dreams into the commonplace surroundings of petty life that encompassed him, and the more modern painters, Rousseau and Corot, have most certainly attained peace of mind in the contemplation of

nature, which, as we know, reflects our likeness and our wishes without partaking of them.

Nor have these successes been obtained easily. They have always been accompanied by struggle and by obstinate determination. Most evidently, the natural surroundings have not been causes, and the lives have been triumphs over necessity.

Thus art has been able to flourish anywhere except where absolute danger of climate or the fierce stress of war stands in the way. And so personal is the question, so uncertain the supply for any possible demand, that places of peaceful skies and quiet life have not, therefore, fostered any art. Security from foreign invasion and extreme beauty of scenery have not made the Swiss factors in European art.

Alone of the arts, architecture necessarily feels the restraint of material exigency and of public demand and of utilitarian demands, but that is part of its very definition. It is through the handling of those necessities that architecture has triumphed; —the other arts, occupying smaller spaces, and less practical, flourishing in a manner more unforeseen. Thus, through some of the most troubled years of Italy, amid constant wars, and private murders, and treasons, and sacks of cities, Italian painting shows peace, serenity of mind, the sweetest sentiment:—everything that can contrast most strongly with the average record of the dates. In Holland other strange anomalies. A commercial country, and a country where fortunes have steadily accumulated, it might be supposed that, as in England of the past and the United States of the present, the tendency would be to buy art ready-made. That is to say, to go out of the country and get the “objets” of commercial art, which, being already to hand, have not to be watched in their growth, or fostered and helped in their makers. Still, Holland, having no great families of recent origin anxious to separate themselves from the common people, either for social or political reasons, there was, perhaps, less obvious reason for encouraging outside art. Yet for a time there was a current of attempt at introducing the ways and manners of what seemed more favored countries, a wish fostered by

the error (about which I am now writing) of supposing that similar exterior influences will bring about similar results in art. We, to-day, can hardly get over the superstition of a superiority in Italian art, though we know practically, and have it forced upon us, that there is no Italian art in existence. There are, of course, a few artists who, except for their cleverness, the cleverness of the race, might have been born anywhere, either in Chicago or Canton. And so Northern Europe made at first that mistake, just as we do, and insisted upon the value of degenerate successors of those who had been great in Southern Europe. In Holland this was a mere shred of influence which, however, must have been one of antagonism that the native painters, who made the immortal Dutch School, felt at times pressing against them.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

DIPLOMATIC LIFE IN PEKING

ELIZABETH von HEYKING, *City of Mexico.*

I left Peking two years ago, and as I was carried in my sedan chair to the railway station through dusty lanes and green fields, past old gravestones that were crumbling down, I turned back for a last look at the huge, forbidding city walls with their great gates surmounted by high towers. I had the impression that if I ever came back, I should find it all exactly as it was there before me on that hot, sunny June day, for it all seemed so old and unchangeable as to set time itself at defiance. But now, only two short years later, as I read the news from Peking, I seem to hear about an almost unknown world, and the China that I have known is dead,—for time never rests and change is perpetual, even in everlasting China, which seemed to me then like a sandy beach over which the waves glide and leave no trace. The three years that I spent, in greater part, behind those dark walls seemed to contain more than their share of weary hours, of illness, homesickness, and loneliness. Yet I now look upon them with a regret that is not free from a certain yearning, for we long for the times that are past, not merely when gay and happy, but for the reason itself that they belong to the past, and have borne with them a part of ourselves to the gray, shadowy land from which no hour ever returns.

We arrived off Taku on the sixth of August, 1896. His Majesty's Ship Irene had brought us thither, but the water in that part of the gulf of Pechili is so shallow that the big man-of-

war had to lie far out at sea, and the land appeared to us as a faint line on the horizon, revealing so little of itself that we were free to imagine it as we hoped to find it,—which is a safe way for lands and peoples to show themselves. Germans came out to meet us on a tug; after exchanging many farewells with the officers, we went on board, waving our handkerchiefs to them for a long while, as the stately Irene was growing smaller and smaller, a white spot on the endless expanse of water, the last wee bit of home.

And now we were in a new world. As we passed up the Peiho River between flat-topped mud hills, we were informed that these were the Taku forts,—a name that has since meant suffering and death to many poor lads from distant countries, who a few weeks previously had never heard the word, and only entertained a vague notion that in China men wear pigtails and women totter about on very small feet. Suddenly the flat-topped mud hills were covered by small red flags with white Chinese characters printed upon them, and, as in a well-working Nüremberg toy, innumerable little soldiers seemed to spring out of the earth as they drew themselves up in a line. Then the German flag went up on a high staff, and the little men in their blue blouses fired a salute from little guns that we now perceived on the edge of the mud hills. The salute was irregularly fired, a few shots coming in rapid succession, then a silence, then after a while some more, as if the Chinese were asking, “Are you satisfied with this? No? Well then let us give these children among nations a little more of this child’s play.” When they thought that our craving for honors must be satisfied, the flags and the men disappeared as suddenly as they had come, like so many jacks in a box. We steamed up the river to Tongku, and there got into the railway train that took us to Tientsin, the only railway then in existence in China. We were kindly received by our numerous colony in Tientsin—colonies always receive new ministers kindly; the proof of mutual liking and understanding is given later on at the hour of farewell. The foreign concessions of Tientsin struck me as

dreary, dusty, and steamingly hot. After I had lived some time in Peking, I saw Tientsin in quite another light; its fairly good roads on which you could drive, its two storied houses, and the many foreign shops seemed delightfully homelike in comparison with the Chinese capital, and when the railway was opened a few days of shopping in Tientsin was our wildest form of dissipation, and young men who went there often were looked upon as fast, reckless creatures. Views change according to the standpoint !

Whilst in Tientsin, my husband called on the Viceroy of Pechili, Wang Wen Shao, the successor of Li Hung Chang, who at that time was making his triumphal tour through Europe. The viceroys of Pechili come so much into contact with foreigners that they are of all the officials in northern China the most enlightened. The golden age of Tientsin was under Li Hung Chang's viceregency, before the Japanese war, when money was yet plentiful in poor China, and concession hunters, ship-builders, and gun manufacturers grew rich under the dispensation of the Chinese "grand old man."

On a gray, steamy day, when the drizzle occasionally changed into a heavy downpour, I watched Wang Wen Shao paying his return call to my husband, and I was bitterly disappointed, for instead of the vision of Oriental splendor which my imagination had brought before me, I saw a procession which would have disgraced the smallest rajah in India. Under the low, muggy sky advanced a heavy sedan chair covered with green cloth, in which the great man was carried through the wet roads by four coolies, no less dirty and ragged than their many brethren whom one sees lounging about street corners, in expectation of a summons to their unromantic offices. Behind him came more coolies, relays for the chair bearers; one of them was supposed to bear the huge red umbrella, the insignia of rank and office, well-opened behind the viceroy's chair; but on account of the bad weather he had wrapped this up in a piece of paper, and carried it under his arm as he shuffled along the damp, slippery streets. Some officials in rickshaws brought up the rear of the procession

with a few men on horseback, who tried to protect themselves against the rain under bits of yellow oilcloth, which made them look like big, wet canaries. The Chinese do not possess that sense of pageantry which is inborn with most Eastern people, and care nothing for those brilliant shows which in other Oriental countries form so indispensable a part of official life. Tawdriness, squalor, and depressing decay characterize all northern China, from the gates of the imperial palace at Peking to the huts of the poorest of the poor; from the world-famed old temples to the dilapidated, forgotten graves along the roadside. Everywhere we are oppressed by the sense of a desolation that seems to hang over the land like a heavy, gray veil.

Our journey from Tientsin to Peking, which a year later could be accomplished by rail in four hours, took us four days in house-boats up the Peiho River. They were "flat-going," top-heavy constructions, containing, each, one or two low cabins with a carved and gilt partition, behind which mattresses were laid down and mosquito curtains put up for the night. Our party had three of these boats and a still bulkier craft devoted to the many servants, the luggage, kitchen, and all the provisions we had to carry with us. They were fastened one to another by ropes, and were to be towed up the river by a steam launch, which Wang Wen Shao had lent us along with two mandarins of his own household, who were to be responsible for our personal safety. These two gentlemen wore robes of blue silk and the Chinese official straw hat, which is donned by the whole nation on the same summer day on which the Emperor puts on his in exchange for the black one of winter. A blue button on the crown of their hats indicated their official rank. They sat all day on the top of the kitchen boat smoking their small pipes and drinking tea, and our servants treated them with the easy familiarity which is characteristic of this country that one calls an empire, but which is the world's greatest democracy. Our guardian mandarins did not carry arms, and I don't know how they would have protected us; but then in those days nobody in China ever thought of his personal security except as a matter of course,

and the nation was in general so peaceably inclined that among the "*quantités négligeables*" of this world the Chinese seemed, in their own country, the most "*négligeables*" of all. It is true, however, that as our little flotilla slowly glided up the many windings of the brown, muddy Peiho the picturesque outline of the French cathedral that was partly destroyed in Tientsin by a fanatical mob, in 1870, stood out on the horizon like a sign of warning, as it were, to white mankind. But the "oldest residents," who are always quoted, and who invariably prove wrong, would have laughed at the suggestion that such events could ever occur again.

The heat on the river was intense. Every breath of air seemed shut off by the high mud banks with their endless fields of maize and millet, which grow so high and thick as to be quite impenetrable, and like green seas swallow up everything. At long intervals we passed a few mud huts; sometimes we met great barges; on their masts hung limply a yellow flag with a ferocious looking blue dragon on it, which proclaimed them to be boats carrying up tribute rice for the imperial household. The journey seemed endless, for the river meanders through the land in such erratic windings that you constantly fancy yourself going back to the place from which you started. After the first day, the steam launch of course collapsed, and had to go back to Tientsin—we afterward discovered that we were nearing a spot where a houseboat carrying the American Minister and Mrs. Denby had been upset a few days previously, the inmates losing all their property and being thankful to save their lives. So the captain of the steam launch evidently thought that in China, also, prudence is the better part of valor, and steamed back to Tientsin. As we could not sail, a host of bronze colored coolies pulled our boats along by ropes from the muddy shore, whilst others pushed them from the decks with long poles. Often even now I seem to hear the strange rhythmical chant with which they accompanied their hard, tedious work! At dusk the boats would be drawn together near the banks of the river. Then thousands of locusts and grasshoppers would swarm out of the dense green fields and invade our

boats, and during the whole night we would hear their incessant singing, mingling with the wind that rustled in the millet leaves. All was intensely strange and lonely, and a feeling of remoteness crept over me as if I were standing on the edge of the world, dazed by the sights and sounds of unknown space.

And how much stranger yet was the arrival at Peking after we had left the house-boats and had been carried several hours in sedan chairs through country roads that were changed into swamps, through villages whose dirt and wretchedness were like the prelude to the vast symphony of human misery towards which we had been traveling throughout all these weary days. So much has been said and written about the filth, the stench, the poverty, and decay of Peking, and yet the reality always surpasses the worst that you expected. It seems at first a nightmare in which the world has turned back into chaos. Every morning you awake with the same feeling of oppression, the same question, How is it possible to live here? Then gradually the first strangeness wears off; you meet other people who have stood it all for years, and who are all kind and friendly to the newcomer. Practical affairs begin to claim your attention; you have to plan and arrange the material details of life, and petty worries often prove an antidote for the greater weariness of existence. In the malady which we all went through, and which had been given the name of "Pekinite," the first stage was an absolute indifference, a kind of horror-struck torpor. Convalescence began with the first symptoms of returning interest, and with some people the malady then took an unexpected course, and they became violent lovers of China, who resented any disparaging remark about the object of their affections; but there were also those who never quite recovered, and constantly suffered from relapses. Your greatest chance for settling down and becoming reconciled to life in Peking is to develop, if you can, some kind of hobby. We all had our little harmless manias; with most of us it was some form of curio hunting; people discovered in their souls a longing for blue and white china, a craving for five-colored vases of Kang Hsi's epoch, or for old

carved doors, and they spent hours discussing the prices with the curio dealers, who came every morning to the legations, their blue bundles over the shoulder, and spread out their wares in the courtyards. But if some collected menageries of strange mythological bronze beasts, the hearts of others went out toward live animals: we had ladies who were comforted by small Chinese dogs with upturned, black noses and long, silky hair, or by Siamese cats, who pride themselves on blue eyes and a black line along their tailless back; we also had the men who talked incessantly of their racing stables, in whose eyes the Peking spring and autumn meetings had assumed the importance of Ascot itself, who saw in their shaggy Mongolian ponies so many Derby winners! Even political interest was attached to these stables. One of them was called the "Franco-Russian racing stable," and when one of these political ponies ran for a cup, the owners watched with as much eagerness as if it bore the destinies of the alliance on its back. Each of us had some all-engrossing object, from the student whose happiness consisted in unraveling an especially obscure and utterly unimportant Chinese text, to the man who went about with his kodak, eager to take a snap shot of some fantastic idol that so far had escaped all photographers. These different pursuits were so many ways in which we took opium,—for the craving to forget reality is as strong in the white as in the yellow man! And I must not fail to mention in this connection those people who came to China with the object of "doing good to the Chinaman," and who obtained their living and their opium out of this profession, whilst the said Chinaman stood by indifferent, thinking perhaps, behind his impenetrable ivory brow, that he had little to learn from anybody in that human wisdom whose last word is resignation.

It was strange how little we all saw of the Chinese apart from the repulsive aspects they presented to us in the streets. There never was any real social intercourse between us foreigners and the mysterious children of the land. The only ones we came to know were our servants,—“boys,” we called them, even when they had gray hair, and were respectable grandfathers. And

how good they were ! patient, gentle, and noiseless, studying all their master's whims and wishes, and stealing, oh how little, when compared with their colleagues in the enlightened West. Oh that one could solve the Chinese question by turning all Chinese into "boys" ! for the Chinese "boy" is invariably good, however bad the Chinese censor, money lender, literati, priest, boxer, and mandarin of all buttons are said to be, by those who declare that they know.

We saw so little of them, and lived in our little white island convinced of its superiority over the great sea of yellow humanity that surrounded us on all sides. On some rare occasions high Chinese officials came to the legations, particularly on New Year's day, when they appeared in troupes of a dozen, and were entertained at all the legations with plenty of champagne, which they like warm and sweet. Otherwise we ladies scarcely ever saw them. The ministers, of course, had to go occasionally to the Tsungli-Yamen, the so-called Foreign Office of China, where the tediousness of discussions was alleviated by an abundant supply of Chinese candies and hot rice wine, which tasted like warmed-up, inferior sherry. It was only when inquisitive globe-trotters descended on the sleepy little Peking world, and declared that an interview with some great mandarin, if possible with Li Hung Chang himself, was an absolutely necessary page in their traveling diary that we made an effort towards hospitality.

On one of these occasions, a Chinese invitation, written on scarlet paper, was sent to the great man, and he was asked to honor our low hut and simple fare by his mighty presence, and his answer came on equally scarlet paper that his humble presence was ours to command. He arrived an hour before, or half an hour later than the time mentioned in the invitation, as the case might be, for what is time to people who look back upon four thousand years of history, and who in all their ways indicate the fond belief that they still have as much more to dispose of as freely. Li Hung Chang is a gaunt and grim looking old man ; his face is not devoid of a certain humorous expression, the kind of humor which finds utterance in

unpleasant remarks to others. His tall form was always supported by some of his followers, of whom he brought a large number; they invaded our garden and courtyard, squatting down, chatting, and drinking tea; and the funniest thing was that etiquette required us to have money presents distributed among them. These retainers carried all the different things their master might possibly require, from his little pipe to the silver goblet which is always placed next to him, and into which he expectorates at will. For such is the great Li Hung Chang!

At dinner I had him, of course, on my right. Conversation had to be carried on through an interpreter, for Li Hung Chang knows only his native tongue. It took at once that form of cross examination which seems dear to his turn of mind. How old was I? how many children did I have? my husband's age? what was his pay? By a happy chance he did not inquire how much my husband made by other means, a question he was fond of putting to foreign diplomats, and which from a Chinaman may possibly indicate a friendly interest, for the actual pay of all Chinese officials is only a few dollars a year, and it is understood that they will find ways and means for making up this deficiency out of other people's pockets. Therefore, the punishment of depriving them of a year's pay, which is sometimes inflicted on Chinese employees to appease foreigners whom they may have offended, can be considered a mere sham to hoodwink the innocent stranger. Li Hung Chang also wished to know if I could read and write, how many languages I spoke, and if I had read the "laws of nations," which he mentioned as if these were a book like the Bible. I answered that the *jus gentium* is not generally included in women's studies, but that its principal point, not to let others encroach on our rights, is known to everybody in my country by instinct. I then called his attention to the ceiling of our dining-room, where the German eagle and the Chinese dragon were alternately painted in gold on the brown woodwork, and I told him that this symbolized the "entente cordiale" between the two countries. Our interpreter had given me this hint, and had told me that, since time immemorial, whenever a great Chinese mandarin had dined

at the German Legation, this theme of conversation had proved useful for filling any awkward gap. People and things in China have a knack of getting somewhat stereotyped!

Neither Li Hung Chang nor any of the other members of the Tsungli-Yamen ever returned the compliment of asking one of us to their houses. None of them has an establishment for entertaining foreigners, and as there is not one of the princes or the Tsungli-Yamen ministers or the other high officials at Peking who knows a single word of a European language, they probably shun as much as we do the occasions of meeting us and of having to exchange insipid remarks by the help of interpreters. Besides, they always dread being denounced to the highest authority of the land as pro-foreign and dangerous, which is apt to be the case if they associate much with members of the various legations. Chinese officials who may have kindly received and entertained foreign ministers at their homes in Shanghai or in the different Yangtze ports, will carefully avoid calling at the legations if ever they come to Peking—so afraid are they that a false construction might be put on so natural an action. The only Chinaman who gave a dinner to the foreign ministers during our three years' stay was Chang Yin Huan, just before he went to London as special ambassador to the Queen's diamond jubilee. He was a progressive Chinaman, and brought back from his European trip a silver cigarette case on which was painted a lady on a bicycle; he delighted in showing this product of Western civilization, with a roguish twinkle in his small eyes that suggested his being equal to the wickedness of any old "boulevardier." He was not left long to enjoy this possession, and the first dinner he gave to foreign ministers was also his last. Soon afterwards, and by the kindness of the Empress-Dowager, he was first exiled to Turkestan and then beheaded—so there is little inducement for Chinamen in Peking to be progressive and to give dinner parties!

A Chinese family that caused us all some anxiety was Mr. Yu Keng's, who had been minister to Japan, and who on his return was appointed member of the Tsungli-Yamen. His wife

had some foreign ancestor, and his daughters spoke English, called on the ladies of the foreign legations, and wore European clothes. When I first met these two girls at a ball, it seemed like the beginning of the awakening of China, which is always announced and never comes true. They were fashionably dressed,—high-heeled shoes, low pink dresses, from which emerged their sallow arms and necks; and their waists had been given a satisfactory degree of slimness. They abused the condition of the streets and other things essentially Chinese even more than any of us, and altogether displayed a degree of enlightenment which alarmed us, when we thought how the Empress-Dowager might judge of such newfangled notions. Luckily the father was appointed to a legation in Europe before the Boxer outbreak, otherwise his family would have been among the first victims to higher aspirations.

As the children of the land contributed only accidentally and without intending it to our amusement, we had to look entirely to our own resources for the greater part of this. During the winter a remarkable number of dinners was given, and of good dinners, thanks to the excellent cooks, who all derive their art from a certain French cook, a mythical being, surrounded by a halo, who is said to have lived once upon a time at Peking. The variety of food is great, thanks to the Mongols, who bring caravans of camels to Peking laden with every kind of game. The social variety was all the smaller, and you always knew beforehand by whom you would sit at dinner. Sometimes an evening entertainment was given which we fondly called a ball, although there would be perhaps only six ladies present. A new book was a great event; it was passed from house to house, and formed the subject of many eager discussions amongst us, when in Europe it already rested among the dead and forgotten. Our place of recreation was the Peking Club, which was managed by a board of gentlemen of all nations, who met in regular sessions with an air of importance and responsibility that suggested the Berlin Congress or The Hague Peace Conference. Our club had a bar, billiard, reading rooms, and grounds where energetic

people could play tennis during the sweltering summer heat or skate under a tent of straw matting during the winter's blinding dust storms. To the mere observer these grounds, surrounded with high walls, seemed like the courtyard of a prison where the prisoners are allowed to take a little daily exercise. But then in a place like Peking the so-called pleasures are necessarily the saddest part of existence, the bearing of which requires all that you possess of philosophical humor and indulgence; and the best motto for the varying episodes of diplomatic life will always remain, *O passi graviora, dabit deus his quoque finem*—to these sufferings also will God give an end!

There were special occasions on which we all met, and people who live in worlds where naught divides mankind more than beliefs and unbeliefs will be surprised to hear that whatever our religious persuasions might be, we all went on Easter day to high mass in the Petang Cathedral. It was crowded with eager, earnest Chinese Christians, all of them poor and lowly, not unlike those men, long dead, who many centuries ago, and in another Asiatic country, first heard with wonder the news that the Kingdom of Heaven was to be theirs. After the service, Monseigneur Favier, wearing Chinese garments like all the Catholic missionaries, would entertain us, showing his wonderful collections and delighting us by deep and witty sayings, which revealed him a connoisseur not merely of yellow humanity.

The strangest part of our life was certainly the summer season. Each legation rented one of the Buddhist temples which are scattered over the hills two or three hours distant from Peking, and we all migrated thither to escape the fearful heat of the town, its stench and maladies. These temples lie in large, wooded grounds, and are surrounded by the low, straggling convent dwellings which were let to us. When I remember how peacefully we lived there among priests and monks, who every day burnt joss sticks and chanted before the huge Buddha figures, and how they watched me with great interest when I sketched one of their idols, it seems difficult to believe all one has since heard about Chinese fanaticism.

Gradually, however, life in Peking changed. The railway to Tientsin facilitated traveling, and political events made China "the fashion." Then society became more numerous, and the critically inclined of the old residents grumbled, and said that with all these innovations Peking society was losing its former charm of selectness. Certain it is that work became more complicated and relations less pleasant, particularly the relations with the Chinese themselves. Hitherto China had always been regarded as some mysterious idol which one approaches with awe and veneration, as it might at any moment awake and show astonishing faculties, like a sleeping ogre. But now, under the stress of new circumstances, the way in which China was treated began to oscillate delightfully between the "Uebermenschthum," adopted by the white race towards savage man-eaters, and the etiquette used between Great Powers. As the occasion might require, the most modern philosophy, glorifying force alone, was practically applied, or the precepts of the humanitarians who stood up for all men's rights were unearthed and proclaimed. When something was wanted from China, it was a wild country where you might help yourself, and when you grew weary of all things Chinese and yearned to retire from that distant scene of action, you suddenly remembered that it was the home of the oldest civilization and that you could perfectly trust its enlightened government. When lions and bears begin prowling around some sick beast, a host of vultures will always be found hovering about ready to snatch up the small bits. It was wonderful how many people appeared who knew nothing of China, but declared that it was a country of unlimited wealth and that they were the men to open up its hidden resources, which meant that they intended making a fortune out of it. They considered their respective ministers as the proper persons to help them in these enterprises. There were men who wanted to sell guns, and later events showed that they must have succeeded pretty well; others who wanted to provide China with a fleet, but who were so new in this line of business that when asked by the Tsungli-Yamen about the probable expenditure, had to wire to their home firm to find

out the price of a man-of-war. Some were enthusiastic over future mines, but had not quite determined in which province they were going to work them, whether in Hupeh or Hunan, Shensi or Shansi; but that was a matter of detail, as all Chinese provinces were so unboundedly rich. The majority, however, had set their hearts on building railways; the whole map of China was covered by them with a network of railway lines which, within any conceivable period of time, will exist only in their own fertile imaginations. These concession hunters came from all countries and knew of China only the peaceful Shanghai. If, however, they were told that the conditions of safety for prospecting and building might be doubtful in Shansi or Hunan, they smilingly waived all difficulties, and declared that such trifling matters might be easily arranged between the minister and the Tsungli-Yamen. As some of them were backed up by influential financial groups at home, the ministers often could not do otherwise than give them their aid, whatever their personal opinion about all these fine schemes might be. I remember one of the ministers coming to tea with me and wearily exclaiming, "Behold a disconsolate '*commis voyageur*'! I have been the whole afternoon at the Tsungli-Yamen Debating Club, and have not been able to obtain that railway concession in Turkestan."

How strange it now seems to remember the feverish eagerness with which all these concessions were claimed, how they were discussed as if all the conditions of commerce and industry, and the very face of the earth, were to be changed by them in the next few years,—to remember all that and to know that those marvelous ores yet rest undisturbed in the dark depths of earth where the mythical dragon dwells, and that not a spadeful of sand has been moved towards the laying of those thousands of miles of rails! But history does not move always along the smooth and straight road of logic, nor according to the laws laid down by progressive railway, mining, and other development companies. Obscure fatalistic forces drive the wheels by laws that are unknown to us, so that good serves evil and evil serves good. All those events which were called the opening up of China,

which were welcomed as the inauguration of a new era of enlightenment, and which were to be of an essentially civilizing nature, in reality helped to precipitate China towards the great catastrophe which has annihilated the very conditions of safety under which alone progress is possible, and which has retarded the development of the Chinese by many decades. How much is worth to-day the right of building railways in Turkestan, when you are scarce able to protect the road between Tientsin and Peking?

However opposed to one another the political aims of the different legations might be, we were socially a most friendly and united little community. There was a great deal of good fellowship and real kindness. We realized that we were all out at sea in the same boat, and tried to make the journey as pleasant as possible to one another. Life rested on a certain broad basis, as everywhere in the East, but it was entirely unpretentious. Over the recollection of those years lies a halo of romance, of remoteness, of strangeness. When I remember gray old Peking with its ancient temples, its yellow-roofed palaces, so picturesque and sad in their decay, I involuntarily think of some weird page of Rider Haggard's, and I wish one of the world's great geniuses would do for China what Kipling did for India, and reveal to us the mystery of the yellow man. But when I remember our own life in the Chinese capital, I believe its free and easy ways and its utter simplicity would greatly have astonished people who derive their notions of diplomatic life from the highly imaginative descriptions of writers of fiction.

The only occasions which would perhaps have pleased these authors and furnished them with subjects equal to their imaginations are the two great events which we witnessed, and which to-day belong to history: the visit of His Royal Highness Prince Henry of Prussia to the Emperor and Empress of China, and the audience which the latter gave to the wives of the foreign ministers.

The often quoted oldest residents used to say that the Prince's visit was an unheard of event, an achievement which they never would have thought possible, yet these same old resi-

dents used to speak about the ancient civilization of China, the great politeness of the Chinese, their enlightened dynasty, the high standard of the whole country—and if China really is a civilized country, which demands to be treated with courtesy, and like a great power, what was there so astonishing in the fact that a Royal Prince should pay a visit to the Emperor, and that he was, of course, received in the way he had a right to expect? But you must have lived in China to understand these inconsistencies of the dear old residents.

Certain it is that Prince Henry is the first, and so far the only, European Prince who has ever beheld the Emperor of China. During His Royal Highness' stay in Peking, there really was something like an awakening. Great mandarins had become quite familiar sights in our legation, and an Imperial Prince, the now often named Ching, dined with us. He certainly still seemed rather unfamiliar with European ways. When, on a previous occasion, before he had met me, several of my photographs were shown to him, he inquired, greatly interested, if these were my husband's different wives, and how many more he had besides. When I saw him for the first time and held out my hand to him, he evidently did not know what to make of this, and then, as an act of happy inspiration, he caught hold of my thumb and violently shook it. But although the incongruous appeared at all moments, yet the Chinese certainly intended being as polite and hospitable as they knew how.

Later on some Chinese told us that the Prince's personality had made a great impression on the young Emperor's mind and that his attempts at reforms dated from those interviews. For the first time, he beheld a Prince, not shut up like himself in ignorance and isolation, but who knew many lands and had sailed over many seas, who was in touch with the leading ideas of the thinking world, and whose heart warmed toward the great problem of bettering the condition of mankind. This vision had shaken the young Emperor out of the torpor into which he had been artificially lulled, and the desire arose in him to be and to do.

When later events had so entirely checked all his plans, and he was roughly torn out of the beautiful world of dreams he had longed to make a living reality, it seemed touching and pitiable to hear that his friends, the young reformers, had during that time translated a life of Peter the Great for him, and that his ideal was to westernize his own country after this pattern. Had he only possessed some of his model's brutal strength, which seems a necessary quality in the men who reformed the Eastern empires and who practised the "Uebermenschthum" long before Nietzsche discovered it.

For the first time, in those days, did we hear from eye-witnesses something about the life led behind the high walls of the forbidden city, under the yellow-tiled palace roofs. We heard about the mysterious Summer Palace, Wan-Sho-Shan, where the Prince was received by the Empress-Dowager, and strange did it sound to us, who were living for years surrounded by the filth and abject poverty of Peking inhabitants, that out there everything was clean and well kept. The imperial palaces with their large grounds, their artificial lakes, their marble bridges and bright colored pavilions are the only places where real China is like the China of Western imagination. They constitute the one oasis in the midst of dirt and misery, the like of which is to be found nowhere else, for nowhere is it so true as in China that the sufferings of the very many form the necessary basis upon which is built up the luxury of the very few.

About that time we received a message from the Empress-Dowager that at the next great festive occasion she would like to see the wives of the foreign ministers.

When the year had grown old, and its latter part had been well filled with pitiable attempts at reforms by the poor young Emperor, and with plenty of bloodshed by the Empress-Dowager, she sent word that she would be graciously pleased to receive the foreign ministers' wives on the Chinese New Year. It was the first time in Chinese history that foreign ladies were received at the Peking Court. The Empress apparently wanted to prove by this that she was not the retrograde, anti-foreign tyrant she was

lately depicted to be, but, on the contrary, a sociably inclined old lady; and she well knew that she would be met more than halfway by the eager curiosity to see her. So it came to pass that I beheld the so-called Empress-Dowager of the Greatest Empire, with the oldest civilization, who in reality is the cruel head of a people who, from their former height, have long sunk back into barbarism. I personally never was much in favor of going to see an old woman who was said, as an accompaniment to her afternoon tea, to have people beheaded and thrashed to death in her very presence; but now as an historical souvenir it seems strange and interesting to have seen her, and it adds a never to be forgotten picture to that book of views and sights which we store up in our memory during our years of wandering in distant lands, the subject of pleasing reminiscence by the home fireside in the evening hours of life.

Immovable in her imperial yellow robes, the Empress sat on her throne like some strange, old, gilded idol. The young Emperor sat in a corner much lower down than she. He wore blue colored clothes, and this we are told is a fact harrowing to Chinese Emperors' feelings of dignity. He had been taken out of his prison for the day, so that we might tell everybody that his mother (by her own adoption) had not yet killed him; but her magnanimity did not extend so far as to give him back the imperial yellow dress. He looked very frail and sad, and when I had climbed the little ladderlike staircase that led up to the throne, and he held out his thin hand to me, I felt intensely sorry for the poor young man who had wanted to imitate Peter the Great, and who was so severely punished for practically applied historical enthusiasm.

The Empress gave each of us a curiously worked ring of soft gold with a pearl in the centre, and she told us, through the interpreters, that she gave these rings only to her nearest relatives, and that henceforth we were to consider ourselves as her sisters. She embraced us, which I suppose she had been told was the foreigners' fashion of showing their affections, for the Chinese do not know what a kiss is. She had a great Chinese

repast served for us, and we were asked to witness Chinese theatricals. Evidently she was on her very best behavior and wished to create a thoroughly favorable impression. But she could not change her own harsh and cruel face, nor the intensely sad expression of the Emperor and of the young Empress, who was also shown to us, and whose attempts at maternity are said to have been always thwarted by the terrible old Dowager, who dreaded the influence which the younger woman might gain if she became mother to an heir. We saw many princesses and court ladies who never in their lives had peeped beyond the walls of the imperial city, and besides, there were crowds of Chinese officials about. One of them was pointed out to me as the celebrated friend of the old Empress, who bore the nickname "Little Shoemaker," from his having risen from this useful calling.

From what I saw and heard of the Empress-Dowager, I fancy that all the tales about her great cleverness and ability are very much exaggerated, and that she probably would be at a loss to name the European capitals or to say what difference of creed there exists between a Catholic and a Protestant. She seems to have caught from her old friend Li Hung Chang that sense for a certain kind of grim humor, which revealed itself during the siege of the Peking legations, when she enjoyed theatricals in that very hall where we had sat with her, at the very moment when the ladies of the legations, "her sisters," were being fired upon by her order. She certainly possesses a remarkable instinct for taking care of herself, and is also in this like the cat, that always falls on its feet. Her greatness consists in coming personally unscathed out of events which have destroyed thousands of innocent lives. Even now she has given a fair example of this capacity.

The times that I have tried to describe are dead and gone. Wan-Sho-Shan has since been turned into foreign barracks, smoking concerts are given in the Temple of Heaven, that holy of holies to millions, and the Imperial Palace at Peking has been burnt to the ground. Even that small degree of intimacy and

that little social intercourse which existed between us and the Chinese have been destroyed, and the simple life that we led, with its absolute freedom and sense of security, can never come back, just as we are told that after the Mutiny there have never been the same friendly relations that formerly existed between the English and the natives of India. The foreigner, now called upon to live in that distant city of many sufferings, will see the graves of the men who bravely fell during the siege of the legations, the graves of the little children who died for want of food, and there will ever arise before him the spectre of the summer of 1900,—and the Chinaman also will not forget, for he has felt the wrath of the White Man.

THE LAUGHTER OF SAVAGES

JAMES SULLY, *London.*

Civilized man finds all his powers taxed when he tries to get into touch with the mind of a savage. The difficulties of this access will naturally be greater when the trait to be observed is an emotion which, while it is wont to express itself with an instinctive directness so long as the surroundings secure freedom, is easily driven back by the presence of anything strange which induces restraint. The presence of strangers, so far removed from the savage plane of life as the missionaries or officials of a civilized nation, would, one supposes, act as such a weight on the risible safety-valve. These simple folk would hardly be more likely to "let themselves go" in a downward rush of mirthful enjoyment under the eyes of one of their singular visitors than children when put to the ordeal of a presentation to strangers in a drawing-room. Nor is this all. It is possible that the stranger who visits a savage tribe may supply, quite unknowingly, perhaps, in his look, dress, and manner of behavior, a number of provocatives to laughter, which, however, the hosts are frequently able to restrain out of consideration of what is due to a guest.

That there is some hiding of the merry mood is not merely a matter of inference. Some of our travelers distinctly tell us that it is so. The undisciplined savage will, now and again, show an admirable self-restraint, certainly not less than an educated Frenchman will show, when in a Paris street he is addressed by a hardy British youth in what the latter cheerfully supposes to be

the language of the country. Here seems to be an example. A public meeting was held in some native village in Africa. An Englishman who was present got up on the trunk of a tree, which is used as a seat in native villages. The log rolled and the Englishman fell heavily. Yet the whole meeting looked as grave as if the accident had been a part of the programme. An uninstructed observer might have hastily inferred that the tribe was wanting in a "sense of humor." The narrator of the incident knows better, and relates the incident as a proof of the great power of self-restraint displayed. The same writer observes that African savages, while allowing a European traveler to humor them and treat them as children, will "amuse themselves at his expense after he is gone, and, indeed, while he is present, if they know that he cannot understand their speech."

These considerations will prepare us to understand how some have held savages to be dull creatures, who know not how to laugh. That this has been commonly thought by those who have not visited them is suggested by a passage in one of Peacock's stories. In "Crotchett Castle" Mr. MacQueedy puts forward the thesis that laughter is "an involuntary action developed in man by the progress of civilization," and adds that "the savage never laughs."

It is only fair to say that travelers themselves have not been so foolish as to uphold this view. At the same time, some of them have drawn hasty conclusions from the fact that they happened never to have heard members of a particular tribe indulge in laughter, as, for example, in the case of the Weddas of Ceylon.

Other illustrations of a too confident basing of a conclusion on failure to observe may be found. Thus, it is said by one traveler, Bates, that the Brazilian Indians are of a phlegmatic, apathetic temperament. A more recent visitor, von den Steinen, gives us a different impression, remarking in one instance that "the silent Indian men and women continually chattered, and Eva's laughter sounded forth right merrily ('lustig heraus')."

These apparent discrepancies in the notes of different observ-

ers point, I suspect, to something besides such accidents as the mood in which the tribe happens to be found. The ability to provoke laughter is an art not possessed by all: witness the failure of many meritorious attempts by adults to excite children's merriment. Something of the easy good-nature which disarms timidity, of fraternal sympathy, and of the knack of making your audience believe you are like themselves, seems needed to draw forth all the mirthfulness of these children of nature.

The general impression one derives from the accounts given is certainly that savage tribes are not victims of a sullen despair, but, on the contrary, have a large and abundant mirth. Like children, they appear to express their emotions with great freedom, and their laughter and other signs of good spirits are of the most energetic kind. Darwin and a number of travelers assure us on this point. This holds good of races so far apart geographically, and of such different ethnic levels as Australians and Africans with American Indians and Greenlanders.

These recurring statements of travelers about the mirthfulness of savages are to some extent supported by other evidence. A writer on the Tasmanians, Mr. Bonwick, gives us a number of their different local names for fun. When a people—and especially a savage people—has a name for a thing, it is a fair inference that it has some considerable acquaintance with the thing itself.

To say that this or that tribe is given to laughter and joking does not, of course, imply that the merry temper is the constant or even the predominant one. We are told, indeed, in certain cases that the mood is a changeable one, and that these undisciplined men and women resemble children in their rapid transitions from grave to gay. It may be noted, further, that different tribes vary in respect of their readiness to laugh; some being habitually serious and laughing but rarely.

The descriptions of the movements expressive of mirth given by these visitors to savage tribes are not as a rule full or exact. This might be taken to mean that the laughter of a savage is much like our own. Yet this would be a rash inference; for we

must remember that it is not easy for one untrained in the finer kinds of observation to note with precision movements so complex and so rapidly changeful as those which express gladness and mirth. The apparatus of the photographic camera and of the phonograph has not, as yet, I believe, been made use of for the purpose of registering these presumably primitive forms of laughter ere they vanish from the earth; and it might well be that an attempt to carry out such an experiment would prove to be even more hazardous in the case of savages than in that of children.

Darwin, as we have seen, has satisfied himself as to the flooding of the eyes. The concomitant movements of hands and feet seem to be common. A more precise account of these movements is given by Ling Roth. The Tasmanians, he tells us, accompanied their loud bursts of laughter with movements of the hands to the head, and quick tapping movements of the feet. The loud, deep-chested character of the men's laughter is sometimes specially noted. A recent visitor to Central Africa regrets that under European influence the deep-chested, hearty laughter of the men is being replaced by what is known as the "mission giggle" in the younger folk.

I have come across, too, one attempt to describe with some exactness the expression of a happy mood when it flows on more quietly. The good spirits of the Andamanese, it appears, show themselves in a sparkling of the eyes and a wrinkling of the surrounding skin, also in a drawing back of the corners of the mouth, which remains partially open. These facial movements and other changes correspond closely with what we have seen to be the characteristic expression in the case of the children of civilized races.

A good deal of this savage laughter is the outcome of a "glad-some mind," a flow of good spirits undisturbed by the thought of care or trouble. This habitual "cheerfulness," to describe it by our inadequate language, stands their possessors in good stead. The natural gaiety of the Maoris, we are assured, comes to their aid when they encounter hardship. They are full of fun even when short of food on a journey.

But the laughter of savages does not appear merely as a general sign of gaiety and rollicking spirits. It has become specialized into the expression of particular mental conditions and attitudes, similar to those which express themselves in the laughter of our own children.

For example, we find instances of laughter occurring as a recoil from something like timidity or shyness. Two boys, relates a missionary, had had the smallpox, and had not seen one another for a month. When they met in the missionary's house, they began by shyly hiding from one another their disfigured faces. At last they summoned courage, and after many side glances at one another, they faced round and burst out laughing; the elder boy saying "We are alike marked." Here, escape from constraint, from a feeling akin to shame, was the primary condition of the laughter, though this was no doubt reinforced by a sense of triumph, as each discovered that he was at least not worse off than the other. A writer tells us that in East Africa "a slave never breaks a thing without an instinctive laugh of pleasure." This laugh is set down to the love of destruction; yet it may have been, in part at least, like that of a naughty child, a laugh of bravado, a mode of drowning a nascent sense of shame or fear; for it is presumable from what this same writer tells us that an East African slave does not destroy his owner's property with impunity.

It is much clearer that savages resemble children in their introduction of jocose attack into their play. Here we see an analogy between the mental attitude of a savage and that of an older child. Nothing comes out more clearly in the reports of these uncivilized peoples than their fondness for teasing, including the playing of practical jokes on one another.

The love of teasing is testified to by more than one writer. A good authority tells us that savages "tease one another much more freely and jokingly ('scherzhaft') than Europeans." This fondness for teasing comes out strongly in their mimicries of one another's defects, a point to be illustrated presently. In certain cases, the teasing, as with our own boys, is apt to take on a decid-

edly rough form. A lady, writing of the inhabitants of Funufuti, observes, "It is thought a good practical joke in Funufuti for a girl to saw an unsuspecting youth with a pandanus leaf (which produces a very painful scratch): a good deal of laughter on the one side and volubility on the other is the usual result of this joke."

Practical jokes grow out of the teasing instinct : they are new inventions which take the victim by surprise, if they do not distinctly mislead. The savage intelligence seems to be quite boyish in the fecundity of its invention in this domain.

The younger folk are given to rude jokes very like those carried out by our own youngsters. Here is an instance. A young African negro, seeing an old woman carrying a pumpkin, approached her and shouted that there was something on her head. She forgot all about the pumpkin, shrieked at the thought of some hideous object on her head, and ran forward, allowing her tormenter laughingly to pick up the prize she had let fall. As is natural, these practical jocosities are sometimes directed, with a certain caution of course, against the white man. A young savage of Tasmania once slyly removed a bag of shell-fish laid down by a sailor at the foot of a rock, and let him search for it in vain, and when tired of his joke replaced the bag, showing himself "highly diverted" at the trick he had played the European.

As with ourselves, these practical jokes are wont to be paid back, and "with interest." A story is told of some Hottentots who played off a joke on their companions while these were asleep by shooting a couple of arrows close to them, which made them start up and hurry for their arms to their wagons, where they were received with a shout of laughter. The victims of this false alarm afterwards paid out the perpetrators. They succeeded in terrifying them by a skilful imitation of the roar of a lion which drove them into camp screaming with terror. In other cases the practical joke may be retaliative of some serious annoyance and may even be inflicted on some person in authority. Miss Kingsley relates how some of her West African

ladies had been put out by the employee of a trading company, who tried to get them when planting manioc to keep further apart, so as not to talk with one another. They took their playful revenge by making a haycock over their tyrant and shouting "Get along white man! I 'spectable married woman," and so forth. She gives another instance of this disposition to playful punishment in her "ladies." A young black official had been rude to some of them, whereupon they resorted to the broader joke of throwing him into "the batter that goes for water."

Closely connected with these modes of teasing, we have the practice of taking off bodily defects by mimicry and by nick-names. These modes of playful attack appear to direct themselves most commonly to outsiders, but instances are given of a discreet mimicry of a fellow tribesman in his absence. It seems probable, though I have not found the fact brought out explicitly, that much of the entertainment which these simple folk derive from their nightly talks, which are made gay with laughter, consists in teasing attacks on the bodily defects or peculiarities of certain members, though from the evidence forthcoming, a choral laughter over the stranger is the more usual feature in these social entertainments.

In all this mirthful teasing, it is easy to see much that strikes us as cruel or at least as unfeeling. It is only natural that the laughter of peoples so low down in the scale of culture should, now and again, take on this aspect, as when, for example, they are said to laugh with exultant laughter at the struggles of a drowning man. Yet, on the whole, the merriment of these people, when the butt is one of their own tribesmen, though undoubtedly rough and often very coarse, does not seem to be so brutal as one might expect.

One can understand the diversion of so large an amount of savage mirth into these practical channels, the teasing, bantering, and perpetration of jokes upon members of one's tribe, by reflecting that laughter is a social process, and plays a large part in the smooth working, if not of the very maintenance, of the social fabric.

In order to see the meaning of this teasing laughter, we must note the way in which it is accepted. There is no doubt, to begin with, that savages have by nature a lively dislike to being laughed at. It would be strange, indeed, if this were not so, seeing that both monkeys below them, and most white men, who place themselves above them, display this dislike. This seems to have been specially noted in the case of certain races. It is related of one of the Weddas of Ceylon that when during a dance he was thus treated by a European, he shot an arrow at the laugher. Poor old folk among ourselves will, we know, do much the same when they are jeered at by incautious boys; and even a youth has been known to shy a stone at a too robust jeerer. This dislike of being made the object of facetious attention holds good of other savages as well. One writer on savage life notes the fact that their teasing not infrequently raises the heat of the blood of the victim to a dangerous point. A common fireside amusement, he says, among certain savages is to tease the women till they become angry, which always produces great merriment. The teasing, it is added, is of a rough and not very decent kind. Further evidence of this distaste for the cold douche of a voluble laughter is seen in the curious ordeals which are a custom of the Greenlanders. These consist in setting up accuser and accused as a public spectacle, each doing his best to cover his opponent with ridicule.

On the other hand, there is ample evidence to show that the rough jocosities of the teasing game are as a rule accepted in good part. The youth who bore the biting satire of the pandanus leaf seems to compare favorably in this respect with a London policeman who recently complained in court of the soft attentions paid him by a lady of the East End, in tickling some part of his official visage with her dainty feather. Sometimes we are distinctly told that jokes are taken in good part so long as they are seen to be intended as such. So, according to Wood, of the African Hottentots and Kafirs. Of the Otaheiteans it is said that the jests played off at their expense are never taken in ill part.

All this is perfectly intelligible as soon as we regard the reciprocal playing off of jokes, whether they take the form of practical tricks, or of verbal teasing or chaffing, as a sort of game which, like tickling and other playful bodily attacks, to which it is so closely allied, has its utility as an educative process. To take part in these jocosities, to learn to fill the rôle of butt or victim with something of equanimity, and, at last, if sufficient grace is vouchsafed, with sympathetic enjoyment of the laughter against yourself, this is surely to undergo a training, an *ἄσκησις* in simple and estimable virtues.

It is evident that the rougher kinds of jocosity here described allow considerable scope for something of the spirit of superiority and contempt. One fears that this was felt to be present, for example, by the victories of the men's coarse teasing of their women. As with boys, so with savages we may suppose that playful attack does not always respect its limits, but that now and again it allows itself to be infected by the insidious brute in man. Nor is this surprising when we remember how much of so-called "humor" in civilized men owes its piquancy to the same brutish ingredients.

This attitude of superiority and contempt seems, as one might have expected, to be more apparent in what may be called the extra-tribal direction of jocosity, and more particularly in the common laughing at members of other rival and possibly hostile tribes. In certain cases we are told that this is of the nature of mockery and ridicule. Among savages and early communities, writes one authority, when their chieftain sat in his hall with his warriors, they amused themselves by turning enemies and opponents into mockery, laughing at their weaknesses, joking on their defects, giving them nicknames, and so forth. The savage—again like a boy—is apt to be a vain sort of fellow, and to think that his ways are a lot better than those of the rest of mankind. Hence he will, with something of contempt in his heart, laugh at the bungling efforts of men of another tribe than his own to kill a turtle, and will give a nickname to the white man or take off with admirable mimicry some of

his crazes, such as his passion for road-making or for bartering.

Yet it would, I think, be an error to treat this laughter at the outsider as a form of serious ridicule having in it something of the feeling of the corrective superior. It is, even when lightly touched with contempt, savage play, and has for its chief ingredient the love of fun, and that delight in the mere contemplation of what is foreign and odd which the savage shares with his ethnic "betters."

One characteristic of this savage jocosity is so frequently referred to by travelers that I cannot pass it by. We have seen that the teasing of the women is apt to take on an indecent form. It is told us, again and again, that the savage jokes are commonly low and immoral. The coarser the joke, we are informed, the better it is liked by the natives of the Gold Coast. The jests of the natives of the islands in the Pacific are said to be "low and immoral to a disgusting degree."

Possibly the white man is not permitted to know the worst of this aspect of savage mirth. It is easy, however, to give it too serious a significance. It is hardly more in many cases, I suspect, than a little bravado, a glorying in doing something unusual, and which they are beginning to guess is forbidden, though this is no doubt apt to be accompanied by a perception of the indignity involved.

We may now turn to those forms of savage laughter which involve a more disinterested contemplation of things and a rudimentary sense of their ludicrous phases. There is no doubt that the enjoyment of envisaging the droll side of their world makes up a substantial part of the experience of savages. I should say that it is a much larger indulgence than it is with most boys; for though the intellect of a savage may not surpass that of a boy, his experience and matured good sense enable him to judge of the unseemly and the incongruous with considerable skill and quickness, and to derive much mirth from the contemplation of them.

The simplest form of this merriment, forming as in the case of the child, a bridge from joyous expansion under a new sensuous excitement to an appreciation of the odd, is the common

laughter of savages at what is strikingly new to them, and at the same time takes their fancy. For example, the natives of Borneo were very much amused at a piano, and when they saw the dampers of the keys jumping up and down, they "fairly laughed aloud." In like manner, the Indians of Hudson's Bay took a compass for a toy, and laughed over it, refusing to accept the owner's account of its use. Here we have pretty clear cases of a mirthful delight over something which is new, devoid of import, and appealing to the play-appetite. The later stages of laughter over the lively little compass-toy were perhaps more, expressing a dim sense of the absurdity of the suggestion that a dear, wee plaything could do such marvels. This gleeful greeting of what is at once new and exhilarating to sense answers in the case of these simple people to what in ourselves is joyous admiration. Thus we read of certain African ladies, wives of a king, who expressed their delight at European works of art by repeated loud bursts of laughter. Our own children show us now again how the new, when it holds the sense by a charm as well as captures it by novelty, may evoke this purely mirthful greeting, as free from the stiff attitude of wonder and curiosity as it is free from fearsomeness.

It is a good step from this childish abandonment to the fun of a new toy-like thing to the recognition of something as foreign and opposed to the tribal custom. With these simple communities the unwritten laws of custom play a most important part. Violations of them are apt to be dealt with seriously when they occur on the part of any tribesman. This at once tends to limit the range of savage laughter: the pressure of custom is too tyrannical to allow of a full display of the odd and irregular in human behavior. These elements of the amusing have accordingly to be supplied from without; and they are supplied in good measure partly by other neighboring tribes whose manners are observable, and to a still larger extent by the white strangers who visit them with a virtuous intention to reform and civilize. It may be remarked that this naïve "provincial" impulse to laugh at what differs from "our way" is by no

means confined to savages and the yokels in civilized countries.

Let us first take a glance at the hilarious appreciation of the *other tribes' ways*. The spectacle of the foreign man will grow particularly entertaining when he seems to bungle in doing something which is familiar to the observer's own tribe.

In Polynesia we are told the Tahitians are laughed at by the dwellers in the neighboring islands when they try to kill a turtle by pinching its throat. The habit this well-protected beast has of drawing in the head gives a veritable look of the absurd to these attempts. So, too, the enlightened people of one island drew voluminous amusement from the news that those of another island, who had just come into possession of the novelty, a pair of scissors, tried to sharpen them by baking them.

These two illustrations show a dim apprehension of the fitness of things as determined not by the relative standard of "my way," but by an objective standard. How far members of a tribe entertain themselves by scanning the peculiar attire, actions, etc., of other tribes I have been unable to learn.

The chief field for the culling of the facetious enjoyment of outsiders' doings is probably the ways of their white visitors. Here the differences, the departure from "our way," and the inability to get into "our way" are great enough to appeal strongly to the naïve sense of the ludicrous as we find it in savages.

To begin with, these odd white people do a number of things which strike their simple observers as extraordinary and quite useless. If the Englishman laughs at the foreigner for not taking his morning tub, the simple savage returns the compliment by making merry over his elaborate washings. Thus the Fuegians, though living much in the water, have no idea of washing themselves; accordingly "when Europeans first came among them, the sight of a man washing his face seemed to them so irresistibly ludicrous that they burst into shrieks of laughter."

Here is an example of a rather more complex feeling in the presence of newfangled European ways. It seems that a South

African prince, presumably as a compliment to the customs of the white, wished to shave himself, and did what boys frequently do on first attempting the feat, cut himself. He then asked his European visitor to perform the office for him. The natives present "stood mute with admiration during the whole performance, gazing with the utmost eagerness on their countenances, and bursting at length into a general peal of laughter; this being their customary mode of expressing delight, astonishment, nay, even embarrassment and fear." The last part of this statement is a little loose, since, as we have seen, it is not so much the astonishment, the embarrassment, or the fear in itself, which laughter expresses, as a relaxation of the strain involved in these attitudes.

The laughter expresses rather more of the intellectual, when this action of the white man presents itself as absurd, not merely because it rudely diverges from the customs of the natives, but because it involves something out of the range of their comprehension, and so appears incredible. It is here that the white man shows his superiority in evoking laughter: his arts, his apparatus, which—when like the photographic camera they do not excite fears—are apt to evoke incredulous laughter. A traveler in South Africa had learned some sentences of the speech of a tribe (the Sichuana language) from his man. He then wrote them down and read them off before the man. This simple fellow laughed "most heartily" when his white master told him that it was the marks he had made in the book which showed him what he was to say. A child would pretty certainly join the savage in laughing at the idea of getting sounds out of the inert, stupid looking word-symbols, if he were suddenly introduced to it in this way.

When the white man's doings are not absolutely new, he may expose himself to the laughter of these merry folk by the odd manner of them. One would like to know all the jokes which the natives of South Africa, of Polynesia, and the other abodes of the mirthful "Naturkind" have had over the dress, the gestures, the articulate sounds of their white visitors. Yet this

would be hard to get at. We do know, however, how they are wont to greet some of our highly civilized performances. This is the way in which some Tasmanian women behaved on a first presentation of the European manner of singing. They listened attentively while it lasted, then some applauded by loud shouts, others laughed to splitting, while the young girls, no doubt more timid, remained silent. The laughter was here presumably more than the expression of wild delight. Those who laughed may be supposed to have been the most susceptible to the absurdity of this unheard of manner of song. In the case of the closely allied art of dancing, it is distinctly told us that our highly approved style may appear ridiculous to the savage onlooker. The Sumatrans, writes one authority, have very slow dances, which are thought to be ludicrous by Europeans. Yet, funnily enough, they think our customary dances "to the full as ludicrous." They compared our minuets to the fighting of two game cocks. Did they see a waltz or a galop, one wonders, and if so what did the lovers of slow dances say about these? The "refinements" of the arts of civilized men are apt to appear laughable to those lower down.

The laughter of these uninstructed people grows loud when the clever white man fails to achieve one of their own simple accomplishments. More particularly, his inability to pronounce the sounds of their language seems to be a prolific source of merriment. The Tasmanians, writes one whom we have quoted more than once, often laugh most heartily when, wishing to repeat their words, "I made mistakes or pronounced them badly." Another traveler, speaking of the natives of the West Coast of Van Couver's Island, writes, "That they have some standard of correct speech is evident from the readiness of the children to ridicule a stranger who mispronounces native words." A third example comes from Borneo. The girls, writes a visitor, made Europeans repeat sentences of their language after them, and burst out into loud laughter "either at our pronunciation or at the comical things they made us utter." Nothing, perhaps, exhibits the ludicrous value of a wholly unexpected

irregularity, of the violation of a perfectly uniform custom, like a mispronunciation of language, for language is the highest embodiment of the idea of a rule which is wrought into us as is habit, and so cannot be supposed to have exceptions. Nor is this all. It seems absurd to a savage, just as it does to an average English child, that the foreigner should fail to do what seems to him not merely to require no effort, but to be something one cannot help doing, like laughing itself, and crying, and so forth. No doubt some feeling of superiority to the foreign ignoramus enters into the enjoyment here. Perhaps the children of Van Couver's Island felt this superiority most of all.

In some cases, however, we are distinctly told that the ineptitude of Europeans, when it provokes laughter, calls out, too, the soothing accompaniment of kindly encouragement.

The exhibition of another kind of incompetence to do the thing "we do," highly provoking to the hilarious mood, is a breach of the code of manners; for here there comes in something of the sense of social superiority, and something, too, of the joyous momentary relief from the burden of rules of etiquette. Just as "Society" gets nearest to a genuine laugh when confronted with the vulgarities of Midas, as he pushes into her inner circle, so the savage feels the jerk at his laughing muscle at the manifestation of "gaucherie" and want of "savoir-faire" on the part of his white visitor. Indeed, he seems ready, when he is sure of not offending, to waive even a breach of a stringent rule, treating it with good-natured merriment.

A traveler, already quoted, related an amusing incident which occurred during his visit to the house of an Indian chief in Canada. He proceeded to sit down on what he took to be a bundle of buffalo robes. The needed composure of mind of the guest of royalty must have been slightly disturbed at the discovery that the robes began to move and undulate beneath him, till to his utter confusion he felt himself projected into the middle of the tent among the embers. The chief, his three wives, and the other native people in the tent "shrieked with laughter" at the catastrophe. The full measure of the good-humor that lay

behind this laughter revealed itself to the white visitor when he saw emerging from the heap of robes the fourth and youngest wife of the chief, who, to her credit be it said, joined in the hilarity.

Something of the reflective element seems to peep out in one variety of this laughter at the odd ways of the white man. A missionary, one of the discerning ones, as it would seem, found the sea Dyaks disposed to treat the idea of our religious services as a joke. They wanted to know what was required of the churchgoer, and particularly wanted to know whether he was forbidden to laugh; and they explained their inquisitiveness by confessing, that, like Mr. Barrie's "Humorist," they were far from sure of being able to restrain themselves. Solemn ceremony, with its many severe demands, will be apt, when its meaning is hidden, to provoke in savages, as in our own children, a keen desire for the relieving moment of laughter.

A palpable ingredient of mind appears in the laughter of savages at the white man's ideas about the beginnings and the endings of things. The inquirer into their beliefs may present himself to them as a quite unreasonable sceptic grubbing at the very roots of things which sensible men accept as self-explanatory. The members of a tribe in Central Australia (Arunta tribe) were immensely tickled by the question how their remote ancestors came by the sacred stones or sticks which they had handed down to them. They found the idea ridiculous that anything could have existed before these original ancestors. The ultimate explanation of any custom of the tribe was "Our father did it, and therefore we do it." To try to go behind tradition was to challenge its sufficiency, and so to put forward an absurd paradox. Here we have a mental attitude at once like and unlike that of our children; for the latter are conservative of tradition and disposed to accept authority, and at the same time very energetic in pushing back inquiry into "what came before."

Intelligence would seem not merely to be moving, but to be capable of adroit play when the savage detects the ridiculous in the white man's ideas of the future of his race. How many of the simple savages who are instructed in the dogmas of the

Christian religion accept them unquestioningly, it would be hard to say. Many, perhaps, fail to put any definite meaning into what they hear. Now and again, however, we meet with an instance of a daring laugh at what strikes the hearer as "too absurd." A teacher of the native Tasmanians had one time to explain to an intelligent black the doctrine of the immateriality and immortality of the soul. He afterwards learned that his pupil had gone away from the lesson to have a hearty fit of laughter at the absurdity of the idea "of a man's living and going about without arms, legs, or mouth to eat." The crass materialism of this tyro's effort to assimilate spiritual ideas was much the same as we observe in our children.

In this laughter at our ways and our ideas, we superior people are inclined to see merely the ignorance and narrowness of mind of the laughers. Yet it is possible that the savage may, once and again, in making merry at our expense show himself really our superior. His good sense may be equal to the detection of some of the huge follies in the matter of dress and other customs to which the enlightened European so comically clings. And he has been known to strike the satirical note and to look down upon and laugh "at the stupid self-satisfied Europeans who preached so finely, but practiced so little what they preached."

It is evident that in this laughter at foreign customs and ideas we have one expression of the self-protective attitude of a community against insidious outside influences. Just as the Hebrews ridiculed the religious ideas of the worshipers of Baal, and so helped to keep their national faith intact, so these tribes low down in the culture scale have in their laughter at what is foreign a prophylactic against any contamination from outside. The narrow and purely relative character of the standards of the laughable adopted by one of these tribes has, at least, this in its favor, that it furthered the preservation of such distinctive traits as it happened to have. That it is just as favorable to the preservation of defects and limitations which missionaries and other reformers of savage nature think it their duty to get rid of, must, of course, be borne in mind also.

We may now glance at the intra-tribal laughter, which makes a member of one's tribe a butt. That this fills some place in the life of a savage people has been illustrated in our account of their teasings. We must not expect to find here a large field for the play of the sense of the ludicrous. The feeling only begins to grow vigorous and sprightly in its manifestations when the community breaks up into classes, and when, too, a large liberty of utterance is granted to all—to women as well as to men. A savage tribe is wanting in both these conditions.

A pretty clear illustration of laughter directed to fellow tribesmen is supplied by the merriment that is said to accompany athletic and other competitions in which skill is tested. Among the natives of Victoria, we are informed, a favorite amusement of the young men is the throwing of the spear and other similar exercises. These trials of skill are accompanied by a good deal of laughter, notwithstanding that the older men are present to instruct the boys and that some effort is made to preserve discipline. This merriment is no doubt largely the counterpart of our schoolboys' laughter in the playground. It is the expression of a keen enjoyment of the triumphs of the game. At the same time, if, as one may assume, it is directed against blunders, it has a sociological significance. It becomes a "social sanction," which urges a youth to do his best in the field. Another example illustrates the impulse to laugh at a comrade's inability to accomplish a feat for which he is totally unprepared. One of a European party which visited the Weddars of Ceylon could move his ears. A native was asked to do the same; and the others knowing what was to be done watched him attentively. The man singled out for the feat looked blankly towards the sky, his ears remaining "as if nailed to his head"; at this moving spectacle one of the onlookers suddenly broke out into laughter, the others at once joining in. Here we have laughter at a fellow tribesman, in face of Europeans, too, exactly similar to that which is directed to the European himself. Doubtless there is much of this kind of laughter at those who make an exhibition of their limitations, especially when the attempt is preceded by a

display of vanity and boastfulness. Here, again, savage laughter has the ring of the merriment of the playground and of the circus.

Of the first form of reciprocal mirthful attack or bantering between classes is that of the Sexes. The mutual bearing of the male and the female, who are at once impelled by their needs to cajole one another, and urged by their self-protective instincts to hold one another at arm's length for the purpose of cool scrutiny, has been one of the great pillars of laughter as it has been borne to us across the ages. Savage laughter supplies us with clear cases of intersexual jocosity, besides that of the teasing, which, as we have seen, is a two-sided game. In a collection of sayings and stories of West Africa we find the following: A woman left her husband to look after a "pot au feu." On returning she found that he had skimmed off the bubbling foam and hidden it in a calabash, naïvely supposing that this was the cream of the dish. She twits him with it, and discovers to his slow wits that the savory scum has melted into nothing. This reminds one of many a story of the Middle Ages, and shows how large is the exposure of the male incompetence to the lash of woman's merry wit.

These jocose thrusts at the opposite sex are interesting as illustrating the differentiation of class standards. If the male is laughed at for his bungling at the mysteries of cooking, how much more when he actually fails to keep up with the women folk in his own domain. Mr. Ling Roth, whose eye seems to have been specially focused for manifestations of the mirthful among savages, tells us that a boatload of women who had been gathering oysters rowed a race with his men's crew and managed to beat them; whereupon there was a fine outburst of feminine hilarity and much quizzing of the men, who had allowed themselves to be beaten by women. Here, surely, was a touch of a higher feeling for the ludicrous, a dim perception, at least, of the permanent and universal forms of the fitness of things.

The plainest example, I have met with, of what we should call a dry humor is to be found in the work just quoted. It

seems that a stupid old soothsayer once called together a large concourse of chiefs to deal with the problem of naming his children. These, he contended, were not properly his, but had been begotten by certain spirits (the Antus). One of the chiefs did not greatly enjoy having to come so many miles to listen to this sort of stuff, so "he pretended in the midst of the soothsayer's discourse to faint away, and fell back gasping for breath, kicking his legs spasmodically in the air at the same time." This interruption brought the tedious proceedings to an end, and so saved the chief from further boredom. But this was not all: the disappointed humbug had to pay the chief who had spoilt his performance some fowls as a punishment for allowing the spirits to attack him. The story is instructive as illustrating the tendency, as soon as classes begin to be distinguished, to score off a man of another class. Perhaps, indeed, we have in this jocose imposition on the imposer a suggestion of the merrymaking of kings and peoples at the expense of the priesthood, which was so marked a feature in mediæval hilarity.

A word may well be expended on the subject of the organization of the laughing propensity into regular amusements among savage tribes. One of the things which a white man can learn from these much-misunderstood peoples is the art of social entertainment. Without luxurious salons, without plate and rare wines, without the theatre and the concert hall, they manage to obtain a good deal of genuine, unpretentious conviviality. When, writes one traveler, they are relieved from the presence of strangers, they have much easy social conversation round their own fires. They sing and chaff, and older men lie and brag about feats in war and chase. "Jokes pass freely and the laugh is long if not loud."

A standard dish in these social entertainments is taking off the peculiarities of other tribes and of Europeans. Mimicry, the basis of the actor's art, is often carried to a high degree of perfection among these uncouth savages; and it is highly prized. When, writes a missionary of the tribes of the remote part of Victoria, a native is able to imitate the peculiarities of some absent member of the

tribe, it is very common to hear all in the camp convulsed with laughter. The Indians of Brazil hold the peculiarities (the beard, for example,) of other tribes up to laughter in the shape of a lively pantomime. The mimicry, as might be expected, embraces the odd ways of the white man. The natives of New South Wales used to be so skilful in this art that one writes of them, "Their mimicking of the oddities, dress, walk, gait, and looks of all the Europeans whom they have seen, from the time of Governor Phillips downwards, is so exact as to be a kind of historic register of their several actions and characters." The same authority tells us that the Otaheiteans are acute observers of the manners, actions, and even looks of strangers; and if they have any singular imperfections or oddities, they will not fail to make themselves merry at their expense. Another traveler certifies to the fact that the aborigines of Victoria were 'splendid mimics, and after attending the white man's church "would take a book, and with much success imitate the clergyman in his manner, laughing and enjoying the applause which they received."

This way of exciting laughter by mimicking the white man is illustrated among the North American Indians. The Californian Indians gave to the American whites the name "Wo'hah," formed from "whoa-haw," the sound they heard the early emigrants produce when they drove their oxen. "Let an Indian see an American coming up the road, and cry out to his fellows, 'There comes a wo'hah,' at the same time swinging his arm as if driving oxen, and it will produce convulsive laughter."

Along with this skill in mimicry we read of considerable readiness in the verbal arts of descriptive caricature, witty sayings, and repartee. Here ample use is made, we are told, of the instrument of irony.

The possession of these rudiments of talent naturally leads to a certain amount of specialization. It is attested, again and again, that our uncultured savage communities possess their professional pantomimists, jesters, and wits. Thus we read that the Tasmanians have their drolls and mountebanks, who exhibit the peculiarities of individuals with considerable force. Among the

Sumatrans, again, are to be found "characters of humor," who by buffoonery, mimicry, punning, repartee, and satire are able to keep the company in laughter at intervals during a night's entertainment. In some cases, jesters are appointed by a chief, just as a "fool" used to be selected by one of our kings. In Samoa every chief has his regular clown, a privileged person who among other liberties is allowed that of taking food out of the chief's mouth. A privileged buffoon in Kassowit, who had been given an old gun told the Resident that he had killed fourteen deer with one bullet. The Resident being puzzled he explained that he had cut the bullet out each time. Here we have the exact counterpart of the trick of the European clown.

Among the Eskimo of Greenland, we read, there is a regular competition among the aspiring "funny men" for popular favor. After a repast, they get up, one after the other, each exhibiting his artistic resources by beating a drum, and singing, and accompanying this performance by making comical gestures, and playing ridiculous tricks with his face, head, and limbs. Much the same kind of contest in the art of drawing out the choral laugh takes place in connection with their peculiar ordeals. Each of the two litigants tries to make the other ridiculous, by singing satirical songs, and relating misdeeds; and the one who succeeds in getting the audience to laugh most at his gibes or invectives is pronounced the conqueror. Even such serious crimes as murder were often expiated in this merry fashion.

In one or two cases we read of more elaborate entertainments. Thus, some of the natives of the Western Pacific have a regular masquerade performed before the king, into which may enter a histrionic representation of a British sailor, with cutlass, etc., played by a leading buffoon, yet this simple art may have been acquired to some extent from whites.

Other traces of a rudimentary art of the comic are to be found in the amusing songs and stories which can be traced to savage invention. The Tasmanians had songs in which the peculiarities of Europeans were caricatured, the chorus being sung amid shouts of laughter. Another comic song, heard among some

of the aborigines of Australia, took off the bodily peculiarities of some men—presumably of another tribe—in the graceful lines :—

“ Oh what legs, oh what legs !
The Kangaroo-rumped fellows
Oh what legs, oh what legs ! ”

That savages have some gift of story-telling is proved by the delightful tales of Uncle Remus, the substance of which, as their author tells us, he obtained from the blacks in the American plantations. Miss Kingsley writes to me of these, “ I know the tales are not made up. I struck the Tar Baby Stories in the Lower Congo.” It may be added that the device of the tar baby is to be found in its essentials in a collection of African stories.

Our study seems to tell us that savage laughter is like our own in representing different levels of refinement. Much of it is just naïve, unthinking gaiety. Coexisting with this infantile gaiety, we have the coarse, brutal forms of laughter which we associate with the rougher kind of schoolboy. Side by side with these, we find higher forms in which some amount of reference to social standards is discoverable. Lastly, we may detect, here and there, as in the story of the man tickled by the idea of the dead man continuing to live, and the man who jocosely stripped a humbug of his disguise, germs of a more thoughtful laughter ; and, on the other hand, in the kindly tempering of the laughter of the girls at the English woman’s inability to make mats a movement towards sympathetic laughter. In other words, we detect the dim beginnings of that complex feeling or attitude which we call humor. It seems probable that the quality, if not also the quantity, improves as we pass from the lowest and most degraded to the higher savage tribes.

Hence, no doubt, the difficulty which has been felt by travelers in describing the common characteristics of the hilarity of savage tribes. Miss Kingsley writes to me of the humor of the West African : “ It is peculiar, it is not childlike—it is more feminine in quality, though it is very broad or coarse. It is difficult to describe. I can only say what seems to me an excellent

joke seems so to him—there are many jokes neither of us can see the point of: others, we chuckle over, superior persons look down on, and would call buffoonery.”

One practical reflection to close with. Any civilized officials that take it upon them to manage these “lower races” would surely do well to take some heed of their love of fun. And this, because it has been found that appeals to this side have been more effective than the harsher measures. An African missionary, already quoted, writes that in cases where a disposition to quarrel shows itself one joke is worth ten arguments. This is borne out by one who does not take too favorable a view of his savages, when he says of the East African that he delights in a joke, “which manages him like a Neapolitan.” In a letter to me Miss Kingsley writes, “I have always found I could chaff them (West Africans) into doing things that other people could not get them to do, with blows—I could laugh them out of things other people would have to blow out of them with a gun.”

THE POPULAR DRAMA IN BRITTANY¹

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The mere title of this study will no doubt surprise more than one reader. The Breton drama! What myth is that? No one, of course, dreams of denying the remarkable poetic faculties of the Celts, whether of the Continent or of the British Isles. Every one knows that the Irish poets have left behind them admirable fragments of barbaric epics, that among the Scottish Highlanders traces are yet to be found of the great heroic complaints attributed to the legendary Ossian, and, finally, that Western Europe is indebted to the old Welsh bards for the finest themes of chivalry and love which have inspired its troubadours of old and its composers of to-day. Nor is the fact ignored, especially since the days of de la Villemarqué and his emulators, that so far as poetic instinct and the feeling for the marvelous go, the Celts of Armorica are in nowise behind their fellows on the other side of the Channel.

But just so far as the Celtic peoples excel in expressing in passionate effusions the lyricism which is, as it were, an inherent part of their nature, just so far, on the other hand, and indeed for that very reason, are they apparently *a priori* less fitted for the drama, in which the author must, if he desire to make his characters lifelike, put wholly aside his own individuality. A Chateaubriand, a Renan, were the highest and most complete incarnations of the Celtic genius, and every one knows how deeply

(1) Translated by Professor F. C. de Sumichrast of Harvard University.

impregnated with their *ego* are their seemingly most objective works. An additional reason for surprise at the existence of a Celtic drama is that the form of art called drama can flourish only when civilization has already attained a certain degree of refinement, while Celtic literature has never risen above the semi-barbarous stage; its most original productions exhibiting scarce any methods other than the very imperfect and wholly rudimentary.

Hence the drama treated of here has nothing that in any wise recalls, even distantly, the meaning usually attached to that word, when it is a question, for instance, of the plays of a Racine in France or of a Shakespeare in England. It may at most be compared to the Mysteries of the Middle Ages, the form of which it follows, and every one of the blunders and awkwardnesses of which it reproduces, though it does not always possess the beauties of these works. Indeed, in this respect it is not accurately termed Celtic, for it is not a national product, but rather an importation, while there appear to be Celtic lands to which it never had access. Neither Scotland nor Ireland, among others, were ever acquainted with it, or, if they did know it, there is no mention of the fact and no trace of it to be found in their literary history. In order to discover any vestiges of it among the Island Celts, one must go farther south, into the Welsh Mountains and on the shores of Cornwall.

We have, unfortunately, but scanty data on the origins and development of the Cymric drama. The Welsh themselves ought to clear up that well-nigh unread chapter of their ancient literature, though, so far, they do not seem to have concerned themselves very much with it. Yet, if we may believe the statements made by Mr. Jenkins to M. Luzel, it would not be difficult, were the Welsh cabins searched, to discover there numbers of interesting plays that are slowly disappearing under the dust of ages and of forgetfulness. What is absolutely certain is that the British Museum possesses no less than five copies of "The Birth of Christ" and four of "The Passion," these being the only two monuments of this sort that have been rescued so far. It is to be hoped that some erudite of the school of Mr. John Rhys will

soon undertake to publish them, and thus save these venerable débris of a vanished past, as Mr. Norris has already done for the precious remains of the Cornish drama.

Indeed, as regards the latter, we possess properly edited texts, such as the *De Origine Mundi*, the *De Passione Domini Nostri*, and the *De Resurrectione*, to mention only those which enable us to understand the important part played by these essentially popular dramas in the life of the peoples for whom they were written. If any doubt were entertained on this point, other proofs exist, the more eloquent, perhaps, that they are more material. In traversing Cornwall from Truro on the East to Land's End on the West, it is impossible not to notice, every here and there on the hill slopes, vast semicircular excavations in the form of amphitheatres, and if inquiry be made as to the purpose to which they were formerly put, the reply will be that in the days when the Cornish tongue was still spoken, these spaces were called "*Plen ar guare*," (Playing Floors). It was on these places, as a matter of fact, that were performed, in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, both the Mysteries collated by Mr. Norris and those which still exist in manuscript, awaiting a kindly editor, to say nothing of others, no doubt innumerable, the very remembrance of which has passed away. The great number of these open-air theatres, the vastness of their benches, on which thousands of spectators could be seated, bear witness, more eloquently than all the texts, to the great popularity of dramatic performances among the ancient Cornishmen.

It is, however, particularly to the Bretons of Armorica that one ought to turn if it is desired to obtain a somewhat accurate idea, not only of the character of the Celtic drama, but of the part it has played among them. On these points, fortunately, we have abundant information; we are no longer restricted to a few isolated compositions saved with difficulty from a vast shipwreck; we have a veritable library of works. The honor of having brought together the main portions of it belongs to M. Luzel.

So long ago as 1845, he started out on his quest, and for many long years that careful and indefatigable scholar traveled up and down the whole of Brittany, so that by dint of being met on highways and byways, he gained the name of "Boudedew Breiz Izel," (The Wandering Jew of Lower Brittany). Never did the Knights of the Round Table start on the Quest of the Holy Grail with greater ardor than M. Luzel exhibited in ferreting out from the recesses of coffers of our farms and manor-houses the copies of the Mysteries which they contained. Thanks to his persevering researches, we now possess a collection of more than sixty manuscripts, to which must be added some forty others in private hands, forming, it strikes me, a handsome total, even supposing that further inquiries should not result in further discoveries. Brittany is, in this respect, a land of surprises, and the better it is known, the more it is certain that it has not yet yielded up all the treasures of its past.

These hundred Mysteries, more or less, which at present constitute our stock of Breton dramatic material, may be divided into three groups according to the subject they treat of:—the first, which I shall call the "Biblical," because it puts upon the stage scenes drawn from the Old or the New Testaments; the second, to which I shall give the name of "Romanesque," because the inspiration of the plays is drawn from the romances of chivalry, so widely popular in the Middle Ages, and the third, on which I shall bestow the appellation of "Hagiographic," because it comprises subjects drawn from the legends of the saints and the blessed. It will not, of course, be expected that I should, in this short review, give a complete bibliography. I shall content myself with quoting a few titles from each series; for instance, in the Biblical group, "The Creation of the World," "Moses," "Jacob and his Sons," "The Passion of our Lord"; in the Romanesque group, "The Twelve Peers of France," "Huon of Bordeaux," "The Four Sons of Aymon"; in the Hagiographic group, "The Life of Saint Helena," "The Life of Saint Genevieve of Brabant," "The Life of Saint Peter," "The Life of Saint Garan," "The Life of Saint Gwennoél." A number of plays were printed in

former times, among others "Mount Calvary" (1517), "The Death of the Virgin" (1530), "The Life of Saint Barbara" (1550); among modern editions I shall mention that of "Saint Nonn," by Le Gonidec, that of "Saint Triphina," by M. Luzel, that of the "Great Mystery of Jesus," by M. de la Villemarqué, that of "Saint Barbara," by M. Ernault. All the others, save four or five rough editions for the use of the people, are still in manuscript form only.

Yet it is these very manuscripts on tow paper, written in a heavy, rustic hand, with their fanciful orthography and the dirt that covers them, that best enable us to appreciate the spell cast by the drama upon the Breton soul. I am not acquainted with any older than the earlier years of the eighteenth century; most, indeed, are relatively recent transcriptions of copies that have disappeared. Nevertheless, if they were judged by their aspect, their faded ink, and their worn pages, they would be taken for palimpsests of the most venerable antiquity. That is because they have passed through thousands of hands, because generation after generation has eagerly read and re-read them, because they are marked with the rude imprint of the hands of artisans and herdsmen. For when the ecclesiastical authorities, after having encouraged the popular performances of plays, proscribed them and called upon the secular authorities to aid in suppressing them, under pretext that they threatened to overshadow the religious services, the drama, driven from the public square, took refuge, as Luzel puts it, by the family hearthstone. The performances ceased, but the plays were still committed to memory and recited. The humblest fireside was transformed into a sort of domestic stage where, on long winter evenings, the household assembled by the fire, in attitudes of respectful attention, while the grandfather, seated on one of the inglenook seats, declaimed in a sacramental tone some of the splendid tragic adventures written on the old and soiled pages of the manuscripts.

But the reading, persistently kept up, of the manuscripts handed down by the forefathers was not considered sufficient; as soon as these manuscripts became too worn, men relieved each other in

copying them out. One must have handled these rudimentary, almost barbaric texts to understand the efforts, the labors which the transcribing of them entailed. Nine times out of ten the copyist was a ploughman, an artisan, unlettered and uncultured, who could scarcely handle a pen; every stroke proving that he was more at home with the plough than with the pen. Occasionally, at the end of a line,—I had almost said at the end of a furrow,—the scribe has stopped short, as if to wipe his face, and in a marginal note, calls to himself, "Courage"! Can anything be more artless and touching? What can I add that would better show how fervent had become the love of the drama among the Bretons? Blessed be these obscure workers, these resolute, if inexperienced, copyists! But for them a whole literature would have vanished, bearing away with it into oblivion the portion of poesy and reverie bequeathed to them by their race.

It must be confessed, however, that this dramatic literature is far from being the most brilliant manifestation of the Armorican genius. It is singularly dimmed in comparison with the "Gwerzion," the "Sonion," the epic cantilenes, and the love-songs, which are the highest exponents of our national inspiration. It is possible that this may be due to the fact that the dramatic form is a pure importation and has never risen above a matter of imitation among us. From the fourteenth century, the Celtic nations that, until that time, had furnished poetic motives to the whole world, in their turn became tributaries to the other nations and especially to France. It was in this way that almost the whole Carolingian cycle was gradually imposed upon the Breton imagination, and ended even in driving out the legends of the native heroes. Every one remembers the exploits of Huon of Bordeaux, while the name of Arthur is almost forgotten. But I believe that the main reason why the Breton drama never rose above mediocrity is that it remained a rural diversion, condemned to vegetate miserably with the idiom in which it was written. Long before Brittany became a part of the French entity, its dukes, its

higher clergy, its nobility, the élite of its middle class, had forsaken the mother tongue in favor of French. The Breton speech continued to exist, but in the countryside and among the uncultured. It is quite true that it still managed to give birth to that abundant crop of lyrical poetry of which George Sand said, in a burst of enthusiasm, that "there are certain Breton complaints, the work of mendicants, three stanzas of which are worth all of Byron and Goethe." But to express in a few graceful or sublime stanzas the feelings that inspire one, is a very different matter from giving life to characters, and carrying on to a natural close an action full of varied conflicts. The Breton drama lacked the political and social conditions and the highly cultured environment in which it might have grown and bloomed. A comparison of its most recent productions with the earliest will show that it has not changed, save that the old title of "Mystery" has been replaced by that of "Tragedy," and the octosyllabic verse by the Alexandrine. The primitive methods and the æsthetic conception have remained the same.

The reason is that the Breton people itself has scarcely progressed during that long period of time. Generally speaking, it may be said that all our dramatic writers sprang from the people, though we do not have much detailed information concerning any of them, most of them concealing even their names. Scarcely do they discreetly allude, in their "Prologues," to themselves and to the parish to which they belong. On the other hand, tradition, joined to the inductions that may be drawn from the examination of the plays themselves, tells us what they have omitted to state. It is both notorious and perfectly certain that this literature is a clerkly literature. Even at the present day in Brittany, a man who has attended one of the Church schools in his diocese and, instead of continuing his studies for the priesthood, has returned to the humble labor of his fathers, is called a "clerk," that is, a "scholar." Renan's remarks, in his "Souvenirs d'enfance," upon the young peasants who were his classmates at the college of Tréguier may here be recalled. He compares them to "mastodons studying the humanities," and considers them as survivors

of "the primitive world." The clerks of old were precisely similar. Breaking away early from studies begun late, they brought back to their country homes a little French, a little Latin, a smattering of profane mythology and of sacred history, which formed their whole stock of knowledge. It will readily be understood that those of them who were seized with the desire of becoming dramatists could not, with such meagre resources, become writers of the first rank.

Their intellectual resources might be and were limited, but their zeal and their faith were boundless. Never did art fire more ardently brains so humble. The proof is to be found in the confidences of the latest of these peasant-poets, who lived in the early part of the nineteenth century at Ploumilliau, a rural commune in the "arrondissement" of Lannion, where he wrought at the unprofitable trade of a country weaver. He was called John Conan, though he calls himself by preference by the nickname of "Yann Goz," or "Old John." A manuscript of "Saint Genevieve of Brabant," which is his work, gives us, either between two scenes, or by way of epilogues, a number of details about him, marked by candor and charm. It is thus we learn that he is old and white haired, that his hands are trembling, and his sight failing. It is surprising, indeed, that he should still be able to see, for having to earn his daily bread, he has worn out his sight, by day at his loom, by night at his writing table, and it is at night only, by the light of a resin candle that he may exchange the shuttle for the pen. As soon as the family has gone to bed, and he is at last alone with his characters, he is filled with intoxicating joy and exaltation. Dawn finds him still bending over his task. In order not to lose a single one of the moments of leisure which he is allowed to devote to poetry, he has trained himself to do without sleep. He tells us this by the way, not seeking to claim any merit therefor. In his intercourse with his characters, the children of his dreams, he enjoys the highest ideal satisfaction, and that is enough for him. He thus states the only recompense he desires for his work: "In the event of this history interesting you at all, remember Conan

who rhymed it in Breton verse, and as you lie down to sleep say, in favor of his soul, 'God forgive him.' That is the only reward he desires for his labor, together with the protection of Saint Genevieve when he passes away from this world."

These writers never suffered from literary vanity, they cared naught for empty fame, and if they were to be praised, they wished that it should be for having performed a pious work.

The most marked characteristic of this drama is, indeed, that it is essentially religious: whether the subject be secular adventures or sacred incidents, the ultimate object sought after is edification. Hence the sermonizing tone it willingly affects. It is plain that the poet strives to impart to the speeches of his characters something of the fulness and solemnity which his rustic audience is accustomed to admire, Sunday after Sunday, in the discourses of the priest at high mass; every one of the long tirades he indulges in recalls by its tone and its prolixity the homilies of the preacher. Hence, also, the important part played, even in purely Romanesque dramas, by the beings of the supernatural world,—God and His angels, Satan and his demons, or, indeed, anthropomorphized abstractions, such as Death, which is ever present in the drama under the terrifying aspect of "Ankou," the Celtic deity of death. This continually recurring—and often unjustified—evocation of the celestial and infernal powers occasionally compels a smile, but at times has a certain grandeur. When, for instance, the Lord orders Death to arise and repair to the bedside of Eve, there to preside over the bringing into the world, in pain and sorrow, of the first human creature born of woman,—when Death obeys and we behold the tragic meeting, we are deeply impressed by the moving and grim symbolism of the thought. I mention this one episode, though there are a score of others similarly dramatic. As regards the supernatural, at least, the Breton drama is infinitely superior to the French Mysteries of the Middle Ages. Nor is this to be wondered at, for in this subject the Celts are past masters, the present and the hereafter

never having been divided, as far as they are concerned, by very accurate and well-defined limits, and even now the weak point of the Celt, which is at the same time his charm, lies in his almost incurable inability to distinguish between dreamland and reality.

It would be a mistake, however, to suppose that reality is lacking in this drama. The psychology of the chief characters, kings, saints, knights, patriarchs, is no doubt somewhat childish, when it is not wholly conventional. But it is the contrary that would be surprising, since it would be absurd to ask of peasants that they should depict accurately minds so different from their own. Nor is their conception of character and their representation of it always so artless as might be supposed, and there are portraits of a disillusioned monarch, such as that of Gralon, King of Is, or of a feudal bandit, such as William, Count of Poitou, that stand out, with infinite boldness and relief, from the crowd of less consistently drawn supernumeraries.

These poets are particularly happy, and succeed in communicating to us the sensation and the very breath of life when they introduce on the stage people of their own condition, when they set the common people to speaking and doing. This is frequently the case, for the Breton drama is at once essentially religious and essentially popular. The author never misses an opportunity of mingling the drama of the aristocracy and the drama of the commonalty, of exhibiting the street by the side of the palace and the village at the foot of the castle. The descriptions are then amazingly truthful; it is not reality merely, but realism, and of the very boldest. Expressions, gestures, attitudes, all give proof of having been observed, noted, and lived. On such occasions the poet treads on firm, safe ground, and he lingers on it with evident pleasure, happy at finding himself among men of his own kind, and of being able to attribute to them, without falling into improbability, the reflections suggested to him by his humble, individual philosophy; still more happy at giving utterance, through them, to his joys and his irony, his hopes and his grudges, to the feeling of revolt intensified within him by the injustice of the

great and the vague sense of protest that stirs within his oppressed heart.

Here, in my opinion, in this mingling of the ideal and the real, often majestic and solemn, and frequently trivial and familiar, lies the main originality of this form of drama and also its chief interest. No doubt two or three analyses and a few well selected extracts would have shown its character more readily and accurately than these somewhat general statements, but in the restricted space assigned me I could not hope to find room for such. How, indeed, could I summarize, even if I had several pages at my disposal, plays so exuberant and prolix, the shortest of which contain no less than six thousand lines? While their authors spent years in composing them, they did not, on the other hand, deny themselves the pleasure of working out their inspiration to the last, pouring into their work, until they had exhausted it, that "Breton prolixity" which was famous even in Juvenal's time.

Verbosity is the chief fault with which they are chargeable; they do not know restraint, and the very facility with which the Armorican tongue lends itself to rhyming encouraged their natural intemperance of speech. They cared much less to express themselves well than to say much. Nevertheless from out the twaddle of their rustic rhetoric there arise at times unquestioned beauties, and a whole harvest of rich poetry or powerful eloquence, all the more striking, perhaps, that it is unexpected. And here again I cannot but regret that the lack of space does not allow me to produce my proofs. I can only beg those of my readers who may desire to form an opinion for themselves to turn to some one of the plays which have been printed and translated during the nineteenth century, more especially to those published by M. Luzel, although his method of translation often deprives the text of much of its popular charm and piquancy.

The Breton Mysteries are, like French Mysteries, divided, not into acts, but into "Days," and each day is invariably preceded by a "Prologue," the object of which is, first, to welcome the

public and to beg it to be indulgent, and, next, to facilitate the understanding of the play by means of a preliminary "Argument." Each day is also invariably followed by an "Epilogue," in which the spectators are thanked for the attention they have paid, and in which a further instalment of marvels is promised for the following day. The final epilogue, which closes the play, is called, like the last great burst in a display of fireworks, the "bouquet." Before taking leave of his audience, the author weaves for each of the social classes of which it is composed a garland of wise saws appropriate to each particular class. To the nobles he recommends kindness; to the priests, evangelical meekness of spirit; to the bourgeois, commercial probity; to the poor, resignation; to one and all he explains the particular kind of moral they are to draw from his "tragedy," and the serious lessons they are to bear away in their minds. Then he takes leave of them, bidding them meet him in the Valley of Jehosaphat, on the Day of Judgment, and dismisses them filled with troublesome thoughts of death and the future life.

Thus did the poets themselves endeavor to bring out the religious thought which inspired every one of their dramas. But the epilogues and prologues possess still another point of interest, being, indeed, precious documents for the study of the dramatic art in Brittany, enlightening us on the vicissitudes it experienced, the persecutions it had to endure, and the official tyranny that finally reduced it to silence. Every here and there sounds a cry of distress, a protest made in amazement and grief, such as this, for instance: "Alas! an order of his lordship the Bishop of Saint Brieuc forbids the performance of Breton tragedies in any part of his diocese. It states even that to dramatize the Lives of the Saints is a case for excommunication. * * No, O Lord, I cannot believe that it is a crime to do so! On the contrary, I believe that it is a meritorious action, well-pleasing to Thy Divine Majesty, since these performances have been known to contribute to the conversion of miserable sinners."

It is also to the prologues and epilogues that we are indebted for some particulars as to the manner in which the performances

were got up, the characters they presented, the persons who initiated them, and the actors who played the various parts.

On the Sunday, after morning mass, the parish crier, standing on the churchyard wall, blew his horn and proclaimed that such and such persons—usually small landowners or wealthy farmers—intended to give a play, and appealed to all to come forward and help. The actors volunteered and the promoters had only the difficulty of making a choice among them. Even a part containing but a line or two was eagerly sought after. Occasionally the competition assumed an almost fierce aspect, degenerated into rows, riots, and bloody encounters. The selection of the company was made on the most eclectic basis. The one which was performing, as late as 1860, at Pluzunet, comprised, besides some ten field laborers, two cobblers, two country tailors, a mason, a cooper, a road-mender, and a pig-gelder. Every village corporation was represented in it, as well as every age, from early youth to ripe old age. Even certain infirmities did not bar the sufferer; for instance, William Garandel, though blind, had the reputation of being the best comedian of his day, and won, in the part of Abacarus (in the “Life of Saint Triphina”) the most brilliant success. Women alone were rigorously excluded: there is not a single instance, in our old dramatic annals, of a Breton woman having ever ventured upon the boards.

Most of these chance actors were wholly uneducated, and they had to have their parts drilled into them by some one of their neighbors who could read. Twenty or thirty peasant homes were thus transformed, every winter, into regular schools of elocution, for the only times which could be devoted to this work were the long evenings of the “dark months” and the leisure afternoons of the Sundays. Invincible, indeed, must have been the faith of these rough men who performed such feats of memorizing. From time to time, they met in the chief rendez-vous of the village, in the inn room, to rehearse together, while the women made the costumes, prepared the ornaments, and cut out of gilt paper the royal crowns and the mitres.

As the time for the performance drew near,—this being usually in Easter week,—messengers bearing a white wand, the local caduceus, scattered throughout the countryside, announced the coming show, and invited the inhabitants to attend. They were welcomed and feasted everywhere, as “birds of good omen,” as “bearers of glad tidings.” On the eve of the great day, a vast human migration went on towards the place appointed for the performance. The place itself was not always the same; sometimes it was the village square, sometimes the “Field of the Dead,” at the foot of the church steeple, sometimes the top of a hill or of a promontory, with the sea for a background, sometimes, again, one of those mysterious Breton vales, the rocky terraces of which form a sort of natural amphitheatre. Boards placed on barrels formed the stage; hempen sheets, hung from posts and covered with green branches formed the scenery. It is impossible to conceive of a simpler theatrical arrangement. But the infinite power of illusion characteristic of the Celtic idealism could safely be reckoned on; out of nothing the magic of the spectators’ souls evolved everything.

Let us sit, for a moment, among those spectators of old. The actor charged to recite the introductory prologue has just come forward. “In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost,”—it is thus he begins, as he bends towards the spectators, whose swelling voices reply “Amen!” Next comes the customary introduction, the reason for which I have given above, and then appear the protagonist and his acolytes, apparently set in hieratic stiffness: their steps are rhythmical, their gestures automatic and few. What strikes one most about them, however, is their delivery, slow, monotonous, and modulated like plain song, and of almost sacerdotal breadth. This mode of intoning is unmistakably sacerdotal, docilely and piously transmitted from generation to generation; the men are plainly conscious of the fact that they are celebrating a liturgy and not merely performing a secular act. On the other hand, the spectators listen with passionate, nay, devotional attention, expressing their admiration by their silence and their emo-

tion, which at pathetic moments manifests itself by tears.

During the two or three days taken up by the performance all other interests were forgotten. On the evening of the last day, as the strophes of the closing epilogue were heard, some of the members of the company, still wearing their stage dresses, passed along the rows of spectators, bearing a copper plate in their hands, soliciting the gifts of the spectators. "Be generous," was their burden, "if you have been pleased." The collection was almost always handsome, for had the Breton peasant failed to show himself liberal, he would have thought himself lacking in respect for the saints themselves and for the heroes whose praises had just been spoken in his presence: so under the spell of the intoxication produced in him by the performance, he gave his all. But then he bore away with him from the meeting a priceless treasure of remembrances, which for many a long month would literally cast a charm upon his hard and precarious life of a pariah.

This drama was unquestionably the sole, or almost the sole, intellectual nourishment of the genuine Bretons in times of old. Can it be revived? Great hopes of this were raised by the restoration attempted at Ploujean, near Morlaix, during the summer of 1898. M. Gaston Paris, who was present, with several other famous French writers, spoke, on the evening of the performance, the memorable words with which I shall conclude this article:—

"Nowadays from many directions are heard calls for a popular art, an art which shall not be artificial, as that of the élite has fatally become. * * * Count Tolstoy has just stated the great problem and, after having hurled a most violent anathema against modern art, as now understood, has drawn a picture of the art of the future. He would certainly welcome these Ploujean actors as collaborators, but he would ask of them and their fellows not to confine themselves to the performance of the works of a period already far removed from us. * * * Since the soul of the Breton people is capable of feeling and rendering the dramatic forms of religious ideas, why should this power not be utilized in interpreting works inspired by what Tolstoy holds to be the religion of our own day?"

It remains to be seen whether this noble appeal will be listened to, and, especially, whether the Bretons are capable of understanding it.

ENGLISH PAINTING AND FRENCH¹

KENYON COX, *New York.*

Sir Walter Armstrong's "Reynolds" is a companion volume to the "Gainsborough" by the same author, which was issued by the same publishers two years earlier, and, like it, may be considered as, primarily, a sumptuous holiday publication,—an elaborate picture book. From this point of view, its large size, heavy paper, and handsome typography, the number, good execution, and excellent selection of the illustrations, made it an unequivocal success. The photogravures do not entirely escape the besetting sin of that method of reproduction,—blackness and violence of light and shade; but the few plates which have been copied from contemporary mezzo-tints escape this fault only to make more manifest the vastly superior authenticity in form and character of modern mechanical work direct from the original. Great good judgment has been shown in the choice of subjects. Sir Joshua's masterpieces are nearly all here, but the more popular and more commonly reproduced pictures have been avoided, except where they are also the very best, and their place is taken

(1) *Sir Joshua Reynolds, First President of The Royal Academy.* By Sir Walter Armstrong, Director of the National Gallery, Ireland; with seventy-eight Photogravures and six Lithographic Facsimiles in Color. London: William Heinemann; New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1900. Imperial Quarto, pp. xii, 251.

La Peinture Romantique. Essai sur l'évolution de la Peinture Française de 1815 à 1830. Par Léon Rosenthal. Paris: Société Française d'Éditions d'Art; L. Henry May, 1900. Quarto, pp. 336.

by less well-known examples. Best of all these—as it is in Sir Walter's opinion, and in that of the present writer, one of the finest of Reynolds' works, more simple, natural, spontaneous, and charming than almost any—is the "Nelly O'Brien" of the Wallace Gallery, beautifully reproduced for the frontispiece.

The text of this book is, however, vastly different from the perfunctory performance that does duty in the ordinary holiday volume. Sir Walter Armstrong has written a short life of Reynolds, an analysis of his character as a man, a discussion of his writings, and a criticism of his art, and has concluded the whole with a list of his works which takes up sixty-odd of these large pages, closely printed in triple columns; and all this is so well done that we have here a real book,—a book worth reading,—and one that should be published in a form that would make reading easier and ownership not impossible to the student of modest means. The text alone, or with a few well-chosen illustrations in half-tone, could easily be printed in a volume of handy size and at a moderate price, and such a volume would include nearly everything desirable in a monograph on Reynolds, with very little padding.

Many things have contributed to give Sir Joshua Reynolds, especially in England, a somewhat exaggerated reputation. He had little to do with the founding of the Royal Academy, but he was its first president: his official position and his knighthood have counted for a good deal. He was an intimate in a circle of great writers, and literature has carried his name to a safe immortality in company with those of Johnson, Burke, and Goldsmith. He wrote fairly well himself, in such consonance with the ideas of his age that his "Discourses" seemed to his contemporaries to be masterpieces of criticism. Finally, he was the nearest thing to an "Old Master" that England could point to as her own, and English writers got into the habit of speaking of him almost in the terms they applied to Van Dyck and Rubens, or even to Titian and Rembrandt. It is only in our own day that an increased interest in the art of the eighteenth century has taught us that he was, after all, only one among peers, and that

at least one among his contemporaries was in many ways his superior. The author of "Gainsborough and his Place in English Art" was little likely to treat Reynolds as the only great artist, or even as the certainly greatest artist, of his time, and as he could not write of Gainsborough without reference to Reynolds, so he cannot write of Reynolds without contrasting him with Gainsborough.

Reynolds was fitted by nature for a fashionable portrait painter, and was predestinate a President of the Royal Academy. None of his successors, except perhaps Leighton, has had so many qualifications for that office. To be sure, he could not draw, but neither could his contemporaries, and his theories of art were entirely academic, so that what he lacked in practice he made up in precept. He had no belief in genius, thought that all merit could be analyzed and all success achieved by study, and preached idealization, generalization, and the grand style with due solemnity. He was urbane, good natured, politic, just, accomplished, and perfectly cold-blooded. He had a due sense of his own value and importance, but not too uneasy a vanity, no passions and no impulses,—or, at least, none that he ever acted on. Such a man was bound to attain material success, even with less talent than his, and his talent was very real. He had a fine sense of arrangement and a true feeling for color and for the material beauty of paint, so that those of his works which his technical experiments have not ruined are pleasant and rich in surface and quality; and, what was even more valuable to him, he had a sense of character in men and of beauty in women and children, together with an eminently British sentiment on the verge of sentimentality. At his worst, his theories led him into pomposities and artificialities; but, at his best, his work, in spite of its weakness of form, is more accomplished and more painter-like than anything that the world has since produced. In such pictures as the "Nelly O'Brien" and the "Duchess of Devonshire and Child," he forgot his theories and painted as he saw and as he felt, with a result permanently admirable, and, this side the great masters, hardly to be overpraised.

With all this, however, he never catches the witchery, the freedom, the captivating grace of the careless and impulsive Gainsborough. Gainsborough's range as a figure painter was less than Sir Joshua's, but within it he seldom fails; in his younger days, at least, he could draw far better than Sir Joshua ever did; and he was, besides, and would have preferred to be altogether, the father of modern landscape. Two such men, if there had been no others, are enough for the glory of a country and an epoch; but of the two there can be little doubt that Gainsborough's was the more essentially artistic nature and, perhaps, the higher achievement.

The English painters of the end of the eighteenth century were the best in Europe, and the traditions of the Renaissance, which had come late to them, were maintained by their successors when the rest of Europe had forgotten what painting meant, in its following of the classicism of David. The Romantic revolution in French painting, about which M. Rosenthal has written an admirable volume, was, according to him, essentially a movement for the recovery of the art of painting as such,—for “the freeing of painting from all preoccupations foreign to the art of painting itself,”—and, secondarily, it was the reassertion of individual liberty and the right of self-expression. England was the home of individualism, yet she possessed a school of portraiture founded upon Van Dyck and a school of landscape founded upon Rubens and the Dutch; and it was natural that the influence of England should count for much in the evolution of painting in France. Extraordinary genius as he was, Turner seems to have had no part in this influence. One can understand that his temper and his methods were too antipathetic to the French spirit to have had much action upon French painting, even if he had exhibited in Paris; and in England itself, in spite of his glory, he has had no following and has left no school. But of the three painters of the Romantic school important enough to have a chapter apiece devoted to them,—Bonington, Delacroix, and Decamps,—Bonington was an Englishman, and is still set down in the Louvre catalogue as of the “*école anglaise*,” while Delacroix

spent some time in England, as did the first of the realists, Géricault. In 1824 Copley Fielding, Constable, and Lawrence exhibited in the Salon, and the two latter exhibited again in 1827. It was on the first of these occasions that the sight of Constable's work led Delacroix to repaint entirely the background of his "Massacre of Scio" before the opening of the exhibition. There can be no wonder that one of the most important of M. Rosenthal's chapters is on the "Germanic Influence" as brought to bear upon the French school by the painters of England.

Lawrence was an affected mannerist. "What, with Reynolds, was the result of æsthetic instincts or beliefs became with Lawrence a system or a matter of process. * * * In emphasizing his processes and in letting them appear in the result, Lawrence lent himself the more readily to imitation, and the lessons that might be received from his work were the more quickly learned as his handling was less concealed." In his search for truth of detail and for the sparkle of sunlight upon moist leafage, Constable "may be reproached with having taken from landscape painting something of the large and simple character which Gainsborough and Reynolds, following the example of Rubens, had given it," but with him, "a landscape was, first of all, the work of a colorist, and depended upon harmonies of light and color for its hold upon the spectator. Effect was its law, and it was beyond reproach if it pleased." Thus, "an emotional manner of painting, the rules of which were imposed by feeling and not by reason; a manner careful of appearances and of the pleasure of the eye, in which drawing and 'correctness' were subordinated to color; a method of handling rather brilliant and audacious than solid;—this was what England was ready to reveal to David-ruled France." And this was what the young men of romantic temper, fed upon the poetry of Hugo and Musset, tired of repression and rigid correctness, yearning for liberty of expression and for painting that should again be a warm and living art, were ready to accept as a revelation. M. Rosenthal does not admit that the English school exercised any very direct influence on French landscape painters, finding that influence

much more pronounced in the case of Delacroix and the figure painters; and, indeed, Rousseau and Corot came to the front rather later, and the direct influence of Ruysdael and of Claude is clearer in their work than is that of Constable. But it cannot be doubted that what is known as the Barbizon school was a result of the Romantic revolution, which, in its turn, was largely determined by the British influence; and so it happened that while painting in England was degenerating into anecdotage, and finally going off on the wild goose chase of Pre-Raphaelism, the greatest work of the nineteenth century in art was being done by men who owed their starting point to the influence of England. And this work was quite invisible to England's high priest of beauty, John Ruskin.

The Romantic movement in art was woven of many strands, and there is necessarily a great deal in M. Rosenthal's book that deals with other things than the influence of British art. He begins with an able exposition of the æsthetic principles of the school of David, and of their almost universal sway, while showing that even at the height of David's powers there were original men, like Prudhon, who escaped his influence, and that there were signs of the approaching change even in David's own work, as when he painted the "Coronation of Napoleon" or his admirable portraits. He then discusses an influence as important as that exercised by English painting in preparing the revolution, that of the masterpieces accumulated in the Louvre by Bonaparte. His second book takes up the account of the fight, and is followed by others dealing with the nature of the Romantic movement itself and with the principal figures in either camp. Finally the mingled failure and success of the movement is discussed, and it is pointed out that the Academic school was never really conquered, but still holds its place to-day as the officially recognized art of France. By dismissing Delaroche, Scheffer, and others as "*pseudo-romantiques*," M. Rosenthal makes out a very good case for his contention that the mediævalism of contemporary literature and the Romantic treatment of subject had really little to do with the essential part of the revolution in

Painting. The book ends with lists of the principal pictures of the salons of the Restoration and of the principal pictures of this period to be seen in Paris, and an index of artists' names. It is an exhaustive essay on an important episode in art history, and one would like to see it translated for the benefit of such students of art as have no French.

THE BASES OF CHINESE SOCIETY¹

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The causes of the perpetuity of Chinese society have long been rather a favorite subject of speculation among European philosophers. It must be confessed that the results of their inquiries have contributed extremely little either to our understanding of that society or to an explanation of its extraordinary endurance. Other great nations of antiquity, after giving the laws to the rest of mankind for longer or shorter periods, have succumbed to the attacks of fresher races and disappeared; China alone, though repeatedly invaded and twice wholly conquered, has survived and absorbed her conquerors, remaining to-day as vigorous and homogeneous as ever she was in the past. The basic element of this national strength is probably to be found in those political institutions which, though far older than Confucius, it was his work to glorify into a semi-religious code and impress upon the soul of the people. The framework of the state has existed long enough to have molded the people to its maintenance. In order, therefore, to comprehend its further development, the student of sociology must be called upon to furnish data for the study of the habits and organization of this race, which, more than all others in the world's history, has learned the art of self-rule. For this purpose Dr. Smith's two volumes are of the highest service, supplying not

(1) *Chinese Characteristics*. By Arthur H. Smith. New and enlarged edition with marginal and new illustrations 1900. 8vo., pp. 342.

Village Life in China: A Study in Sociology. By the same author. 1899. 8vo., pp. 323. New York: Fleming H. Revell Company.

only materials selected at first hand from the welter of habits and customs, but comments and explanations by an acute and trained observer. It would, in fact, be hard to overpraise the quality of these remarkable human documents, which are hardly equaled in kind by anything to be found in the whole literature of sociology.

With these luminous essays as authoritative material, it might be an interesting occupation to construct a theory of Chinese society. The operation is much too formidable a task to be attempted in these few pages, and if it were done, we ought, of course, in fairness, to call on other witnesses before reaching a conclusion. Yet even a tentative hypothesis is useful, and we may perhaps construct a working theory on the evidence we have before us.

In the first place, society here is established on a strictly ethical basis with none of those inspiring impulses born of religious or patriotic emotion that have elsewhere transfused and uplifted the human mass. By extending the simple concept of filial piety to its utmost limits, the individual is trained from infancy to the grave to a habit of obedience and to an acknowledgment of his superiors in every rank of life, which make for order and stability. It is hard to convey to the mind of an Occidental the wide application given by the Chinese to this term. Rather curiously, obedience does not necessarily include the notion of a child's ready response to his parent's commands in petty domestic affairs, for children there are often pertinacious, and seem to have no proper discipline. But they are none the less absolutely subject to their parents' will, not in youth only, but all their lives. They are expressly taught, we are told, "that a defect of any virtue, when traced to its root, is a lack of filial piety. He who violates propriety is deficient in filial conduct. He who serves his prince but is not loyal lacks filial piety. He who is a magistrate without due respect for his duties is lacking in filial piety." In this broad sense the doctrine seems also to stand sponsor for the idea of respect for the law. Compliance with authoritative orders among the Chinese is not a matter for discussions which may lead to considerations on the rights of man.

It has the nature of military rather than of political sanction in the community, and accounts at once for their dogged acceptance of very arbitrary rulers and for their absence of public spirit. Politics are, in fact, never a subject of debate, even among educated men—"Those in authority are paid to charge themselves with these things," they say.

So it happens that the most democratic of peoples is content to live under the most absolute of despotisms. But the Chinese state proves that democracy may be a very real element in the constitution of the people without modifying in the least their autocratic form of government. It is with the Chinese a talent for coöperation, that often bears hard, indeed, on the individual, high or low, but that teaches self-reliance to the community, defends it from a thousand chances of disaster when corrupt officials break down, and offers stubborn and effectual resistance when oppression begins to surpass endurance. The most striking exemplification of this principle may be found in their government of small communities, which, in their way, are as interesting subjects for consideration to the economic student as the Indian and Teutonic village. Here the headmen constitute the body from which all initiative comes and through which action is taken in carrying out the orders of the district magistrate. If the manner of their selection is primitive and uncertain, the headmen are none the less established in authority, and are factors of the first importance in the affairs of the villagers. Their number "has no relation to the size of the village; the position is not hereditary, neither is there any fixed time of service. A man may act in this capacity at one time and refuse or neglect to do so at another. They drop into their places—or perhaps climb into them—by a kind of natural selection. The qualities which fit a villager to act as headman are the same which contribute to success in any line of business." Nothing is too petty for these men to take up, while nothing is so grave that they can shift the burden upon the shoulders of others on the plea of incompetence. Among Orientals, codes of law still retain their application equally to forms of government, jurisprudence, and relations between

individuals; so the business of officials necessarily involves attention to family disputes and trifling ruptures, which in the West form no part of their responsibilities. The result of these indefinite powers of interference and control assumed by village headmen is often evil, but the essentially democratic idea upon which the system rests has been the saving element in times of disruption. It is applied in the shape of guilds and secret societies to every human activity, and is the controlling factor in ordering and preserving solidarity among Chinese emigrants in uncivilized or hostile countries. This habit of combination is the main cause of Chinese solidarity.

A third factor of material importance in its effect on Chinese society is its treatment of women. If Freeman was right in considering monogamy one of the four institutions which differentiate the secular development of European society from that of the East, we must allow the Chinese conception of woman's place in the body politic to be a feature of vital concern in our estimate of his civilization. Her inferiority to man has been a postulate of every ancient society and is not peculiar to China. It was conceded by Confucius, whose want of originality prevented him from withholding his sanction to the ancient verse:—

“When a girl is born, in a coarse cloth wound,
With a tile for a toy, let her lie on the ground.
In her bread and her beer be her praise or her blame,
And let her not sully her parents' good name,”—

and thereby perpetuating an age-old injustice. It is not enough to speculate on the demoralization, the one-sidedness, which society suffers from depriving one half its members from opportunity for normal development; one must see and study an Eastern community in order to understand the far-reaching mischief due to this custom. From it spring the callousness to suffering, the indifference to suicide and infanticide, the continuance of slavery, and a multitude of other ills characteristic of China. The hardships endured by women are, after all, only part and parcel of the hard life of the people, but their seclusion, repression, and

neglect tend to make callous the heart of a nation and materially reduce its capacity for higher development. That the Chinese treatment of woman is not quite so bad as in some other parts of Asia is due entirely to the women themselves. Though in theory always children, they can occasionally induce their own families to intervene in case of outrageous treatment by their husbands; more often they can use their tongues, and if by constant practice they become nearly perfect in the art of obstreperousness, they may actually rule the household. Dr. Smith ascribes their inferior position in China, as do others, to the influence of Confucianism, but while this must be acknowledged as a mighty factor in their fate, it remains true that their miseries are even greater in Mohammedan Asia. The case against the sage cannot be considered as altogether proven, though the necessity of progeny by whom ancestral worship may be continued is the direct cause of early marriages, over-production of children, the consequent congestion of population, and the practice of female infanticide. Yet in Ancient Egypt there was the same religious mandate for offspring to maintain the worship of ancestral spirits, and we hear of no habit there of destroying the superfluous infants.

Whatever may be alleged against Confucius on the score of his contempt for womankind, he must certainly be credited with imbuing his countrymen with a desire for education and a deep veneration for learning. This feature of Chinese society, being probably the most familiar to foreign students, needs less comment here than some others, but its importance in maintaining China in her preëminent place in the East can scarcely be over-emphasized. China alone among the nations has established a true aristocracy of learning, and whatever its faults, past and present, it must be conceded to be a better basis for the division of society than that of birth or membership in religious orders. By their system of restricting admission to the governing class to those who have passed the literary examination, the Chinese have secured the advantages of a democratic principle that recruits its office-holders from the ablest minds in the land. As intellectual

pabulum, the Chinese classics are jejune in the extreme, and scarcely anything more arduous and less profitable than the process of school-training, described in an admirable chapter on "Village Schools and Traveling Scholars," could be imagined by a Western student. Nevertheless, the system is capable of indefinite extension and improvement to fit new needs and desires, while the habits of close application developed by a hundred generations of scholars may, when properly directed, produce an intellectual result of transcendent importance to mankind. With an institution like the Chinese examination system and with mental material like their scholarly class to work upon, we should not grudge them a few years, or even a few generations, of preparation for the great transformation which the future will inevitably bring.

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Undoubtedly the present crisis in the affairs of China is one of extreme peril to the nation. The state has been grossly and terribly mismanaged, while an economic revolution has transformed the producing capacity of other countries lying far beyond her ken. The price of her redemption from the evils that encompass her must be the sacrifice of her pride and the renunciation of many of her ancient ideals. But no faithful student of Chinese life can escape the conviction that, despite grave faults and evident deterioration, there is sturdy material here for the erection of a really great civilization, and sufficient potential energy to preserve it to a distant future. When these bases of Chinese society shall have been regenerated by the introduction of some high spiritual conceptions, their long training in obedience, self-reliance, love of order, and contentedness, their habit of industry, and their indomitable cheerfulness will reestablish them in the supreme position which this long-lived race has often occupied in the past. The very best argument for the support of Christian missions in China is the study of the Chinese people. "The only method by which such beings," observes our author, "can be rescued from their torpor is by a transfusion of a new life which shall reveal to them the sublime truth uttered by the ancient patriarch, 'There is a spirit in man,' for only thus is it that 'the inspiration of the Almighty giveth them understanding.'"

only materials selected at first hand from the welter of habits and customs, but comments and explanations by an acute and trained observer. It would, in fact, be hard to overpraise the quality of these remarkable human documents, which are hardly equaled in kind by anything to be found in the whole literature of sociology.

With these luminous essays as authoritative material, it might be an interesting occupation to construct a theory of Chinese society. The operation is much too formidable a task to be attempted in these few pages, and if it were done, we ought, of course, in fairness, to call on other witnesses before reaching a conclusion. Yet even a tentative hypothesis is useful, and we may perhaps construct a working theory on the evidence we have before us.

In the first place, society here is established on a strictly ethical basis with none of those inspiring impulses born of religious or patriotic emotion that have elsewhere transfused and uplifted the human mass. By extending the simple concept of filial piety to its utmost limits, the individual is trained from infancy to the grave to a habit of obedience and to an acknowledgment of his superiors in every rank of life, which make for order and stability. It is hard to convey to the mind of an Occidental the wide application given by the Chinese to this term. Rather curiously, obedience does not necessarily include the notion of a child's ready response to his parent's commands in petty domestic affairs, for children there are often pertinacious, and seem to have no proper discipline. But they are none the less absolutely subject to their parents' will, not in youth only, but all their lives. They are expressly taught, we are told, "that a defect of any virtue, when traced to its root, is a lack of filial piety. He who violates propriety is deficient in filial conduct. He who serves his prince but is not loyal lacks filial piety. He who is a magistrate without due respect for his duties is lacking in filial piety." In this broad sense the doctrine seems also to stand sponsor for the idea of respect for the law. Compliance with authoritative orders among the Chinese is not a matter for discussions which may lead to considerations on the rights of man.

It has the nature of military rather than of political sanction in the community, and accounts at once for their dogged acceptance of very arbitrary rulers and for their absence of public spirit. Politics are, in fact, never a subject of debate, even among educated men—"Those in authority are paid to charge themselves with these things," they say.

So it happens that the most democratic of peoples is content to live under the most absolute of despotisms. But the Chinese state proves that democracy may be a very real element in the constitution of the people without modifying in the least their autocratic form of government. It is with the Chinese a talent for coöperation, that often bears hard, indeed, on the individual, high or low, but that teaches self-reliance to the community, defends it from a thousand chances of disaster when corrupt officials break down, and offers stubborn and effectual resistance when oppression begins to surpass endurance. The most striking exemplification of this principle may be found in their government of small communities, which, in their way, are as interesting subjects for consideration to the economic student as the Indian and Teutonic village. Here the headmen constitute the body from which all initiative comes and through which action is taken in carrying out the orders of the district magistrate. If the manner of their selection is primitive and uncertain, the headmen are none the less established in authority, and are factors of the first importance in the affairs of the villagers. Their number "has no relation to the size of the village; the position is not hereditary, neither is there any fixed time of service. A man may act in this capacity at one time and refuse or neglect to do so at another. They drop into their places—or perhaps climb into them—by a kind of natural selection. The qualities which fit a villager to act as headman are the same which contribute to success in any line of business." Nothing is too petty for these men to take up, while nothing is so grave that they can shift the burden upon the shoulders of others on the plea of incompetence. Among Orientals, codes of law still retain their application equally to forms of government, jurisprudence, and relations between

individuals; so the business of officials necessarily involves attention to family disputes and trifling ruptures, which in the West form no part of their responsibilities. The result of these indefinite powers of interference and control assumed by village headmen is often evil, but the essentially democratic idea upon which the system rests has been the saving element in times of disruption. It is applied in the shape of guilds and secret societies to every human activity, and is the controlling factor in ordering and preserving solidarity among Chinese emigrants in uncivilized or hostile countries. This habit of combination is the main cause of Chinese solidarity.

A third factor of material importance in its effect on Chinese society is its treatment of women. If Freeman was right in considering monogamy one of the four institutions which differentiate the secular development of European society from that of the East, we must allow the Chinese conception of woman's place in the body politic to be a feature of vital concern in our estimate of his civilization. Her inferiority to man has been a postulate of every ancient society and is not peculiar to China. It was conceded by Confucius, whose want of originality prevented him from withholding his sanction to the ancient verse:—

“When a girl is born, in a coarse cloth wound,
With a tile for a toy, let her lie on the ground.
In her bread and her beer be her praise or her blame,
And let her not sully her parents' good name,”—

and thereby perpetuating an age-old injustice. It is not enough to speculate on the demoralization, the one-sidedness, which society suffers from depriving one half its members from opportunity for normal development; one must see and study an Eastern community in order to understand the far-reaching mischief due to this custom. From it spring the callousness to suffering, the indifference to suicide and infanticide, the continuance of slavery, and a multitude of other ills characteristic of China. The hardships endured by women are, after all, only part and parcel of the hard life of the people, but their seclusion, repression, and

neglect tend to make callous the heart of a nation and materially reduce its capacity for higher development. That the Chinese treatment of woman is not quite so bad as in some other parts of Asia is due entirely to the women themselves. Though in theory always children, they can occasionally induce their own families to intervene in case of outrageous treatment by their husbands; more often they can use their tongues, and if by constant practice they become nearly perfect in the art of obstreperousness, they may actually rule the household. Dr. Smith ascribes their inferior position in China, as do others, to the influence of Confucianism, but while this must be acknowledged as a mighty factor in their fate, it remains true that their miseries are even greater in Mohammedan Asia. The case against the sage cannot be considered as altogether proven, though the necessity of progeny by whom ancestral worship may be continued is the direct cause of early marriages, over-production of children, the consequent congestion of population, and the practice of female infanticide. Yet in Ancient Egypt there was the same religious mandate for offspring to maintain the worship of ancestral spirits, and we hear of no habit there of destroying the superfluous infants.

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THE NEW POETRY IN FRANCE¹

GUSTAVE LANSON, *Paris.*

When Victor Hugo, in 1885, took his leave of the world amid an apotheosis, it seemed as if he had carried French Poetry with him. Their ancestor gone, the generations who came after him felt that they were, indeed, already very old. Banville, Leconte de Lisle, Sully Prudhomme, Coppée,—all those who, for the last thirty years, had struck new chords no longer had anything to say, and could only repeat themselves. They still published beautiful verses, but their models were known. That air of youth and novelty was lacking in their finest things which once pervaded them.

Poetry, which gave no indications of progress, seemed in its last throes. And, after all, was not its day past? There were not wanting people who really believed this; some praising and others cursing the age of science in which poetry could not live.

Meanwhile, Verlaine, of the Parnassian school, in his "Sagesse," (1881) had finally broken with his fellow Parnassians, and a group of young men, the true "Jeunes," were entering upon the scene. Between 1885 and 1888 there were published the "Complaintes" of Jules Laforgue, "Les Syrtes" and "Cantilènes" of Moréas, Arthur Rimbaud's "Illuminations," the "Palais Nomades" of Gustave Kahn, Stuart Merrill's "Les Gammes," Viélé-Griffin's "Les Cygnes" and "Ancæus," and "Les Episodes" and "Les Sites" by Henri de Régnier. In both

(1) Translated by Miss Susan Hillis Taber, Burlington, Vt.

France and Belgium a new art was being ushered in through the numerous reviews and organs of as many different clubs and schools: "La Vogue," the "Revue indépendante," the "Revue Wagnérienne," "L'Ermitage," the "Revue Blanche," and "La Wallonie." The "decadent" or "symbolist" poetry, the "polymorphous" verse,—whimsical, alluring, and striking names,—was praised, explained, and practiced with a sincere and violent zeal. A tumultuous and furious effort was made to put the rusty chariot of French poetry into running order again, and to start it in roads unknown to both Romanticist and Parnassian. But all this life was spending its agitated being underground, as it were, in the basement of literature, and the noise did not carry to the general public on the street. The "Déliquescences" of Adoré Floupette¹ scarcely caused the journalists to smile, even for a moment, and many of them, indeed, could not at first decide whether they had before them an essay by a sincere and original writer, or a parody by some facetious "crank."

Little by little, however, the critics of the first magnitude began to perceive that this younger generation was heartily bestirring itself, and they endeavored to discover what it was about. M. Jules Lemaitre,² at once both charmed and offended by Verlaine, set him apart from the other young men who called themselves symbolists; their obscurity startled him, and he feared lest he might be the dupe of a band of mystifiers. M. Brunetière³ rebuked the foolish extravagancies of the innovators, but not without a certain pleased forbearance at seeing their movement fall in so well with his own doctrine. A slight discussion arose over a book by Charles Morice, "La Littérature de tout à l'heure," in which the programme of the new art was set forth in terms that were fairly intelligible. And then suddenly, in 1891, as if in obedience to an order, all the journals and magazines

(1) By Gabriel Vicaire and Henri Beauclair, 1885.

(2) *Revue Bleue*, Jan. 1, 1888. In 1888 there also appeared "Nos poètes" by Jules Tellier; but the public at large did not know Tellier, as he was one of the younger writers.

(3) *Revue des Deux Mondes*, Nov. 1, 1888, *Symbolistes et Décadents*

began to occupy themselves with the question of symbolism. M. Brunetière in the "Revue des Deux Mondes,"¹ M. Anatole France in the "Temps,"² M. Psichari in the "Revue Bleue,"³ and M. Huret in his sixty-four interviews, which appeared in the "Figaro,"⁴ made Verlaine and Mallarmé, the free verse and symbolism fashionable, made them the forced material for conversation at the dinner of the "bourgeois." Symbolism and the symbolists became a *living topic*, one of these Parisian curiosities of which the provincial or stranger is ashamed not to have heard. A Dutchman, W. G. C. Byvanck, who came to Paris at the time, went in search of the poetry of the future, seeking it in the wine-shops of Montmartre and the Latin Quarter, and published his discoveries in a curious book.⁵ Finally, in 1893, an editor was bold enough to offer the public a selection of the works of Stéphane Mallarmé;⁶ and a most significant fact is that he made money by the venture.

But the "Jeunes" had not yet carried the day. The public observed them, and that was all. But the inclinations of this public were singular indeed; beneath the snobbery that was content with showing that it was up to date, there was a curious mixture of amused scoffing and routine in revolt, of cautious scepticism and timid respect. And what was more marked than any other sentiment, an amazement at not understanding, in close touch with the secret desire that there might be nothing there to understand. The critics and reporters confused the public rather than enlightened it; the critics, in order to win sure triumphs for themselves in the doctrinal discussion, and the reporters that they might give spice to their copy, applied themselves to bringing to

(1) *Le Symbolisme Contemporain*, April 1, 1891.

(2) *Vie littéraire*, April 19, Aug. 16 and 30, and also *Les jeunes poètes, notices et extraits*, Sept. and Oct.

(3) *Le vers français et les poètes décadents*, June 16, 1891.

(4) *Enquête sur l'évolution littéraire*, 1891.

(5) *Un Hollandais à Paris en 1891*, published by Perrin et Cie, 1892.

(6) *Vers et prose*, Perrin et Cie.

the light all that was most obscure and unreasonable in the works and formulas of symbolism, all that was most eccentric and immoral in the manners and lives of the symbolists themselves. Without quoting Verlaine's beautiful poems, they pointed out his mask of a faun, his Bohemian fashions, his strange lodgings, his debauches, hospitals, and prisons; they drew for the "bourgeois" the disquieting sketch of a man, now dependent on public assistance and now a victim of the laws relative to misdemeanors; they represented him as a drunkard, a vagabond, almost as an assassin. The life of Mallarmé was too simple and modest to be related; so they brought forward his poetry :—

" Le vierge, le vivace et le bel aujourd'hui
Va-t-il nous déchirer avec un coup d'aile ivre
Ce lac dur oublié que hante sous le givre
Le transparent glacier des vols qui n'ont pas fui!"¹

What could a reformation be worth in the eyes of sensible men which placed itself under the standard of Verlaine, a shameful drunkard, or of Mallarmé, a maker of riddles?—a reformation extolled by so many unknowns with foreign names. These proud enemies of tradition, these Belgians,² Americans,³ Slavs,⁴ Greeks,⁵ and Jews,⁶—were these indeed competent doctors for French poetry and the French language? And were there no consequences to be feared from this assault delivered by all the nations at once upon the ancestral genius of our race?

In the nebulous enthusiasm and apocalyptic solemnity of the accounts given of their doctrine, one thing only was clearly shown, that all these reformers of poetry and verse did not agree with each other. Marie Krysinska, René Ghil, Gustave Kahn, and Jean Moréas,—all worked in their own way for the salva-

(1) See Brunetière, *Revue des Deux Mondes*, Nov. 1, 1888.

(2) Mockel, Maeterlinck, Rodenbach, Verhaeren.

(3) Stuart Merrill, Viélé-Griffin.

(4) Marie Krysinska. (5) Moréas.

(6) Ephraim Mikhael, Gustave Kahn.

tion of French poetry, and if Charles Morice crowned them all one after another, Robert de Souza condemned them all in a lump in the name of his own pet theory,¹ which he held to be the only true one; and Jean Moréas, who had baptized symbolism, denied it, and in its place founded what he termed "la Poésie Romane."²

The wiser minds also began to ask themselves whether there was not more advertisement than infatuation in this pompous display of formulas. Among these symbolists, these decadents, these Romanticists, were found a few of the younger generation who wrote their poetry noisily in the old way, the Parnassian or Lamartine school of verse. It was, indeed, a case of new labels on very old merchandise. At bottom, was it not simply the younger generation bidding the older depart,—in their own hurry to take their place? Were these not new men who desired to come forward rather than a new art?

For once, the wiser ones were wrong. There is no doubt of this to-day. We have passed the time when M. Brunetière believed himself obliged to warn us that "the value of the critical ideas of our symbolists was entirely independent of that of their works."³ The works have come, of a real value, and often of the very first order; to-day they commend the theories by which M. Brunetière formerly excused them. Out of this indistinct, tumultuous crowd of young poets, whom M. Anatole France placed all upon the same level, in 1891, have emerged many original and superior talents: MM. Henri de Régnier, Viélé-Griffin, Rodenbach, Samain, Verhaeren, and to these must be added Fernand Gregh. I might name many others who have succeeded in creating something of note.⁴ But let us not be severe even on the mediocrities,

(1) In an essay on *Rythme poétique*, very original and instructive, although it does not give full evidence.

(2) Byvanck, p. 85.

(3) *Revue des Deux Mondes*, April 1, 1891.

(4) See the Anthology published by Ad. Van Bever and Paul Leautaud: *Poètes d'aujourd'hui*, 1900.

the failures; no attempt has been lost. The unsuccessful ones marked out the path over which the famous have trodden, and the extravagant quest of the impossible has determined the boundaries of the field of the possible.

Success came with talent; the new poetry is at home among the pages of the "Revue des Deux Mondes" and the "Revue de Paris." The French Academy has crowned the symbolists,¹ and even lines of fourteen syllables, or rather the volume which contains them.² Sometime in the early years of the present century, Adoré Floupette will sit down among the Forty.

This crisis that the bourgeois public and its critics believed to be the final agony of French poetry was, in fine, nothing but a crisis in its development. The time has come for us to study this development. I shall pass over the individual characteristics, the divergencies, and contradictions of the new school, that I may confine myself more closely to its common tendencies and its general results. I should like to show by what means, and by what efforts, French poetry, which sixty years of glorious production threatened to leave petrified in a condition of deadly inactivity, gained the impetus necessary for its life.

I. THE INSPIRATION.

I shall not stop to tell of what influences, towards 1885, urged so many of the younger generation to conceive the ambitious hope of creating a new form of poetry. Naturalism was struggling in its last throes,³ and with it the Parnassian poetry, its contemporary and ally. Science seemed to have done in literature all that it was capable of doing; we were weary of it. Idealism was springing up once more. The soul and the mysterious were all the fashion. Against the living masters of literature, they

(1) Samain, *Au Jardin de l'Infante*.

(2) Gregh, *La Maison de l'Enfance*.

(3) It was in 1887 that M. Zola was disowned in a resounding manifesto by a certain number of young novelists, among them M. Paul Margueritte.

invoked the dead, eccentrics, or foreigners. Lamartine, Vigny, Baudelaire, Villiers de l'Isle Adam,—all had their chapels; Tolstoï, Ibsen, Björnson, and, later, Nietzsche, were confusedly, frantically applauded. We became enamored of artists who by relief or color desired to give other than the real and earthly: Puvis de Chavannes, Gustave Moreau, Rodin, Burne-Jones, the Pre-Raphaelites. We revered Ruskin; we applauded the painters who endeavored to render by more subtle characters whatever was more variable, intangible, and well-nigh immaterial in the life of nature,—the independents and impressionists. Wagner was deified as the great musician of the soul and of the ideal, and also because the “bourgeois” had not yet become resigned to him. In a word, one part of the younger generation needed something different from the official literature which was enthroned in the Academy, which was decorated by the government, and which sold at an advantageous rate. Shaken by an inner need, and excited by influences from without, the men of the younger generation who felt within them the inclination to write in verse rejected all the poetry of the time in its form and inmost content.

To tell the truth, it was not easy to remodel the very basis of lyric poetry, which is, and can only be, the reaction of an individual consciousness against the universe and against life, the manifestation of the fundamental problems of the universe and of life in the original vibrations of a soul. There are differences of intensity and quality in lyric inspiration, but the source is everywhere and always the same.

The Romanticists had fully understood this; they had all sounded the mystery of human existence in writing the journal of their own life; they had all told of human suffering in their own suffering. All the particular accidents of their humor and of their existence were grouped around eternal ideas,—God and nature, love and death, humanity and progress.

The Parnassians had not really placed lyricism upon new ground. That there was in Leconte de Lisle a deeply bruised sensibility in relation with a personal conception of the universe

and of life; that there was in Sully Prudhomme an original sentimentality, a subjective perception of the relations between man and things,—no longer needs demonstration. As for the third star in the Parnassian Pleiades, M. Coppée, he escapes personality only by the commonplace; and because his soul is that of every man is the reason he does not appear to reveal it in his poetry.

But the Parnassians had desired to work in a direction exactly opposed to that of Romanticism. If they had not been able to dry up within themselves the personal source, without which there is no lyricism, they hindered it from flowing forth in their poetry into the broad light of day; they made it to run in underground rivulets. Impressed by the positive and critical minds of the middle of the century, the contemporaries of Taine and of Flaubert, they desired to create an objective poetry, picturesque or philosophical, which should reflect natural or historical realities and rational truths. Scenes from the past, landscapes, popular customs, psychological analyses, ethical exposition,—they put all the sensible and all the intelligible world into their works; they sought, with haughty impassiveness or methodical abstraction or impersonal vulgarity, to put everything into their art except themselves.

It was against this doctrine, after it had produced the best works that it contained, that the symbolists reacted. Supported by two Romanticists of a later time,—by Banville, a capricious juggler with rhythm, without rule or reason for his fantasy, and by Baudelaire, an exasperated pessimist, absorbed in the culture of an abnormal sensibility,—but pursuing, in reality, an entirely different aim from Banville and Baudelaire, they rebelled against the Parnassian school and reestablished the reign of the soul in poetry. They reopened it to the subjective affirmations of the absolute and the unknowable.

Mr. Charles Morice, in attributing to Edgar Allan Poe the "lyric sense of science," explains himself thus: "Art will touch Science with her foot, that she may feel in her the certainty of a solid foundation, and, then, with a bound, will leap over her upon

the wings of Intuition.”¹ “Poets and thinkers,” he exclaims, in another connection, “we hear the winds of mystery which pour forth from the heart of phenomena, and we move towards light, towards life * * *. To some this joy (of enthusiasm) will come as an intuition of genius before the face of Nature; they let the simple and sumptuous law of Forms and eternal Emotions sing in their work; to others all the resources of human wisdom * * * will be necessary, and the latter, more particularly the servants of the Evangel of harmonious relations and the laws of Analogy, will give in vast syntheses, according to the strength of their minds and their heart’s good faith, a melodious and luminous explanation of the mysteries that are glorified in the reality of Fiction.”²

M. Moréas by offering to the reader in his poems “a sentimental ideology”;³ M. Gustave Kahn, rather more obscurely, by assigning to the “great subjects” the office of “celebrating the fundamental rites of Life and of the Intelligence”;⁴ M. Mallarmé by giving to verse that “evocative art ‘par excellence,’” the power of illuminating the “pure of ourselves borne by ourselves, always ready to burst forth on occasion, but which in existence or outside of art never attains to an adequate expression”;⁵ M. René Ghil by urging “the lyric and meditative poet” to extract “the Idea which is alone important” from the “ordinary thousand visions in which it, the Immortal, is disseminated,” to revise from negligible realities “the holy lines” of which he will compose “the only worthy vision, the real and suggestive Symbol,”⁶—all these, in their many ways, promulgate the same doctrine.

(1) *Littérature de tout à l’heure*, p. 203. See as to this question my essay entitled “La Littérature et la Science” in “Hommes et Livres.”

(2) *Ibid.*, pp. 61-67.

(3) *Le Pélerin passionné*.

(4) *Premiers poèmes, Préface*.

(5) *Vers et prose, Cérémonials*, p. 196.

(6) *Traité du verbe*.

M. Jules Lemaitre,¹ after having quoted the oracular lines of René Ghil, added, "But does it not seem to you that we have a slight suspicion of these things already?" Assuredly we have, but assuredly also many acted as if they did not. The symbolists retold an old truth, but the Parnassians had rendered it necessary to retell it. Poetry, for a long time, had entered into competition with the arts which copied, and with the sciences which analyzed exterior things, such as they were outside of the soul and without union with the soul. It busied itself with painting, with sculpture, with history, with the novel of manners, with the physical and the philosophical. Now it returned to the expression of ideal realities and of the interior life. All nature, all history, all life, were now only occasions for the poet to show his true being, its most peculiar and its most invisible modifications. All their images were but projections of the soul.

Soul, everywhere Soul! But this decadent and symbolistic soul, how far removed was it from the old *ego*, the solid and square *ego*, which thrusts back the *non-ego*, and which the *non-ego* circumscribes. Amalgamating the newest hypotheses of certain physiologists with the pseudo-sciences of the supersensuous and with the reveries of dreamer and seer, mingling hypnotism, telepathy, spiritism, occultism, and mysticism,—symbolism transforms the traditional representation of the relations between nature and man; it gives birth to a strange, intense, and awe-inspiring perception. The universe penetrates the soul and the soul is diffused throughout the universe; vague and impossible to determine is the limit which separates the two. By conceivable correspondences nature and the *ego* are bound together; far beyond this arises common sensation; and the brutal contour of things is enveloped in a mist of harmonic impressions. The life of nature and the life of the soul, the life of the body and the life of the spirit, melt into each other; there are insensible and manifold passages from the object to the subject, from the material to the spiritual, from the conscious to the unconscious. No-

(1) *Revue Bleue*, June 1, 1888.

where discontinuity, limit, or stop; nothing is distinct nor remains fixed. The world of the intelligence and of the senses is but the superficial level, the moving reflection of the invisible world, where life is. There is no other reality than the ideal forms in which the soul both attains to the essence of things and realizes its own essence; both being otherwise unattainable. This turn of the mind evidently obliged the symbolist poet to describe nature in an entirely different way from his predecessors.

For a century poetry had tended towards making its descriptions more and more truthful and local. Victor Hugo and Théophile Gautier had passed from an imaginary landscape to the landscape as they saw it; even in Lamartine the evolution had been made from the attenuated locality of the "Méditations" to the more carefully defined locality of "Jocelyn." The Parnassian school had offered us a splendid collection of historical, ethnographical, and geographical paintings; every image was a precise fact, and all proper accidents for characterizing time and place were strongly accentuated. In the new poetry the indefinite was the law. No detail of the landscape might give it time or place. It is *a moment, somewhere*; an extract from the complexity, a summing up of the multiplicity of the real; it was made up of the universal elements of nature and things.

Formerly painters of interiors and landscape took for subjects particular and finished things, and endeavored by exact portrayal to make a solid and distinct reality stand forth; to-day real objects, means rather than ends, serve to render sensible the manifold accidents of air and light. It is all the divine poem of air and light that the modern painter proposes to celebrate. Poetry has followed the evolution of painting. It emphasizes less the precise contours and local circumstances which make up the real object, than the eternal properties peculiar to the material of which the object is a casual example, and than the everlasting laws of life which write themselves for a moment in the subject. In the woods and fields and mountains Viélé-Griffin did not per-

ceive Touraine or Tuscany,¹ but the hour and the season, the mobile picture laid upon things by eternal time. The sea of M. de Régnier² is not the sea of Jersey or of Gascony; it is the Sea, the circuit of innumerable billows, in which is expressed an incomprehensible fluidity,—the universal essence of the water. The moment and the movement, this is what the symbolist painter translates. He shows life in things rather than the things themselves. He is the painter of the eternal continuity through fleeting forms. And this is the first period of the transformation in the poetical landscape.

Now comes the second. The artist who expressed the individual stability of things separated them from himself just in the proportion that he distinguished them among themselves. The poet who sees in the universe the continual unfolding of the elementary nature does not abstract himself from the universal life. It penetrates his soul and is reflected in it. He sees things in himself:—

“ Debout, appuyé d’une main
A quelque pierre des temps anciens,
Je sentais cette vie en moi,
Et que je créais tout cela—
La ville, le lac, les faîtes blancs—
Du grand regard de mes vingt ans.”³

And these things are the poet himself. He throws his whole self into his feeling of them. “Have you not understood,” asked M. de Régnier of his readers, “that these medallions that I model are not the frivolous play of my fantasy?”—

“ Que tout le grand songe terrestre
Vivait en moi pour vivre en eux,
Que je gravais aux métaux pieux
Mes Dieux,
Et qu’ils étaient le visage vivant
De ce que nous avons senti des roses,

(1) See *Cueille d’Avril, Joies, Les Cygnes*.

(2) *Médailles d’Argile, Apparition*, p. 114.

(3) Viélé-Griffin, *Les Cygnes, (Le Fossoyeur), Poèmes et Poésies*, p. 251.

De l'eau, du vent,
 De la forêt et de la mer,
 De toutes choses
 En notre chair,
 Et qu'ils sont nous divinement ?"¹

From this comes the flowing lightness, the hazy transparency of the symbolist descriptions, in which things assume an ideal appearance, and have the air of things in a dream, impalpable, imponderable.

A third period is soon passed over. If things are in us, are ourselves, what need for the description to be objectively complete and consistent? The poet's aim is not to construct the universe. It matters little to him to illumine only incoherent fragments of exterior reality, if it is only in these fragments that the life of his soul is passed.

Here we lay hold upon the principle of the desultory character, the obscurity, the awkwardness, of certain descriptions in recent poetry.

But also what expressive depth, what living vibrations will be within the reach of the landscape! Each picturesque note causes the resonance of a sentimental harmony. In perceiving the life in things the poet tells of the relation between his soul and life:—

INSTANT.

“Une étoile fleurit, pâle dans le ciel bleu ;
 De l'infini, légère et vague, la nuit pleut.
 Sur le fleuve, là bas, dans la brume sereine
 Un bateau longuement fait pleurer sa sirène.
 Un pas doux va et vient dans la chambre à côté,
 C'est elle, l'âme élue et la sœur de bonté.
 Je travaille, je suis sans regret, sans ennui,
 Il fait triste, il fait doux. Rien de plus. C'est la vie.”²

(1) *Médailles d'Argile*, p. 15.

(2) Gregh, *La Beauté de vivre*, p. 155. The landscapes also of Viélé-Griffin (“*Poèmes et Poésies*”) are generally the revelation of life in the soul of the poet.

This, at first, seems to be a Dutch picture, secluded and refined, a dimly lighted chamber with a window opened on the deep country,—"Rien de plus." But the poet adds three words, "C'est la vie." How much more profound does the impression then become! In the fleeting moment the aspect of eternity is found. The soul during this moment has recognized the taste of life, the essential savor that is always distilled for the soul from the limitless diversity of experiences. Consequently the picture unites the two extreme notes of particularity and universality; it becomes symbolic, and this is the last stage, in which description and sentiment blend with each other in a unique and homogeneous form. Nature for the Romanticists was a frame in which were sumptuously enclosed the different attitudes of consciousness; they set it up as a picturesque decoration in which was played the drama of their passion; and the more the decoration and the passion contrasted, the more powerfully were both accentuated. Sometimes when a graphic description became representative of the interior thought, it retained its objective reality, and it was only after having stamped upon us the intrinsic character of things, that the poet in a commentary told us the ideal meaning.¹ The Parnassians, who did not allow themselves these commentaries, and could not prevent their personal feelings from filtering through their impersonal work, were setting out involuntarily towards symbolic poetry.² Baudelaire turned toward it knowingly; he gave the formula and the example of a symbolic interpretation of nature:—

"La nature est un temple où de vivants piliers
Laissent parfois sortir de confuses paroles :
L'homme y passe à travers des forêts de symboles
Qui l'observent avec des regards singuliers."³

This is the Evangel of the new poetry; the process of the symbol, until now exceptional, becomes the fundamental type of

(1) V. Hugo, *La Vache* (*Voix intérieures*); *La Caravane* (*Châtiments*); Vigny, *La mort du loup*; *La bouteille à la mer*.

(2) See Leconte de Lisle, *Bhagavat*.

(3) Baudelaire, *Fleurs du Mal*. (*Correspondances*.)

poetic composition. Even the poet's vision becomes symbolical: the forms of things are to him the hieroglyphics of the ideas, and ideas have no longer the need of being formulated except in pictures.

“ Déjà, pour nos regards émerveillés, des plaines
Gisent dans la splendeur matinale et sa joie,
Sous le ciel tendre que la brume pâle noie
De son rêve ; et vers nous une rumeur d'haleines
Parmi des branches monte, et l'horizon déploie
Au loin l'immensité vaporeuse des plaines ! ”¹

It is thus that the symbolist expresses the standpoint of the youth discovering with intoxication this new and magnificent life.

By integrating the idea in the picture, the symbol is other than a process of composition. It translates or produces an original fashion of treating the inner life as poetic material.

From the time of Rousseau and of Chateaubriand, it has been acknowledged that the *ego* was the source of lyric poetry ; they had caused it to spring forth by telling of themselves. The Romanticists used all forms, poetry, drama, the novel, and history in which to confess themselves and express their intimate thoughts. Thus a critic could speak of the immodesty and naiveté essential to the modern lyric ; immodesty in telling the secrets of the heart, naiveté in believing yourself the privileged of misfortune. The Parnassians had repressed this frenzied ostentation of self. “ I will not sell you my intoxication and my misfortune,” said Leconte de Lisle to the public :—

“ Je ne te vendrai pas mon ivresse et mon mal,
Je ne livrerai pas ma vie à tes huées.
Je ne danserai pas sur ton tréteau banal
Avec tes histrions et tes prostituées. ”²

These lines were the safeguards of the “ Jeunes.” They did not wish to be “ exhibitors.” They pretend to express themselves without making themselves known, to give the revelation of the life which went on within themselves without betraying their

(1) Viélé-Griffin, *Poèmes et Poésies* (Cueille d' avril), p. 72.

(2) *Poèmes barbares* (*Les Montreurs*.)

life's confidence. The very "Méditations" of Lamartine are an exact autobiography beside the veiled characters that are given us by Henri de Régnier, Viélé-Griffin, Verhaeren, and Gregh. The latter separate sentiment from fact, gather up the emotion of their soul, while detaching this emotion from the object and the occasion which have given it birth. But as the concrete and the actual are necessary in order to realize modes of sensibility, nature has lent her forms and phenomena. Thus, recent poets tell of themselves through the woods, the waters, the wind, and the light. Through the subtle play of harmonies, they symbolize their life in order not to relate it. They tell only what they have felt of life without telling what has made them feel it so. Their poetry, consequently, could remain pure poetry without being turned into oratorical or philosophical discourse. The problems of life were presented in vibrations of awe, not in discussions, and the philosophy of the poet, without being explicitly formulated, is as though in dissolution in the waves which mount up from the bottom of his soul.

At one time it might have been thought that general conceptions would be wanting in the new art. The decadents and symbolists had somewhat the appearance of being merely the apes of Banville and of Baudelaire; they had the air of being maniacs or copyists, proudly developing, in the frenzied dance of their rhythms and in the foolish arabesques of their images, all the abnormal perceptions or eccentric fantasies which rose in their brain. But Verlaine pointed out a pathway. His "Sagesse" is the journal of a penitent soul; it is the crisis of the conversion of the sinner, the song—one of the most beautiful that there is—of the soul, both bruised and joyful before the life whose mystery a ray of God has illumined. In the collection which followed "Sagesse" ¹ pious verse alternated with sensual, the effusions of contrite humility and pure faith with slightly veiled images of the sins of the flesh. Verlaine was not, I believe, insensible to the rhythmic grace of this alternation. But through these contra-

(1) *Le Bonheur, Parallèlement, Chansons pour Elle, Liturgies intimes.*

dictions he only became more largely the representative of religious humanity, eternally torn between God who commands, and the flesh which refuses to obey. So, with him, poetry, taking once more the path of the "Méditations" and the "Contemplations" was filled with metaphysical anguish; it returned to its duty of expressing the absolute and the universal, or rather its individual dream of the absolute and the universal.

It is necessary to be the old devil that Verlaine was in order to find a new inspiration in the philosophy of the "petit catéchisme." The younger generation, who would not, or could not, return to the old faith, would have been occasionally embarrassed to invent a general conception of life. It is because the philosophies along with religion were departing,—humanitarianism, deism, Kantism, idealism, scientific materialism, the pessimism of Schopenhauer;—all the great systems, which for a century have furnished an intellectual armature for poetry, had had their day, and had not yet been replaced. A more subtle philosophy, at once less abstract and more scientific than the old, fond of precision and in love with life, was being elaborated. Without a system's being imposed, a tendency was taking shape among the poets.

Poetry since Chateaubriand had been of a sad cast. Christians, spiritualists, and materialists had vied with one another in crying out against the wounds, betrayals, and wickedness of human life. With Leconte de Lisle, Ackermann, and Richépin, pessimism had been installed as lord. To condemn God and curse nature seemed the natural function of poetry. The Christian illusion, even in retreating from souls long time soothed by immense hopes, had left in them a distaste for the mean and fleeting realities of life. They revolted against the incomplete in its process of eternal dissolution, against the eternal and ever unfinished becoming of life; life was irredeemably bad.

But in good time the idea sprang up among the "Jeunes" that Art should be one with Joy. It was sufficient to dispel the aspirations for Nirvana, the apostrophes to nature as a cruel step-mother,—all the rhetoric of blasphemous pessimism. It no longer

seemed foolish to feel a love for life. Poetry was still sad, but it was no longer desperate, except among certain Belgians¹ with an imagination too deeply tinctured with Catholicism. There was a gentleness in its sadness; an inclination was shown to accept life just as it is, in its misery, in its fleeting character, in its inachievement; to love it because it is, and because nothing can exist save in it and by it,—the universe, truth, beauty.

From the Christian point of view, which makes life appear wicked by directing us to the beyond, to eternity, poetry returned to the Greek point of view, which embraces life in all its nakedness,—rich in evil and in good, and filled with this sweet and clear charm of *being*.

With M. de R gnier, with Vi  -Griffin, the insufficiency of the real is denounced with an affectionate assent. "All things are eternal and vain,"² says M. de R gnier, and he loves them as they are, not as an Epicurean eager to enjoy, nor like Vigny, that tender stoic, who believed he ought by his love to compensate mortals for their unhappiness in being born to die; he loves them with their law, in their transition, which is a perpetual beginning again of joy and beauty.

M. Gregh, enlightening the thought tendency of his contemporaries with his intellectual acuteness, has given his latest collection of verse the title "*La Beaut  de Vivre*." "Life wounds and deceives," he says, and he knows it:—

"Et pourtant je ne maudis pas l'antique sort,
Vieux joug, doux d' tre us , sous quoi nous nous couchons,
Ni les hommes, trop douloureux pour  tre bons,
Ni Dieu m me, le seul vrai coupable, s'il est/ * * *
Pourquoi? Parce que tout, en me blessant, me pla t
Etrangement, absurdement, infiniment * * *
Et que, bon ou mauvais, n'importe, vivre est beau!"³

Do not take this for a dilettante affirmation; the poet does not lose his interest in the objects of life. Suffering and acting—

(1) Rodenbach, Verhaeren.

(2) *M dailles d'Argile (La trace)*, p. 50.

(3) *La Beaut  de Vivre*, p. 80.

he accepts all—even his ignorance of what it all means. The happiness of living can dispense with other happiness :—

“ Vivre est bon, vivre est beau, je le sens, je le crois,
 Arrière ennuis, chagrins, regrets, tourments passés,
 Mélancolie immense et sans cause, ardeur triste :
 Rien de cela n'est vrai, rien de tout cela n'existe,—
 Il n'est rien de réel que la joie ici bas.”¹

In this new attitude of the poet, poetry changed its note entirely.

II. THE LANGUAGE AND STYLE.

In the evolution of the symbolists,² the outlines of two opposite tendencies were, at the beginning, apparently visible. Some, like Verlaine and Laforgue, who set at defiance the Academy and the magisterial word of the Parnassians, and the literary cant of the bourgeois, approached poetical style to the inorganic fluidity of the spoken phrase, and gave free play in their poetry to all the incorrect and undignified slang, all the jovial and coarse vocabulary of the faubourgs and the taverns. But the others, Mallarmé,³ René Ghil, and Péladan, who looked with scorn at Coppée and Musset and despised the “*langue omnibus de fait divers*” in the novels of M. Zola, desired to separate the language of art from the rude spoken speech, and the æsthetic word from the every-day locution. The point of coincidence between these two doctrines was the principle of the individuality of their style; the suppression of all stereotyped rules and traditions, the right of the artist to break through mere convention and public opinion (Verlaine) as through grammatical customs (Mallarmé); the liberty to compose for himself in his own way the style which alone expresses him, and expresses him exactly.

(1) *Ibid*, p 168. See Viélé-Griffin, *La Légende de Wieland le forgeron*, the meaning of which is identical.

(2) See the substantial and somewhat severe pages of Brunot, “*Histoire de la littérature française*,” published under the direction of M. Petit de Julleville, vol. viii. p. 791. ff.

(3) *Divagation première, Vers et prose*, p. 187.

Hence away with all scruples! All vocabularies are good,—those of the sciences, those of business, that of the street, the most modern slang, and the most Gothic archaism,—the Latin, the Greek, or English¹ word. The poet will draw from all vocabularies, and outside of these he will forge the word which gives the dreamed of caress to his nerves.

These innovations were accepted more easily in the vocabulary than in syntax, because the syntax of a language reflects the century long habits of a people's thought, the very structure of its mind.

"War on rhetoric and peace to syntax," cried that cautious revolutionist, Victor Hugo. The symbolists have overturned syntax. The place of the adjective, the construction of the verbs, use of moods, prepositions, and conjunctions, the order of the words,—everything was turned upside down in the venerable French grammar. The result was, first of all, an inexpressible rigmarole, over which it was easy to make merry.

The French language was the language of the intelligence; they wanted to make it the language of sentiment. "To paint and define," to trace exact images and precise ideas, to order the images and ideas according to the real relations of nature or the abstract relations of logic,—this was all the art of the classic writer. Romanticists and the Parnassians had "painted" rather than "defined," but they had hardly encroached upon the intellectual and analytical phraseology that the eighteenth century had carried to perfection. The symbolists, on the contrary, have no care either for "painting" or "defining." They haughtily reject the picturesque precision of the Parnassians. "Abolished the pretention, æsthetically an error, notwithstanding it rules almost all the masterpieces, of enclosing within the subtle leaves of the book anything else, for example, than the horror of the forest, the mute thunder scattered through the foliage; not the essential and dense wood of the trees."² That is, poetry should give up

(1) "Le grand ciel étoilé *révolue* dans la nuit," Viélé-Griffin, *Poèmes et poésies*, p. 170.

(2) Mallarmé, *Divagation première, Vers et prose*, p. 185.

striving in rivalry, not merely with nature, but with painting and sculpture. Poetry has neither color nor relief, nor three dimensions, nor even two, nor one; it has only words, which are the tokens and modifiers of the soul. Consequently it may not imitate things; it invokes and suggests the impressions of things.

Thus, the poet will give preference to the sentimental rather than to the picturesque vocabulary, even in creating a landscape.¹ He will transpose all the words of the *soul* to the things; he will substitute for their perceptible shape our affective relations to them:—

“Le son du cor s’afflige vers les bois
D’une douleur on veut croire orpheline * * *
Tant il fait doux par ce soir monotone
Où se drolote un paysage lent.”²

This procedure intimately mingles the soul with things; it flows naturally in the ways of feeling that I have defined above. Here is another rarer fashion, and, at first, most disconcerting: “*Le vent bleu* d’outremonts fait palpiter les frênes.”³ The two words are concrete and picturesque, but their alliance destroys their objectivity. It is the analysis of the mind which divides qualities among objects. The expression of the poet respects the synthetical integrity of sensation; he writes while placing himself at the centre of consciousness.

With picturesque precision departs intellectual precision. The business of the poet is to show the inner life, not to explain either the world or himself. Mallarmé desired that the poet should put away “even the temptation to explain himself”; that he should be an impartial spectator of the work of words in himself; abdicating “all personal direction” of the phrase. “Pure work implies the ‘locutionary’ disappearance of the poet, who

(1) Lamartine has said, “Assis aux bords déserts d’un lac mélancolique.” This is the foundation of the process of the symbolists and its simplest application.

(2) Verlaine, *Sagesse, Œuvres complètes*, t. i. p. 276.

(3) Viélé-Griffin, *Joies*, in *Poèmes et Poésies*, p. 111.

gives up the initiative to the words mobilized through the shock of their inequalities." This very arbitrary view presupposes that the spontaneous association of words in minds be adequate to the changeable relations of the deep life of the soul; it led Mallarmé to the most unintelligible, and, at bottom, the least suggestive writing that ever existed. For the rest, this subtle and charming talker had not the creative gift.

The greater part of the symbolists have retained, more or less, that part of the intelligible which it is illogical to wish wholly annulled, when one works on words. But they have tried to replace the logical structure of the sentence by a purely affective order. They have placed in the background, behind veils of mist, the definite and common meaning of words, and especially do they utilize their unstable and vague values, these impressions and associations which envelop the solid core of the definition, these effects of physiognomy and of accent, which speak only to the mind and to the heart. Through the relations of grammar and of syntax, they no longer strive to translate the relations of ideas, of judgments, and of reasoning, but all that desultoriness of the coëxisting and all that subtlety of intercourse, which ceaselessly, in the mysterious harmony of life, disconcert the logic of the mind. Read these bewildering lines of Verlaine, from the "Crépuscule du soir mystique," and you will find in them a precision of sentiment which has nothing to do with intellectual precision:—

“Le Souvenir avec le Crépuscule
 Rougeoie et tremble à l'ardent horizon
 De l'Espérance en flamme qui récule
 Et s'agrandit ainsi qu'une cloison
 Mystérieuse où mainte floraison
 —Dahlia, lys, tulipe, ou renoncule—
 S'élance autour d'un treillis, et circule
 Parmi la maladive exhalaison
 De parfums lourds et chauds, dont le poison
 —Dahlia, lys, tulipe, ou renoncule—
 Noyant mes sens, mon âme, et ma raison,
 Mêlé dans une immense pâmoison
 Le souvenir avec le crépuscule.”

This style would have made Voltaire roar with rage. And this time he would have been wrong. But it is true that this way of using the language and syntax is the very opposite of the way in which Voltaire used it.

III. THE VERSE.

The public would perhaps have become accustomed to not understanding; the unintelligible imposes respect. But they could not endure being given in place of poetry lines in which nothing was to be found of that which serves to distinguish poetry from prose. The symbolists removed all the signs by which an educated Frenchman might perceive that he was not reading prose. With some, indeed, there was a tendency to the "enjambement," the running of one line over into another, thus breaking the verse as Hugo would never have broken it. With them all, there was a multiplying of the hiatus: the regular *cæsura* falls in the middle of a word or on a mute syllable; the rhyme, now inexact, now enfeebled, and often abolished, but in revenge reappearing in the middle of the verse; no alternation of masculine and feminine rhymes; the masculine rhymes with the feminine, and the singulars with the plurals; isolated lines of eleven, thirteen, fourteen, and sixteen syllables reappear suddenly here and there, with lines which can not be reduced to any number of syllables on account of the caprice of the *e* mutes, which are sometimes counted and sometimes annulled. Under the names of polymorphous, liberated, or free verse, we have false verses, "deliciously and intentionally false," friends would say, or sophisticated prose paradoxically cut off into unequal lines.

And here, again, beneath the extravagancies, and in the contradictions, was followed the natural evolution of French versification, —a clear and legitimate evolution.

Ronsard, who had reinstated in honor the Alexandrine, had not perfected its technique, and had multiplied its irregularities before defining its regularity. Malherbe had fixed the simple form of the Alexandrine; he made it a rational basis for all future complications. He renders the rhythm sensible to the rudest

ear by the constant cæsura on the hemistich and by the strength of the rhyme emphasized by a pause. Thus the classic Alexandrine is solidly constructed on two principal rhythmical accents that always coincide with the tonic accents on the sixth and twelfth syllables, and are always strengthened by pauses of the meaning. Within the hemistiches, secondary accents that are purely intensive and without obligatory pause, and that are distributed according to the sense, lessen the monotonous oscillation of the rhythm, without effacing the principal accents.

But it has not been sufficiently noticed in studies of French versification that one of the most efficacious factors of poetical rhythm is the relation which unites the line to the phrase. Malherbe founded this relation on the agreement of the meaning and the rhythm, by the subordination of the sense to the rhythm. I mean to say that the rhythmical design determines the grammatical design, and marks the place of the principal punctuations before hand. The meaning pauses at the cæsura, at the rhyme, and the phrase always finishes at the end of a line. Thus the poetic phrase of the classics was distributed through quatrains and distiches; each line, each hemistich even, containing a distinct element of syntax. Maynard, pushing this principle to its logical conclusion, desired that each line should be "detached," should offer a complete meaning; and the absolute harmony of the phrase and of the line was realized.

Neither Chénier nor the Romanticists themselves destroyed the classic type of the Alexandrine. They merely introduced into it discords which, to have their full effect, implied the persistency of the regular rhythm, with which they were destined to contrast. They practiced the discord of the phrase and of the line; they governed the middle accent by changeable accents which the sense indicates, and which strong punctuation could enforce; they weakened the final accent by removing all suspension of the meaning. The regular accents could always be visibly perceived in Chénier; less visibly but as readily in Hugo, who never consented to make the sixth syllable of the line fall on an *e* mute, nor in the middle of a word. The irregular and troubled

design of the Romantic phrase is traced in the "quadrillage" of the classic line, and it is the perception of this discord which gives their savor to the Romantic rhythms.

The classic line is found almost in its native purity among the Parnassians; save in the lines of the drama or story, discords, the displacing of the cæsura, and the running over of the line are rare. Writing in distiches reappears. The special survival from the Romantic agitation is that the cæsura has ceased to be a stop; it is an intensity, not a pause of the voice. The meaning is arrested only at the rhyme; and since the inner accents of the hemistiches often have a value equal to the middle accent, not sustained by a pause, the line seems to glide along all of a piece, hardly articulated by the cæsura, to the full and sonorous rhyme. While in the classic verse, the fundamental element was the hemistich, so, with the Parnassian school, rhythmical unity consisted in the verse being written out at a single throw.

The Parnassian verse sprang from the Romantic verse, but there might have issued from this something else. By no longer considering the running over of the line and the displacing of the cæsura as a deformation of the regular type, but as the basis of a new regularity, Verlaine created a new line. At the same time that by legitimatizing the hiatus he opened to poetry unexplored mines of locution and of resonance, he despoiled the sixth and twelfth syllables of all their metrical distinctions. He abolished the accents and pauses in these two places, and purposely installed in the rhyme, as at the middle cæsura, prepositions and articles, on which the voice could not rise without giving the rhythm the air of parody.

Here is an example or two of these "emancipated" Alexandrines:—

" O tes manières de venir ! j'y mets du mien
Aussi, mais toi que c'est gentil quand c'est du tien.
Oui, tes manières de t' y prendre pour venir
Me voir et m'étonner à ne plus en finir."¹

(1) Verlaine, *Dans les Limbes, Œuvres complètes*, t. iii. p. 51.

“ Vous suspendiez aux branches des guirlandes, à
L'entour d'un bassin vénéré, cher aux naiades.”¹

Every vestige of classical rhythm has indeed disappeared ; the accent *may* be placed everywhere ; it *need* not be placed anywhere. There is nothing fixed but the rhyme which comes at the end of twelve syllables.

The rhyme, the only one of the traditional factors which remains, ought, it would seem, to gain in importance ; but, on the contrary, just the opposite has happened. Verlaine despises the “ rich ” rhyme, “ this half-penny jewel which rings hollow and false under the file.” He ridicules the exact rhyme ; he rhymes feminine terminations with masculine ; he makes much use of assonance ; and he stifles the rhyme both by a diminution of its fullness and of its exactitude, and by the encroachment on the next verse, which juggles it away. In reality, the rhyme loses nothing ; it is only its function that changes.

Rhyme had always been regarded as a signal the function of which was to mark the end of the line. But is the line forced to bear external marks of its structure ? is it necessary that the hearer should explain to himself how the line is made ? With Verlaine, no more visible mechanism ; the rhythm is made to be felt, not analyzed, by the public. Consequently, the rhyme, dismissed from its duty of automatical warning, will once more become a musical note, whose recallings, modifications, and degradations illustrate a melodious design through the confused riches of the concatenation of sounds. Symbolism, while seeming to weaken rhyme, removes from it all heaviness and monotony, endows it with a manifold resonance that is delicate and light.

Rhyme no longer cuts a line ; it is merged in the continuity of the rhythmical development. Neither pause nor accent, nor even rhyme, any longer necessarily signalizes the end of the line ; the individual distinctness of the Alexandrine has vanished. The rhythmical unity is no longer the line or hemistich ; it is the member of the sentence, enclosed in a portion of a line, or run-

(1) Viélé-Griffin, *Poèmes et Poésies*, p. 52.

ning over two lines. The meaning determines every unity, and places the accents which give the line its music. So that while pushing the Romantic discord to its limits, Verlaine, and after him symbolism, reëstablished the harmony between the meaning and the rhythm which existed among the classics. But the relation has been reversed. Malherbe molded the sentence upon the metre, and inserted the grammatical pauses at the pause of the cadence; the present poetry molds the rhythm on the phrase, and articulates the line at the places where the meaning is held in suspense.

The transformation of the Alexandrine has naturally been extended to other verse, and to the strophe. The classics, who found it impracticable to realize small detached lines, grouped them in twos, threes, or fours, between necessary pauses. For example, the strophe of ten lines was broken by a quatrain and two triplets. But, as far as possible, the running over of the line in each group was avoided; each line contained a distinct grammatical element. Neither the Romanticists nor the Parnassians have changed the structure of the strophe in any very striking way. Ideas and style aside, neither the "Mages" nor "Ibo" would have shocked Malherbe. Verlaine and the symbolists at first suppressed the necessity for inner pauses in the strophe; later, they abolished the distinction of the strophe as well as of the lines; they ran them over and put them out of measure; they carried on the rhyme from one line into the next, from one strophe to another, in such a way that the meaning and not the metre determined the accents and pauses. It was no longer the fixed structure of the strophe, it was the individual movement of the phrase which produced the rhythm. As in the case of the Alexandrine, merely the number of syllables and the rhyme remained, so of the strophe there remains only the number of lines and the distribution of the rhymes.

This was still too much. Every fixed form that imposed an exact rhythm was distasteful to the symbolists; so they strove to pervert the strophes in order to render them unrecognizable. Verlaine disguised his quatrains by designing in them the rhymes

of the *terza rima*.¹ Others² add a fifteenth line to the sonnet. In the same way, they forsook the common and familiar verse for rare and unusual metres. They cultivated uneven lines, to which the ear was not accustomed;³ the lines of five and nine syllables did not carry in themselves harmonies already made. They tried lines of eleven and thirteen syllables, which appeared like false Alexandrines. They braved the decrees of conservative theorists, who forbade, in the name of physiology, the existence of lines longer than the Alexandrine, and invented long lines of fourteen and sixteen syllables.

But it is difficult to prevent these long lines from seeming like a collection of shorter verses; to prevent all these new and rare lines of a precise number of syllables from having the appearance of being constructed with elements that have been always utilized,—with groups of three, four, five, or six syllables. Thus symbolism was to end forcibly in a “*vers-librisme*,” in which all fixed structure of strophe or line should disappear.

The classics had known a kind of *free verse* in which the metrical diversity was liberated from the regularity of the strophe.⁴ But these lines of every measure, whose succession was governed by no definite laws, were the positive types of French versification, from the line of three syllables to the Alexandrine. La Fontaine, by his displacings of the *cæsura* and runnings over of the verse, joined the metrical unities and created a continued rhythm in which the rhyme, now purely musical, served no longer to announce the end of the line. This free verse, once more successfully resumed in our day,⁵ is not the free verse of the symbolists.

(1) *Œuvres complètes*, t. i. p. 197.

(2) Samain, Gregh.

(3) Except the line of seven syllables which is used by the Classics and Romanticists.

(4) *Fables* of La Fontaine; *Agésilas* of Corneille; *Amphitryon* of Molière.

(5) See, for example, Jacques Madeleine (of the school of Catulle Mendès) *Le Sourire d'Hellas*.

To tell the truth, there are five or six theories of free verse among the symbolists, and as many models. But from the individual oppositions of construction and theory there has emerged a common and convergent effort towards the abolition of the numerical relations in the line. No determined number of lines makes the strophe, no determined number of syllables makes the line. The poet causes the rhyme to appear at the end of a group of words; he puts together by rhymes and assonances, or merely by typographical disposition, many of these groups of words, without troubling himself about the number of syllables in the group that he calls a line, or the number of lines in the "laisse," which takes the place of the strophe. The movement and the pauses of the meaning alone delineate to his ear the line and the "laisse."

There is nothing rash in constructing these undetermined "laisses"; the Romanticists had already often preferred them to, or mingled them in, with their strophes. But free verse is truly the last step of the symbolist art. All the laws which based versification on mathematical relations have been successively rejected,—laws of periodicity of accents and pauses, laws of the composition of strophes, and laws of the measuring of syllables. A rhythmical "quadrillage" no longer determines the arrangement of the word, nor the movement of the soul which is written in this arrangement. There is no longer anything but the rhyme, which is caused to be heard where one wishes, as much as one wishes, and when one wishes.

But would not free verse be simply prose? The question is not answered.

I will remark merely that it is not sufficient to abolish theoretically the numerical harmonies in order to prevent them from making themselves felt in the real rhythms, nor is it sufficient not to observe them to keep them from existing. Why do the long lines of free verse so often give the effect of heavy prose, while the shorter ones move so many times in delicious melodies? It is because the ear perceives (I do not say analyzes) numerical relations in the shorter lines, and does not perceive

those in the long ones. The free verse of the symbolists sings where, by the accents and pauses, a succession appears, as irregular as may be, of rhythmical elements of three, four, and six syllables, that oppose and compose one another; and it answers to the free verse of La Fontaine, just as the Alexandrine of Verlaine answers to the Alexandrine of Racine. Without M. Kahn's being aware of it, number acts in his free verses, there where they have power of verse: even in prose, there is no rhythm without a numerical basis.

What the singing grace of the free verse (with M. de R  gnier, for example, M. Verhaeren, or M. Vi  l  -Griffin) teaches us, is that mathematics and life are two things. Life is a perpetual approximation. Neither the exact formulas of science are strictly realized in nature, nor does poetry need to represent the precise relations of number. Certain relations that are inexact, but are, nevertheless, perceived may, through their very inexactness, have a real charm in their fleeting and vague design:—

“ Ma corbeille est pleine, prenez
 La grappe lourde qui d  borde et saigne,
 Prenez la poire molle, ou la ch  taigne
 Epineuse que cuira la cendre ti  de,
 Prenez les fruits du verger clair
 Et les fruits   pres de la haie,
 Goutez-en l'  corce et la chair,
 Blessure et plaie,

Saveur sucr  e, ar  me amer,
 D  lice ou peine * * * *)
 Puis allez boire    la fontaine.”   

This exquisite couplet is built up around the numbers four, eight, and ten, with a certain indecision which has its grace, and

(1) De R  gnier, *M  dailles d'Argile, l'Adieu*, p. 213. M. G. Kahn forbids the running over of the line; the line is a “long word.” The classic line was a “long word” of a measured length; the free line of M. Kahn is a “long word,” of a length that varies *ad libitum*. With M. de R  gnier, the consideration of the relations of number naturally upholds dislocation and the running over.

which results, from excess or default in some measure, through the play of the *e* mute.

For here, indeed, is the solution of this terrible question of the *e* mute, over which such war has raged. There are only foreign ears for whom the *e* mute is actually mute, and for whom "Un Dieu qui nous aimant d'une amour infinie," does not sound in any way different from "Un Dieu qui nous aimant d'un amour infini."

That current pronunciation often annuls the resonance of the *e* mute is of no consequence at all. There is no need of bringing forward through it the melodious qualities of words; but verse is, on the contrary, an instrument made to awaken all the sleeping music of the language.

The *e* mute is an important factor in the harmony of the line exactly because it alters it. The *e* mute introduces approximation in the numerical relation; by the feminine rhymes it lengthens the Alexandrine; counted in the middle of the line, it shortens this. It is never completely annulled, and it never attains the strength of a resonant syllable; it runs through a whole scale of delicate shades. Besides the sonorous syllables that are accented or not, it introduces a third uncertain and subtle value into the rhythm. Its rôle in our versification is analogous to that played in Latin and Greek prosody by the substitution of the feet, which alters the pure metre and gives the line a living freedom of movement. In certain places, one could well not count the *e* mute, just as the Middle Ages did not count it at the *cæ*sura. But this would be on the condition of not thinking it is annulled, by not counting it. And this alteration would be purely theoretical; there would be nothing gained by it.

All this transformation of the technique of the line harmonizes with the æsthetics of the symbolists. When art strove to define and paint, the verse assisted the clearness of the idea, the intensity of the painting. It was the instrument of the condensing of the phrase, or the frame which gave it value. Even among the Romanticists, with the exception of Lamartine, and, where he wishes, Victor Hugo,—in whom everything is found,—and

very evidently among the Parnassians, the verse has more color than music. Among the symbolists the musical form becomes the principal means of poetic expression. With them nearly everything is subordinate to rhythm, whose free and original line exactly portrays the undulation of the sentimental life :—

“ De la musique avant toute chose * * *
 Rien de plus cher que le chanson grise,
 Où l'indécis au précis se joint * * *
 De la musique encore et toujours !
 Que ton vers soit la chose envolée
 Qu'on sent qui fuit d'une âme en allée
 Vers d'autres yeux et d'autres amours ! ” 1

This is the poetic art of symbolism. And, indeed, what can a poetry do that wishes to be neither body nor thought, but merely soul, that would contain neither picture of the universe nor knowledge of the mind, but the palpitation of life in the very heart of the *ego*, what can it do, if not create music and music alone.

Symbolism has reacted against the Parnassian school by drawing near again to Romanticism ; but the Parnassians have obliged it to correct Romanticism. By occasionally brutally opposing itself to the two great forms of the poetry of the nineteenth century, it has continued these forms, thus realizing the vital condition of revolution, which is to recapitulate the past that it aspires to destroy. Symbolism has prepared the instrument for the twentieth century which will be able to create great and worthy poetry, and different from that of the Romantic and Parnassian schools.

Is this saying that the symbolist art will have driven out the technique and all the anterior traditions of French poetry ?

If the symbolists believed this in the first zeal of their ambition, the more eminent among them no longer claim this to-day.

Symbolism has recalled poetry to its definition, which is to be the emanation of a soul ; it has recalled verse, too, to its function, which is to be the song of the soul. By questioning all French versification, it has put the old materials to the test.

(1) Verlaine, *Jadis et Naguère*, *Œuvres complètes*, t. i. p. 312.

Certain principles of this versification have emerged all the stronger for the trial; but some sacred and ancient rules were found to be without a true æsthetical basis. The exclusion of the hiatus and the assonance, the refusal to allow singulars to rhyme with plurals, the alternation of masculine and feminine rhymes, with other chance customs, can no longer tyrannize over the artist. Technique is free; that is, technique is subjected only to the idea; and the means employed to realize poetry will be judged only by their effects.

The symbol and the free line enrich art, but the symbol is not the only form of poetry; and the free verse is the limit of the verse, to which it sometimes extends, but where it will not be able to rest. Neither the inspiration nor composition of Romanticist and of Parnassian art are abolished for the temperaments that are Romantic and Parnassian. Beside the symbolist and musical poetry, a picturesque and realist poetry, and another intellectual and thoughtful, may exist, and all these may resolve themselves into manifold combinations. Already in recent collections of verses symbolism is more tempered.¹ With M. de R  gnier, sculptor and painter, who, now and then goes, hand in hand with M. de H  r  dia, with M. Gregh, man of analysis and philosophy, who bears some resemblance to Sully Prudhomme, the new poetry broadly opens up to the world of the body and the intellectual world; sensation is exteriorized even to the object; sentiment is illuminated even to the idea.

A suppleness in the language and in the line will be left from symbolism, a deepening of the conditions of art and of poetry, a refinement of the musical sense, an over-excitement of the meaning of life, by which even the poets who will reject the symbol and free verse will profit, and will pass it by only at their own cost, And to the symbolists, finally, is due the fact that poetry has become once more the dominating form of literature, the one that at present influences the other artistic forms, the novel and the drama.

(1) *Les M  dailles d'Argile; la Beaut   de vivre*. M. Gregh, author of the "Beaut   de vivre" apparently desires to hold himself aloof from symbolism; but he is none the less the product of this movement.

ART AND ARTISTS

JOHN LAFARGE, *New York.*

(Concluded from September number.)

Fromentin in "The Masters of the Past" has insisted upon the strange contrast of peacefulness and home quality in Dutch Art, which reflects in no way the tremendous struggle of the nation, both in war and in commerce, against the adverse world of Spain, England, and France. Only occasionally does the heroic countenance of some portrait testify to the recognition of the heroes who met the fleets of England and circled the world in conquest or discovery. The splendors of portraiture go to a few individuals of ordinary civic life, as to the militia companies organized to shoot at a mark on an occasional holiday. However, the features of the men representing syndics of trades, governors of hospitals, merchants, and burghers, show the toughness and strength of the race and their simplicity of attitude. This very moment at which I write brings back similar ideas with the story of the Boers in South Africa. And again, as an exception within this general tendency, comes the personality of Rembrandt looking far away to dreams of Bible stories, rendered through images of ordinary vision, as Raphael's dreams of the same stories took the shapes of a supposed classical antiquity, based on the splendid examples of the "human plant" of Italy. And, as if to involve us in still greater contradiction, the realist in Rembrandt is still very much more real than the realistic examples of the most realistic of all schools. Thus, as in literature, so in

art, whatever may be the action of the external circumstances, the artist has been able to free himself from them; and it is evident that most frequently he has desired to do so. Naturally, being a man, he is, like all other men, accessible to outside influences, and since one of his faculties is that of sensitiveness, he must feel them more acutely than his fellows of the same date. However amiable and gentle and apparently fluid the characters of some of the most remarkable artists may have been, it may be more truly said that they have moulded others than that they have received the impressions of outside.

Let us take Mozart; during his childhood and his youth he receives the impression of many travels and residences in foreign countries; he studies the Masters, he assumes their qualities; he owes to Bach and to Haydn and to the Italians; he attends the operas of Gluck and of Rameau, and, while acquiring new qualities and new powers, he seems to extend still more his own native forces; he keeps in touch with the outside, and yet, if anything, increases more and more his own originality.

Raphael, influenced in succession by opposite impressions, uses them all apparently for the expansion of his personal genius. Urbino, Perugia, Sienna, Florence, and Rome, and their artists, impress him; his father educates him; and he sits at the feet of Perugino, Fra Bartholomeo, Leonardo, and Michael Angelo. It seems a merely logical development. Each of his advantages comes to him apparently at the right moment. To use them, however, one must have been a Raphael; to have such an abundance of life and such admiration for the art of others, such a tact in study, such clearness of mind to appreciate what could develop his own temperament, and, at bottom, a strength of will so great that we hardly notice it on account of its admirable balance.

Here are two men, whose lives we happen to know, who have received the full education of their time, and who have managed to imprint on that education and on the education of the future world their own personal stamp.

And this is only one example of a certain type. So far from being the only exponents of their time, they have others about

them of an absolutely different type of character. As in literature, Æschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides flourished almost together, as Rousseau divides the last century with Voltaire, and as Schiller lives in Germany with Goethe,—so Michael Angelo lives through Raphael's time, and Rembrandt touches Rubens, and Beethoven, Mozart. How can these be said to be mere expressions of their time, since they differ so absolutely one from the other? How can these solitary actors have represented the stage on which they lived, since we know that they lived absorbed in a world of their own creation? How can they have carried with them the outside feelings which they tried so often to escape?

The case of Michael Angelo is one that we can fully appreciate because, as with a very few, we know more intimately his story. In the decline of the ideals of Italy, we see him take his predecessor Dante as "guide and master." Even the most indifferent visitor feels the remoteness of the great figures either in the Sistine Chapel or the tombs of the Medici as the protest of a soul which suffers through the world's baseness, is still too sensitive not to suffer, and yet too proud to withdraw. What clear meaning of his time and of his race has Beethoven given in an art which depends so little on reality? As we have noticed before, Rembrandt, who to us personifies Holland, has escaped whenever he has wished from the realities around him, and in those of all his works which strike us as the most realistic, the most consonant to the full meaning of what the art around him was striving for, he alone was not recognized by his people, and disappears in obscurity.

Nor is this independence a characteristic of those who have escaped popular favor, or who have resisted it and lived in isolation. Velasquez, the favorite of the King and of the great, pictures with equal interest, he, the gentleman, both the artisans, the little burgesses, and the people far down, with the same equal mind that has depicted the pride of kings and noblemen. In a most devout country, he seems to avoid religious subjects. He paints an episode of martial history when Spain has lost its armies; and in a country settling into formal rigidity, he begins

a new development of art whose character is that of independence and freedom of vision.

We take the well-known names and characters because a large number of people know about them, because their lives are clearer to us, their relations with their time, their religion and its influence upon their individual development, and also because of general consent to their superiority. But whenever less important personages are known to us in a similar way, which, of course, must be rarer, we find a similar story. There is also another reason for taking the very well known cases, because it is evident that their superiority comes from their having reacted against the influence about them, which tended to equalize them or to submit their will to the views and manners of the common.

We know a great deal more to-day about the lesser representatives of art than we did even a short while ago—by “we” I mean the average student like myself, or the minds attracted to an interest either in biography or in history. We know, too, a great deal more about the methods and studies which both great and small men have pursued to obtain the greater or lesser results that we admire according to our individual sympathies. The publication of minor biographical documents, the making of very many catalogues of works of art, the collecting in museums of studies and drawings, the reproduction by photography of the studies and the drawings which contain the steps either of education or of accomplishment, the editing and giving to the world of literary works with the corrections and changes that the writer has made out,—all these now allow us to perceive how far the individual struggle and study have persisted. It is by these special visions that the research of to-day will allow us to free ourselves from too all-embracing views, and, contrariwise, to feel reassured in many general considerations.

I am reminded of a little incident of physiological investigation occurring many years back. A famous doctor of the day

was talking over with me the report of a London lecture by a great oculist on the subject of certain deficiencies of sight in Turner, the great artist. I believe that they had escaped the all-explaining Ruskin, who would probably have found some objective cause in nature to justify the resulting error. If I can be correct across the space of time, these deficiencies accounted for a tendency of Turner to run his horizon up at one end (a failing we all understand to-day), and also towards painting bluer and bluer with advancing age. To the practicing physician the lecture was interesting because of the enormous "advertisement" thereby given to the oculist, who hung his name on the peg of Turner's fame. To me it was an explanation for Turner and others, and relieved my mind of considering these defects as eccentricity (or degeneration as Mr. Nordau would have put it).

Besides, I saw more distinctly how *unimportant* were such great errors of representation in such results. And to-day I remember when very young men paint in over-blue tones that they ought, perhaps, to wait until old age excuses. (And by the by, has anybody explained the sudden change of horizon-line in Giorgione's "Concert," the famous picture in the Louvre?)

The theories and views of others may be excessive or unjust, but thereby they sometimes give to the disposing mind an escape from too set and rigid decisions of its own, and, perhaps, also the benefit which arises from the perception of false views.

This feeling of security may be too disdainful an attitude. It is possible that moral and intellectual harm may come from theories more false than true, and that the commonplace mind is stocked with manners of going on without reflection. The author of a thesis devised to attract attention is sufficiently recompensed if his cleverness is noted; nor would a mass of information and quotation and statement of such people as ride the modern scientific fads, to the disadvantage of the serious scientific students, be harmful were it not for the appearance of serious deduction; not the deduction and derivation offered in a college thesis meant to obtain a degree or to carry out some obligatory work, but in such examples, an appearance of

absolute belief, contradicted by the necessary accompanying scientific attitude, which must, if scientific, be hedged in by every precaution of rigid inquiry into what even an unscientific observer knows as the "personal equation." When Mr. Nordau juggles with physiology, he drags us into a practical criticism which might destroy the value of the original observations not his own which he used. Hence he says, urging some researches of Alfred Bernet, "It is intelligible that hysterical painters should revel in red,"—which to us not engaged in looking at some small painter of to-day, whom he may wish to smash, but having in mind the entire field of painting, recalls that the great master of the use of red is Rubens, than whom perhaps no more healthy mind ever worked in art. Calmness, slow care, or rapid and impetuous execution according to circumstances; certainty of result, splendid physical health, great business ability, power of personal influence, morality of life, dignity of manners,—all these are the property of the "*maître de la couleur rouge*." Thus some get hoisted by their own petards.

Again, from a scientific point of view,—using the word scientific as accounting for the mechanism of fact,—what Mr. Nordau calls the "whitewash" of a Puvis de Chavannes, "obliterating all colors equally," has its excuse and its origin in the over-reasonable point of view (*not a hysterical one*) of blending the picture with the neutral wall-color and its stone casings. These, in France, where the artist painted, are usually very neutral in color and somewhat "whitewashy" in tone. Mr. Besnard's use of yellow, blue, and red, often very violent, has not the "cause revealed to us by clinical science," that they are "the last to be perceived, if the sensitiveness for the remaining colors is destroyed." The use of these colors in what seems excess to many people is in the nature of an experiment; and whether so or not, anybody who knows Mr. Besnard's exceedingly delicate modulations in slight tones can see perfectly well that he is not a case of "hysterical amblyopia" (dullness of vision). Nor is the use of violet in excess, or apparent excess, necessarily a proof of that color's being always "enervating and inhibitive," and if, as this

author says, the "sight of this color has a depressing effect, and the unpleasant feeling awakened by it induces dejection," that is no explanation of the fondness for violet tones in the dress of the Japanese, or their use of it as an imperial color. They do not consider it "the exclusive color for mourning," as Mr. Nordau puts it.

Nor do the violet pictures of Monnet and his school originate from "a condition of lassitude and exhaustion," or "from a subjective view due to the condition of the nerves." These gentlemen have worked—sometimes injudiciously—under the guidance of scientific men as well known for their value as the other scientific writers whom people like Nordau quote right and left to suit a momentary purpose. Still more evident, from a scientific point of view, is the falsity of such conclusions, when one sees this use of violet appear between the month of May of such a year and the month of May of another, and then disappear again under similar conditions, with the same people who have taken up some new theories and some new fads. We have all known people of great good sense and practical ability who have no perception of color, or who cannot distinguish certain principal ones, and the statement that they are, therefore, maniacs or hysterical is so foolish as to establish the unreliability of a mind like Nordau's, if we were so unjust as to take him seriously. I happen to dwell upon Mr. Nordau because we are thinking of the possible advantages to be found in the use of false theories propounded by others than ourselves, as we see by the clearing up of these statements and their bringing us to some definite facts concerning the persons spoken of. For myself, I have enjoyed enormously, perhaps too much, the hammering given by Mr. Nordau to people I do not like;—as they are vicariously massacred, my own conscience is safe—'tis not I who have perpetrated these injustices!

Sainte-Beuve would have said in his cynical fashion that new views attracted naturally younger minds, that is to say presentations of what seem new views, in the same justifiable way that they are attracted by the first women whom they meet whose eyes or hair

or manner of dress seems to them to imply possibilities of depth and earnestness, of which they are convinced because they see these novel exteriors. And the more serious they are themselves, the more they suppose seriousness in the minds of others. That is the reasonableness and the necessity of fads.

As I said at the very beginning, the fad of to-day is the use of what is called science, or what we understand by science, as the fad of the Middle Ages was the use of the theologic point of view. To attract attention, it is advisable to use the words and ideas of the actual moment for new purposes, thereby securing always a beginning of attention.

So with Ruskin the use of phraseology that continually recalls to us the forms of the Bible or of the sermon writer; gradually hypnotized, we begin to believe that behind such words there must be some graver message than could be contained in forms of more ordinary speech. Indeed, the use of clear, ordinary speech would have made many of his appeals collapse in ridicule.

It is astounding to what lengths the absence of humor can carry even a cultured mind. But a critic without humor is no critic at all. He does not know the sound of his own voice; he has no sense of "personal equation." To have humor is to have a sense of the size of the universe as regards one's self; to doubt, as I think John Fiske once expressed it, that one "holds it by the tail."

Some good may have come from the theories which this man of genius was able to impress upon the world, especially upon the thinking world of England, mostly of the middle classes, largely coming from dissenting origins, provincial and narrow-minded, full of energy, repressed and kept within previously narrow channels, and essentially canting and self-laudatory. We had better always hope before any statement of ideals which may lift man out of his usual meanness.

Incidentally, through this constant assertion of many views,

Ruskin was able to help certain men of the Pre-Raphaelite movement, leaving the smaller fry stranded in hopeless tangles of indigestible principles. Still the admirer of Turner, like myself, cannot feel *merely* just towards the man who expounded Turner, rightly or wrongly, to an audience of so thick a hide that these excesses were perhaps necessary. But we should never forget that most of what Ruskin said about Turner can be said, with variations, for all painters dealing in newer ways with nature and starting with sufficient knowledge of the past. A similar study of Claude, the king-pin at which Ruskin liked to bowl, would have produced, also, an equally remarkable series of statements. Turner's own professional views of Claude would seem far more valuable; and if all that Ruskin ever said about Turner be true, Turner might be all the better judge.

I pass, of course, excellent things stated by Ruskin with regard to some processes of painting. Used as arguments and not as technique they led him to silly abuse of Rembrandt. And they perhaps helped to prevent his recognition of the Dutch school as the only one that had copied nature with absolute portrait fidelity.

All views about processes, if connected with enthusiasm, have a tendency to be unjust to other views, as they must be of their nature narrow and practical, and though they may interest a critic they belong to the practitioner only. But they are all contributions to the study of the passage from sight to the rendering of its phenomena; their accumulation will gradually establish the possibility of some accepted laws. But we may feel sure that evasion of some of these laws by individuals invariably accompanies development of personal expression. Many of these laws were felt, even if undefined (and feeling is the more important for the artist) by the Orientals, whose general tradition is the only one continuously obedient. And yet within the works of the Chinese and Japanese artists we see the boldest escapes from those facts in nature which do not help the impression which they wish to record. Nature is not black and white, and yet the great glory of the Japanese and Chinese painter has been the short-handling of nature with the brush filled with India ink. To

skip and to synthesize and to appreciate and to imply has been the aim of many of their most essentially "genial" artists, and through ever so many of them there even runs a thread of reference to the movement of hand necessary to writing,—full of meaning on their part, absolutely conventional on ours. And yet, however little we understand, we appreciate vaguely, though deeply, a meaning which symbolizes nature to us. Nor are they degenerates, as might be proven by Mr. Nordau, because so much of their work is carried on in a stream of mysticism.

The recall of the name of Mr. Nordau brings us again to the peaceful expansion and strengthening of art criticism through physiological studies. It may be that therein the artist himself will find help and be sustained in his studies; he may certainly find excuse for his own personality; he may better understand the limits of what he sees and of what he thinks he sees, be more and more convinced of the value to himself of his own impressions, and while studying with respect the impressions of others, avoid their imitation. For the critic of art, these studies may be less useful, because he may be tempted to generalize from them and to apply his generalization to special cases before the special case has been studied for itself. In the study of special cases for *themselves*, he will probably be strengthened and helped.

If, however, like Mr. Nordau he has some personal dislike of the Trinity and considers that a belief in this mysterious doctrine indicates a necessary decadence, he passes into the ranks of the theological partisans. People like Mr. Nordau are really, at bottom, very much like Tolstoy whom he denounces as a maniac. They do not seem to be aware of the persistency of idea through many forms of development, and of the necessity of taking into consideration this permanence in trying to get either a view of the individual's mental failings or of the times in which he lives. Unbelief in a personal God is a very old phase of thought and goes on in brilliant cases through all ages. It is, as it were, one of the alternatives. If we think of the culmination of the Mid-

dle Ages as that of the "Ages of Faith," and are led to believe that Dante is merely the expression of his time, what meaning shall we give to the words of his friend Guido Cavalcanti in the text that we know which gives his idea of God, "*Scusando se co'l dir io no'l conosco*," ("excusing himself by saying 'I have not his acquaintance'"). The agnostic then was important in society at the time which would be taken by Mr. Nordau or even by the solid Taine to represent the flowering of the theological idea. The opposite sects of a Ruskin or a Lombroso, at bottom, join in trying to represent man as merely the product of the time and place suitable to their definition.

The questions of technique are best discussed technically ; the questions of science are best discussed within the exact limitations of scientific inquiry. There is a place for the personal equation in the assertion of the effect of results upon one's self. That is a statement which no scientific analysis can shake. Such assertions make the sound good sense apparent in some passages of Mr. Nordau's diatribe. Such affirmations of belief make the prophetic value of Ruskin. In such a way does Tolstoy speak as man to man. A brave statement of impressions may help the critic who writes, and certainly will help the student (who in so far is a critic) to free his mind, which is the really valuable result of criticism. It is not what we say to others about what we think that is valuable, but what we think ourselves.

Slavery to the celebrated names of Line and Color as things existing by themselves is beginning to disappear. The so-called laws and rules based upon them are seen to be merely literary misstatements of manners of practice and necessities of expression by the hand appealing to the eye. Even if, occasionally, such useful lessons as those of Mr. Henry (the French scientist) excuse certain exaggerations, they will be balanced by other scientific considerations that will justify other views equally special. The very many variations of the types and the individuals will be more easily tolerated, to the education of the critic himself. In this new paradise he will be able to see the lamb lie down with the lion, each in an appointed place ; he will be able

to enjoy and thereby make us enjoy the land in which he walks, and he will be able to name the inhabitants thereof.

II.

THE STORY OF THE PRODUCTION OF THE WORK OF ART.

The author, Mr. Michel, whom I am especially following, turns away to a consideration of what he calls the production of the work of art. He brings up certain points which I shall consider with him, though I am not at all hopeful of compressing any system into the form of investigation which he recommends. Of course the consideration of each special case would allow us to have a better acquaintance with the general subject, but it is difficult to determine the limits of that very subject. We might gain what we do in life,—an experience from the circumstances we meet; it would then be a sort of journey into a certain country, and lead us as travel does. In the idea of Mr. Michel, such an inquiry would still further balance the necessary determinism which insists upon the importance of outside circumstances as affecting the work of art. He considers that we have obtained all that we can out of the recognition of external pressures and ordinary fatality, and that the more valuable sequence of study is the study of the individual and of the cases in which he has acted. Of course we cannot pretend to analyze the actual generation of the masterpieces. It is especially there that the unconscious side of the artist has acted. Even if Cervantes explained to us how he came to write “Don Quixote,” or Shakespeare wrote us out the history of the way he came to do “Hamlet,” we should be no further advanced as to the special definite way in which these things were definitively managed and others quite different begotten by the same men.

But we can learn more of man himself, in general, by seeing the many ways through which he gets at his results. And they are so different as to emphasize still more the struggle with circumstances.

The divisions or steps are not easy to determine. Often the very idea of the resulting work appears to the artist along with the view of the means through which he shall realize it. Sometimes, on the contrary, nothing but a confused sensation disengages itself sufficiently to be distinguished from other impressions. Far down in his subconsciousness this idea gradually gets fixed and, to a certain extent, elaborated. Choice comes sometimes suddenly with no apparent connection. Sometimes, on the contrary, he can remember distinctly, or otherwise, the circumstance which has started the decision. Sometimes it is the mechanical action of the hand which begins to trace the image before it appears to have occurred, and this especially with steady habits of work. According to the visualizing power, which varies to astonishing degrees, this may be more or less distinct. The very necessity of the entire action being absorbed in the result is antagonistic to any psychical research by the maker or the outsider. In some of the arts, the entire man, body and mind, appears used for the purpose in hand. In others, the operation of what we call the mind is more evidently distinct, but in such considerations of the moment as this we must avoid bringing in the technical points of psycho-physiology, nor yet must we ever forget that there cannot be mental action *alone*.

Testimony of the records of the birth of works of art has been left to us by artists. Whether these be voluntary or unconscious, they are positive information and they have the advantage of making us study separately the conflicting cases. In all the very accomplished creations of art, the execution *seems* to be inseparable from the thought, but we can only be sure of this in certain cases, and it is more probable that the intermediary processes have disappeared. Of course, in certain forms of art, there is no clear thought, unless the machinery is found to go with it. In a great deal of decorative work this must be essentially the first necessity. In the arts which involve construction that, also, is apparent. The thought in that case is a constructive one, if one may so express it. We see some passages of the birth of the work of art in the manuscripts of writers where

corrections and changes have been preserved. They are authentic and valuable as study, for they have not been made for the knowledge of the public. Behind that, of course, is an entire series of lost mental processes. Words are for the writer what the building materials and the styles are, for the architect.

One might perhaps find in the little note-books of Beethoven something of the birth of musical ideas. Of late some of these enigmatic notions have been brought together and published. The rudimentary ideas, some of which are commonplace at the beginning, take a more *concise* and more original form in the process of development. These efforts seem to correspond to the character of Beethoven, who wrote four overtures to his "Fidelio," which are derived from the same source. It is evident that the source of inspiration for each art must be differentiated considerably. Painting and Sculpture have a side—that of imitation of nature or recall of nature—which Music and Architecture have very little of. They all have, in common, aspirations which may be the same;—intentions derived from nature, but those are often nothing but the awakening of the mind to the other and specially necessary intentions belonging to his art. Nature has furnished even to music the beginning of inspiration; as also in many cases music has determined and sometimes even suggested the pictures formed in the mind of the painter. Literature, also, has excited the painter or the sculptor to translate his impressions. It is not so much of the making into a picture the description by the poet or literary exponent that I am speaking, but of the suggestions by the ideas of the poet of similar ideas of equal importance and value in the feeling of the painter or sculptor. The more vague, the more general the description of the poet, the more idealized, the more the painter or sculptor will find in it. That seems a matter of course, if one reflects on the uselessness of a double rendering. Hence the suggestions to Delacroix from the plays of Shakespeare. Written plays are not descriptive, and merely give words belonging to the story itself. The painter, then, is tempted to play the tragedy or comedy in the *painted actors* whom he creates. So it was possible for Delacroix

to excite admiration in Goethe by drawings made for Goethe's own "Faust," and to explain to the poet a side of his own work yet unperceived by himself. We do not know what Michael Angelo drew on the pages of his Dante—the sea has devoured them many years back. Botticelli used the Divine Comedy as a subject for sketches and compositions, trying to bring into visible form the word descriptions of the poet, and translated them naturally into his own lovely pageants; far perhaps from the original ideas, but beautifully complete as the translation of one mind into another.

As with outside impressions of nature, so human intercourse has been both an excitement and a guide, and travel has cleared the mind of many an artist and allowed him to be more decidedly himself, not from study or from imitation, but by allowing momentary escape from the pressure of every day. Even the works of inferior artists or poor ones are lessons: sometimes a lesson of what might have been done, sometimes a lesson of what to avoid, sometimes as offering a theme insufficiently expressed by the previous mind, or a theme susceptible of great variations only possible to a second more powerful discoverer. As Mr. Russell Sturgis well remarks, the musician, like the architect, has not the advantage of refreshing directly his inspiration and purifying his manner by recourse to nature, as have continually both the painter and sculptor. Nor, I believe,—but my reading is too small in that way to know,—have musicians been stirred by the plastic arts as the painters are continually by music. Music has the delightful effect of placing its hearers in a mood, a manner of feeling, which is often nothing more than what the artist in another form needs to place the foundation of his own work,—whose necessities he may understand beforehand, whose intention he may know beforehand, but about which he is not in the right attitude of feeling. It may be on that account, that is to say, because nature or other arts do not give models or examples, that music needs a more special and personal effort; that, as Goethe says, musical talent must appear earlier, by something which might be called inborn sense; "it needs no outside

help and cannot in any fashion take advantage of the experience that is drawn from life." Hence, then, the precocity of the musicians.

Therefore, I suppose, with the literary composer or the poet the accustomed habits when composing would be extremely important; to an extent far greater than that of the worker with his hands, the painter or the sculptor, whose work obliges him to a more commonplace and practical physical habit. We all know the many stories of the composers and poets, some surrounded by works of art, others in the shadows of the grove, others excited by stimulants,—drink and coffee and sitting up in the silence of the night. Conversation helped Cimarosa; Zingarelli began with serious reading; Haydn worked steadily at his table at just so much of his task each day, freshly shaven and powdered and carefully dressed; Machiavelli, the political poet, studied his Roman history in the full costume proper for such a noble occupation. Beethoven worked as the spirit moved him anywhere or anyhow and under great difficulties. Towards his end he says, "I sit down and I think—nothing comes, I am afraid to begin—however when once I have begun all goes right." He suffers. Mozart has written, however, "When I am alone my soul is calm, satisfied, as for example, when I am traveling in a good carriage, when I am taking a walk after a good repast, when I am lying at night and not sleeping,—then come the ideas and appear in clouds to my mind:—to say whence they come and why they come, that would be impossible for me. What is certain is that I cannot make them come when I wish."¹ So Mendelssohn, notwithstanding his extreme facility, envied the painters the power that they have to plunge steadily into work, whatever may come of it.

Out of the endless list we have been quoting, as it were, there are stories or anecdotes or accounts by the men themselves in words; in the works themselves it is difficult to find a trace of the many phases of execution, and rarely have we records of

(1) Quotation unauthentic, perhaps, but given by Mr. Michel.

them. Painting, however, has often given us traces, and very many of them, of the beginning and the carrying out of final work. The first little sketches, sometimes of lines so obscure that the artist himself would hardly remember what they meant, lines so meaningless apparently as to scandalize the outsider when he sees artists rapt in admiration before them,—all these may begin a series of partial studies, sometimes complete, highly finished,—*more finished* than the work itself,—and often apparently irrelevant, mechanical blockings-out of the project, done without more interest than that of a task. I remember a little scribble of Delacroix, which I slowly made out to be the idea of the “Jewish Marriage”; at last in the maze of its divergent and concentric circles and loops I recognized the *entire* picture which I knew. Studies and sketches have also a special value, and are usually themselves works of art, often superior to the final work for which they have been made,—indeed so often so as to excite regret. Thereby they have been saved from injury and from oblivion. Less so, of course, the literary sketch, or the sketch of the musician, and even, perhaps, of the architect, though in the decorative work of the past the sketches have a beauty of suggestion which in its freedom has charms not always felt in the complete work. I confess that I know nothing more enchanting than the sketches of the architect decorators of the Renaissance. Some years ago, it was proposed to make a collected publication of them, and I regret very much that the work has never been carried out. The sketch of the sculptor, owing to its material,—perishable clay or brittle wax,—with difficulty escapes destruction, while the pages or canvases of the painter have been able to come down to our day. At all times they were collected, and their very accumulation in modern museums is against their being seen easily. But photographs give a choice for our study or our pleasure. Through them the study of the masters has taken a much shorter path and reassures us as to authenticity. Hence help towards the latest studies made by critics, which, based on the personal habits of the painter, have established a manner of direct acquaintance.

In each one the temperament, turn of mind, the ease or the

difficulty of production appear to the eye, and here again the mark of the individual is distinctly set, as much by the *probability* of his sketches, according to what we know of him, as by the contradictions which they show. The calm and rather cold result of Poussin is often obtained from feverish beginnings or from sketches blocked out with rapidity, with sculptured light and shade and with rude pen lines. He has, as it were, built the necessary brutal construction of his work, and upon that the careful architectonics of his composition have been restudied to the final perfection.

Rubens, on the contrary, whose final execution is one of the freest and most rapid known, calmly prepares his sketches with delicate certainty, and for his larger work establishes carefully every place upon which later he will let himself loose. We see the fashionable Van Dyck sketching out easily the portraits which have made his fame, in part to understand his models, in part also to give these sketches to "certain skilful painters," who would paint under his guidance the dress and accessories, "which their owners kindly loaned." Photography has given us the careful and consummate studies of Holbein's careful portraits. Leonardo, of whom we possess only a small number of highly finished drawings, explains himself as much through them as through his few authentic finished works. But the smaller sketches and notes we know, and nothing can make us appreciate more intimately the enormous field of study covered by this universal genius, whose great powers scattered over the entire field of human knowledge of his day, have themselves, by this scattering, prevented his giving us his full measure in the one department by which he is known to all.

The drawings of Michael Angelo explain his temperament as they explain his constant research and his anxiety for perfection. They vary from the will and energy of the rude sketch to a finished and almost timid elaboration, as if of a model for sculpture; and there again we know so intimately how these are the secrets of the artist, that on the same page where the austere figures of the Mother and Child are established in a manner

which no one else has ever reached, we see little personal squibs, with which his mind seems to have played in the infinitely small intervals that could have occurred between his taking up again the pen for his drawing. We are relieved by this sense of humor in the enormous tension of an anxious mind.

The drawings of Raphael have always been preserved with care—admired from the beginning—necessary not only for himself, but for his very many assistants or pupils, and they too show the incessant study which he carried out in his life of thirty-six years. Always, however, whatever the study, one recognizes that peculiar power of good taste and of elegance that belongs to him. One recognizes, also, the tendencies to certain elegancies which are not seriously masculine, so much so as to have made some of us believe that the form of Raphael himself is often indicated in his figures. For one of the reasons of our representing the human figure and of our insatiable perseverance in trying new variations is that we are drawing from a consciousness of ourselves. We are the thing that we do, and often some anatomical peculiarity of the draughtsman is embodied in the figures that he creates.

With Rembrandt the drawing and the sketch become of the highest importance; the slightest scribbles have a value so great as to recall his most complete works. With some, indeed, it seems useless to have gone on. Even if they consist of a few marks of black on the white ground of paper, they have apparently all that can be said—they are full of mystery, full of precision, they are great and they are gawky, they are simple and yet refined, in a complete analogy with his most stupendous paintings.

The list is too long; one would have to go on with Dürer and Claude and Watteau, and realize that there is no end in view. Indeed such mention of individual expressions are merely set down that we may realize how far they are from being proofs of the subjection of their authors to their surroundings.

We see, also, how far from ordinary notion is the manner of creation of the work which seems to have been produced as a

flower grows. No more shall we think of the artist as an unconscious being, a result of outside pressure. "To improvise," wrote Delacroix, "that is to say, to begin and end at the same time, to satisfy one's imagination and one's reflection at the same moment, in the same breath,—that would be for a mortal to speak the language of the Gods. Little do we know how many resources talent has to use in order to hide its efforts. All that we can call the improvisation of the painter would be the fire of execution, without hesitation and without change;—but without the careful sketch, and especially without the sketch or the preparation carefully managed in view of the final achievement, such a thing would be impossible, even to an artist like Tintoretto, the most fiery of all painters, and to Rubens himself."

Certainly at the base of all effort there must be energy, and an energy which the poet might describe as fiery, but there is no record in the lives of the artists of anything but hard work and constant application. For many it has been necessary to live a life of careful moderation, of constant watchfulness. Not to all have been given the powerful bodies that belonged to Leonardo, to Titian, to Rubens, and even to the sick Michael Angelo. The strain of the "Divine Madness" may have in many caused eccentricities, all the more valuable that they allowed more adequate, because more solitary, attention to what they wished to do. The "madness" of Michael Angelo helped him to do the things which many a sane man would wish to do. As we know his biography, as we know his thoughts, we can understand very well what a weight he carried. The perpetual strain of action and of moral effort must have singularized his manners. His own political views were not triumphant at the time, and the whole world seemed to be breaking around him. He carves and paints in one of the most tragic moments of Italy and he himself struggles with mental difficulties which we can hardly realize to-day. How little do we consider the effect upon a sensitive religious mind of being at odds with his great patron, the Pope,—

the very one who of all men seemed best able to understand the nature of the artist he upheld, that artist being the champion of excommunicated Florence. Will it not have been a benefit to all of us, if, as Michael said to Condivi, "Rich as he had been, he had always lived as if he were poor"? We understand usually so little the necessities of minds that desire austerity as a mode of life which separates them from wrong. Even mechanically, some habit of work is necessary to take the man away from the outside pressure which is at least unnecessary and may be harmful. The artist or the monk is no more extraordinary in his self-protection against the world, as a matter of common-sense, than the bank cashier who sits within railings, or a bank president who can only be seen between such an hour and such an hour. Neither of these last would be able to carry out his work in a street-car for instance. This is what vitiates the sincerity of the observations of a Lombroso when, for example, he points out as a proof of insanity that St. Francis left his family, that is to say his father,—his father's business,—to become a missionary. It was a bad thing, perhaps, for that special firm which might have flourished, (or might have gone down) if St. Francis had continued in business. But we, that is to say mankind, would certainly prefer the influence of St. Francis in his time, and in all others, to the perpetuation of his father's business for a short number of perhaps unsuccessful years. St. Francis, of course, comes as near insanity as any of the prophets of old, and it is probably nothing but his extraordinary common-sense and miraculous tact, apart from the grace of God, that saved him. But why is he queerer for Lombroso than such and such a doctor who, having a family, exposes himself to the contacts of disease or dies a martyr at his post for the benefit of others? I cannot help thinking of the polite excuse of a physician of the great French madhouse who said, to apologize for some insistence in a statement, "One gets a little queer from living with mad people."

But, of course, with men of importance we have the usual story of what is now the reporter. We have the detail of such things

as may attract attention as exceptions ; that is inseparable from privileges of fame. As I said, it is not for all artists to possess a body that can carry the wishes of the spirit, nor is it given to all to carry the same powers through life. Delacroix became an invalid rather early in life, and was obliged to arrange every moment as if kept in close account. Nor does it seem that the weaker bodied have been unable to produce results surpassing the work of the average healthy men. We have just lived through the life of Louis Stevenson.

Rarely visible in the final work itself is any record of the struggle undergone. In the continuation of the work itself is the very reason of the work to be found—it is the pleasure, the delight, the elevation of feeling in the work and through the struggle which has been the reason for the thing itself. The absolute physical result seems to have been of less importance. With many it has seemed as if they were only beginning, as they completed what we consider a successful existence. “I was about writing with my heart,” says the dying Mozart. At the end of his life Beethoven could say in all sincerity to one of his admirers, “What I have done is nothing—far different visions float before my mind.” So wrote Hokusai, the Japanese painter, “From the time that I was six years old I had the mania of drawing the form of objects. As I came to be fifty, I had published an infinity of designs ; but all that I have produced before the age of seventy is not worth being counted. It is at the age of seventy-three that I have somewhat begun to understand the structure of true nature, of animals and grasses and trees and birds and fishes and insects ; consequently at eighty years of age I have made still more progress ; at ninety I hope to have penetrated into the mystery of things ; at one hundred years of age I should have reached decidedly a marvelous degree ; and when I shall be a hundred and ten, all that I do, every point and every line, shall be instinct with life,—and I ask those who shall live as long as I do to see if I have not kept my word. Written at the age of seventy-five by me who was formerly called ‘Hokusai,’ and who is now called ‘Gwakio Rojin,’ the old man crazy about

painting." Thirteen years afterwards, he died with these last words in his usual strain, "If heaven give me only ten years more,—if heaven give me only five years more of life,—I might become a really great artist."

In the presence of such continued work and effort there seems little place for that involuntary creation which is usually attributed to the work of art. It would seem that instead of being an unconscious manifestation of human power, the practice of art, as much as the highest efforts of intelligence, supposes a constant exercise of the will. This is not to say that in all probability the most beautiful and the most subtle of the details of expression in art may not have come through some form of subconsciousness. That conclusion of attention which has not reached its mark at first is one with which we are all familiar. We have sufficient record of important thoughts or openings of discovery having been so attained; but to use this accumulated storage requires, then, a disposing effort. For the work of art that is to speak for a long time this two-fold division, this double course of origin seems necessary. The essential charm is most probably in the subconscious action. Perhaps, also, this may be a sort of explanation of why mere cleverness, which seems to us merely the intelligence working for the moment without a background of previous thought or strong sentiment is so disagreeable in the work of art. It is so disagreeable with time as to appear ridiculous when the moment is past for which it was done. No studies and no situations can be strange or inimical to the artist, if from them he can derive any strength either by being influenced through them or by opposition to them. Necessarily, then, this is contrary to the view which makes the artist the mere result of his time and place. He is so if he has lost his first enthusiasms. The impulse towards art, in its deepest basis, is as mysterious as any of the other impulses of man, but we can see through what effort of will the works of art have been attained, and we can also see that if they carry over their effect through varying forms of civilization, and are often

better understood the further they are away from us, they cannot have for their basis the fashion of the moment or the necessities of the time. In fact they are so separate from time, that even the progress of the culture of the human mind does not supersede them. The science and the philosophy of the past, however important and however beautiful, however much they have done in their day, appear to us deficient in ways that we are obliged to oppose. But the statues of Phidias, or whoever he was that carved the pediment of the Parthenon, remain eternally the same in balanced perfection; and it is merely a misfortune not to admire Michael Angelo and Raphael, Mozart and Beethoven. This persistency of influence is sufficient to mark a different origin than that of time or place. It is not to the time of its creation that is owing the peculiar influence of such a sonata by Beethoven whose echoes to-day answer some need and give some consolation. We understand little of the historical meaning and of the religious thought which have accompanied Oriental art, but its manifestations tell us a story through mere beauty of outline and color. We do not believe in the accuracy of the legendary pictures of Mediæval Art; the purposes for which they were constructed no longer exist for us; but, quite as much as they ever did, they appeal to what is lasting and what is not the necessity of the moment. Even in Greek Art, so intimately connected with our traditions, there must necessarily be ever so much that only a Greek could understand. That momentary side has disappeared for us, or rather we can only reconstruct it by great effort or through a vague sympathy. Yet we feel quite sure that the essential points are understood by us and all the more the *essential meaning* of the artist, which is independent from his time. The objects themselves may have served another purpose. They have had utilitarian effects, they have served needs absolutely extinguished, but that which does not belong to the special needs of the time we feel distinctly. The glory and pride of *Venice* is a momentary subject of ever so many of its paintings. *Venice* to us is a name of the past; but the idea of the *glory of a State* exists for us as it did for her citizens and artists. It

cannot be the fashion of a moment long gone by, which we are glad to have left behind us, that has given us works accessible to all humanity and for which we find no praise fine enough and no words sufficient for praise.

In the considerations enumerated we can see how relative and transient is the use of general theory except as a drag-net for obtaining some special information ; we can see that in the study of what is really individuality the main thing is the individual. We might see that what is called history has never been but a form of criticism, which is, as now developing, a modern form of history.

AMERICAN DEMOCRACY

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I.

A German who has seen the world and tries to make his thinking free from the chance influences of his surroundings may easily ask himself, whether it would not be most desirable that all nations should become republican democracies after the American model. If he does not ask the question himself, he is sure to be asked it by an American friend who happens not to agree with the last speech of the German Emperor, and who, therefore, takes for granted that an educated German, outside of the reach of the German state-attorney, will frankly confess that monarchy is a mediæval relic and that democracy alone is life. When one of my friends approached me the other day with such an inquiry, I was in a hurry, and my answer had to be short. I told him, first, that the achievements of democratic America are not the achievements of American democracy; secondly, that democracy in itself has as many bad tendencies as good ones, and is thus not better than aristocracy; thirdly, that the question whether democracy or aristocracy is better does not exist to-day; fourthly, that Germany daily becomes more democratic, while America steadily grows aristocratic; fifthly, that there is no difference between the two nations anyway. My friend insisted that my argument stood on the same level with the oath of the woman who was accused before the court of breaking a pot which she had borrowed from her neighbor, and

who swore, first, that the pot was not broken when she returned it; secondly, that the pot was broken when she borrowed it; and, thirdly, that she had not borrowed the pot. Well, that may be; but my haste alone was to blame, as I could not explain in the few words I had time for that democracy can cover very different tendencies. Thus I promised, when I had leisure, to disentangle my twisted argument and to illustrate, perhaps even to establish it. The following remarks are, as far as possible, a fulfillment of my promise, and they follow exactly the order of the argument.

I must begin, therefore, with the inquiry whether the present civilization of America in its good and glorious features is to be considered as evidence in favor of democracy as against aristocracy, of republican institutions as against monarchical.

The eulogists and the critics of American democracy, nowadays, often make their enterprise quite easy by praising it for qualities which certainly belong to democratic America, but which are not characteristic of American democracy. The trouble, of course, begins, at the very outset, with the difficulty of defining what democracy really is. Democracy is equality; and yet we are familiar with the argument of those who insist that equality is a foreign and un-American conception, and that American democracy is not equality but liberty. Democracy is government by those who are governed; but why, then, no woman suffrage in America? Democracy is government by majorities; and yet a thousand people in the State of New York do not count, as voters for the Senate, more than a dozen in Nevada, and even the President may be chosen by a minority. Democracy means universal suffrage, and yet every constitutional monarchy in Europe is based on universal suffrage. Democracy is brotherhood, but those who know Russia assure us that there is no more democratic country than the land of the Czar. A democracy is a republic; and yet we hear that the American colony was already democratic before the Revolution, that England is, after all, to-day a democracy, and that France is pseudo-democratic only.

It is easy to praise democracy in America if it is contrasted merely with the demoralized aristocracy of the Louis Quatorze period. The only defect of the argument is that such an aristocracy does not exist anywhere to-day, and that every word of the eulogy thus fits, just as well, any other non-republican country. And it is easy to depreciate American democracy if it be compared with an ideal construction of public life which is nowhere realized, under the most complex conditions of modern society. The criticism, again, can be turned against any other country where, under different forms, the defects of modern culture and the weaknesses of human character bring about similar evils. It happens easily that the American puts into the ledger of democracy too many items which simply belong to the times in which we live.

The unfairness of such a substitution is felt most strongly when America is compared with Germany. Germany has become in the literature of democracy the most convenient object of demonstration for the difference between the New and the Old World system. Comparison with England leads too quickly to the sentiment that the monarchy is there merely decorative; comparison with France is dangerous, since France pretends to be a democracy like America; comparison with Russia is out of the question, partly because Russian life is so little known in America, and partly because its political institutions seem to an American beneath discussion. Germany remains thus in the vast literature of the subject always the one easiest to point to among the leading nations. The popular argument runs as follows: America has all these fine things; America is a democracy, Germany is not a democracy; poor Germany, that cannot have all these fine things! But Germany might very well have them, because they do not necessarily pertain to a democracy as such. It is thus, perhaps, natural to begin a study of American democracy by a comparison of the achievements usually claimed for this country with those of the German Empire, which, as Mr. Bradford in his recent large work on "The Lesson of Popular Government" assures us

"is almost as much under military and imperial despotism as three centuries ago."

It might be difficult to reach a general agreement on any proposed list of reasons for the pride and satisfaction and happiness that result from the public life of this wonderful country, but I have certainly nowhere found in the literature of the subject a more complete enumeration than in the noble essays of Charles W. Eliot, in his recent volume, "American Contributions to Civilization." If I understand him correctly, President Eliot distinguishes ten different features in our public life, each one of which deserves the respect and the admiration of the world. Let us consider these features one by one as compared with conditions in Germany. "The first and principal contribution," says President Eliot, "is the advance made in the United States, not in theory only, but in practice, toward the abandonment of war as a means of settling disputes between nations, the substitution of discussion and arbitration, and the avoidance of armaments." That was written in 1896. But it is to the credit of England and not to that of America that the Venezuela conflict did not lead to war in that same year. And since those days we have gone to Cuba, we have gone to the Philippines, and, worse than all, we have heard through the whole scale, from the editorials of the yellow press to the orations of leading senators, the voice of that aggressive temper which waits for an opportunity to show American superiority to the world by battles and not by arbitration. Germany, on the other hand, has now kept the peace for thirty years, peace in a time which was filled to overflowing with international irritations, peace which was paid for with immense expenditures, a peace that almost no one dared to hope for, and which was certainly not a product of chance, but the result of most persistent efforts—it may be added in the same breath, efforts on the part of the government much more than on the part of the people, since in all Europe times have so fully changed that princes are much more peaceably inclined than nations.

"The second eminent contribution which the United States,"

according to President Eliot, "have made to civilization is their thorough acceptance, in theory and in practice, of the widest religious toleration." "The constitutional prohibition of religious tests as qualifications for office has given the United States the leadership among the nations in dissociating theological opinions and political rights." But again we must ask, is it otherwise in Germany? What office in Germany is dependent upon a religious test? Just as the Protestant population of Saxony loves its Catholic king, and just as the Catholic population of Southern Baden adores the Protestant Grand Duke, so the whole public and political life of Germany shows a peaceable intermingling of all creeds, exactly as in America. If the Americans, to emphasize the contrast with Europe, point to the religious persecutions of the Jews in Russia, we have to consider this as an evidence of race antagonism; and mob violence against other races is certainly not unknown in large parts of America. On the other hand, the struggle between the German government and the ultramontane Centrist party ought never to be misconstrued as religious intolerance; it is a strictly political fight for power. But religious toleration has not only the political aspect, in which all the leading nations are to-day on the same footing, but also a social aspect, and it may be doubted whether Germany is not superior to America in its willingness to accept the social personality without any intermeddling into the particular way of arranging private relations to the problems of eternity. There is endlessly more personal gossiping about our neighbor's religion here than in Germany. In smaller towns, especially, the social intolerance in religious matters reaches a degree utterly unknown in continental Europe. The American Sunday laws would appear to Germans as an intolerable lack of religious freedom. There is no doubt that even an avowed atheist would find his path much freer in Germany than here.

A third characteristic feature, as is claimed, of American civilization has been the successful development of a manhood suffrage. But every one knows that the legislative bodies of Germany are products of universal suffrage, too, and that the local

administration is fully developed self-government. In both countries universal suffrage is the great school of political education, the great vehicle for the feeling of responsibility in the masses, the means of disseminating public interests; but in both countries it needs a complex, artificial organization to be practically manageable, and, above all, it needs constitutional limitations to avoid the evident dangers and evils. All the differences have to do merely with these forms of adjustment and means of warding off the dangers. The German system ensures through the instrumentality of the hereditary monarchy those advantages which the founders of the American Republic secured through the many conservative features of the American form of government, where, especially the Senate, perhaps not as it is, but as it was planned, and the prescribed slowness of the governmental procedures, act as an effective restraint upon popular excitements. If democracy be understood as a form of government which represents the will and energies of the people, the German and the American systems are equally democratic, and it is wrong to make light of German suffrage because the highest executive, as representative of the national will, is not selected by a majority vote, but by the universal, spontaneous loyalty to one who stands above parties. On the other hand, it is not less unfair when English authors are pleased to call the constitutional the true democracy, and the American system, a pseudo-democracy only. But so much may be said, indeed, that the German citizen, when he goes to the ballot box, receives the educational influences of universal suffrage more directly than his American colleague. There is no machine, there is no "boss," there is no two-party system, which often makes the choice merely a somewhat demoralizing decision between two evils, or demands a vote on issues which make no appeal to the personal interests or intelligence of the voter. The large number of parties in Germany, on the contrary, lends to the decision a much more individual character.

A fourth point which is an occasion of pride to every American is "that property has never been safer under any form of government." But has any one ever owned a pfennig in Ger-

many behind which the majesty of the German nation did not stand? Certainly it is not otherwise here, but it cannot be denied that Americans themselves everywhere reinforce the widespread notion that the financially weak man cannot find justice in America against the powerful influences of rich corporations, a prejudice which has taken much stronger form in Europe, and has there spread abroad the erroneous opinion that the American civil court is a seat of corruption. How much depends in such questions upon the point of view is shown by the interesting experience of a large association founded in New York by German-Americans. This association gives legal aid to immigrants, and has in this way been widely beneficial; but when the society recently celebrated an anniversary, the discussions showed that there was some difference of opinion as to what they were really accomplishing. One party believed that their purpose was to aid the immigrant, who, by reason of his training in Europe, has not yet risen to the height of the American doctrine of equal rights for all; and the other party, on the contrary, believed that they were to help the immigrant in obtaining justice, because one who is accustomed to its administration in European courts will not know how to obtain the "pull" that is necessary in the unreliable courts of his new home. If we free ourselves from arbitrary interpretations of facts and look at the principles, we shall be sure of the safety of property on both sides of the ocean.

Is it not a parallel case with the fifth assertion "that nowhere have the power and disposition to read been so general"? The schooling of the nation has been for a hundred years the greatest honor of the fatherland, and, while the completely illiterate have disappeared in Prussia, it is well-known how large a percentage of native born whites in the United States are illiterate still, in how many country districts education is alarmingly crippled, and how often in city schools the accommodation is insufficient. On the surface, the case looks better for the sixth point, "that nowhere have property and well-being been so widely diffused." It is certainly true that the lower classes are better off in some parts of the United States than in Germany;

America is the wealthier country. But there are a few points which we must not overlook. On the one hand, well-being is a relative affair, more dependent upon the changes in social life, whether up or down, than upon the given status; and the change upwards, the raising of the standard in the last twenty years, is much more to be felt in the fatherland than here; moreover, well-being there is much less dependent upon wealth than in the distinctly commercial atmosphere of this country; and the socialistically colored insurance laws of Germany diminish the social hardships. On the other hand, if the diffusion of American wealth is accentuated, can it be denied that the extremes are greater here than anywhere else, that the army of the unemployed is swelling while the billion dollar trusts are formed, that the richest men are richer than any European, while the slums of New York show a misery that is unknown in Berlin.

A seventh reason for satisfaction with American democracy is "that no form of government ever inspired greater affection and loyalty." But can it be truly affirmed that the German nation feels less loyalty and affection for its constitutional monarchy, which does not appeal merely to the moral personality, but also to the æsthetic imagination? and does the affection for the form of government not fuse with loyalty for the highest representative of the nation? And yet, while the German is brought up from his childhood to loyal affection for the bearer of the crown, almost the half of the American population sees in the White House the man against whom their party effort was directed and whom they hope to fight again a few years hence.

There are no fewer grounds for questioning the eighth point of this presupposed superiority, "that nowhere has governmental power been more adequate to levy and collect taxes, to raise armies and to disband them, to maintain public order and to pay off great public debts." But in what, in this respect, does the inferiority of the German government appear? Is it not usually conceded, even by the most fervent admirers of the democratic system, that the strong side of the European governments is their smooth working, due to the incomparable preponderance of experts

and specialists? It has been asserted, again and again, that all the smooth effectiveness of expert government is morally less valuable than the rough working of a democratic machinery. That, it is true, is not the question now, but the assertion implies that at least the technique of government in America cannot be claimed as superior.

It has been maintained with full right that a further ground of the glory of American democracy—our ninth—is the way in which people of the most various races and nations have been absorbed by the vigorous organism of the United States. There is no doubt that no other country can show a similar achievement, but it is, at the same time, a fact that no other country has had the opportunity to try its skill in the solution of such a problem. The case of the immigrants who arrive on our shores with the full intention of becoming loyal Americans can scarcely be compared with that of the Polish or French or Danish population, which is unwillingly, and by the chance of history, amalgamated with the German nation. Those foreign elements which came by their own choice to Germany have been as thoroughly assimilated by the monarchy as the American immigrants by the democracy. America's whole success in that direction is determined by its geographical and economical situation, but not by its form of government.

The tenth point—it may be our last—is the noble progressiveness of the democratic nation. It has been said "that no people have ever welcomed so ardently new machinery and new inventions generally." But even if we consider progress merely from the narrow point of view of technique, it seems that Americans have fallen into certain misconceptions. Typical of these were the editorials of the press of the whole country when the report came that the United States' exhibition at the Paris World's Fair won the largest number of prizes. The triumph over Germany was at that time celebrated in all its variations. Only later came the commentary. The United States had, indeed, the largest number of awards, but, as the President of the American Manufacturers' Association declared, most of them were of sec-

ondary value, while the largest number of first prizes went to Germany. From the 121 groups into which the exhibition was divided, Germany triumphed in fifty-one, the United States in thirty-one, in spite of the fact that the number of German exhibits was only 2,500, while those from the United States numbered 6,564. On their incomparably broad scientific basis, German industries, especially the chemical and electrical ones, have made the same rapid progress which American industries have enjoyed on the basis of greater wealth and commercial enterprise. In the same way the introduction of new inventions into the daily life has been not less characteristic of Germany. Moreover, progress means more than the production and introduction of machinery. Can it really be said that the genius of American democracy is more progressive than that of the German nation, if the word be taken in its broader sense? Does not the whole history of civilization show that the real decisive progress has always come from the great personalities, while it is characteristic of democracy to raise the average but to keep down the great man? The democratic masses are progressive in the sense that if great men have opened a new way, they rush eagerly on; they want more and more of a given reform or of a given improvement, but to find a method of improvement or reform which is really new in principle is never their immediate concern; and yet that alone means progress from the standpoint of the world's history.

But this point in the discussion would lead us beyond our goal; our aim was at first not to criticize democracy, but merely to show that not every good thing in the United States can be accredited to the existence of democracy. If it be taken for granted that the love of peace, religious toleration, the diffusion of education, universal suffrage, the assimilation of foreign elements, the safety of property, the love for the government, the efficient working of the administration, the wide extension of well-being, and the spirit of progress, that all this because it is present in the United States is a product and characteristic of democracy, then any critical study of the nature of democracy is superfluous. But

, such an assumption would beg the question. We had to ask, therefore, at the threshold of our inquiry whether monarchical Germany is inferior in these points of distinction, and we have seen that the facts speak against such an arbitrary hypothesis. The value of democracy cannot be proved by reference to qualities which are, to the same degree, in some respects perhaps, even still more strongly present in a so-called aristocracy. It has thus been our preparatory task to clear from the way of the discussion the popular notion that because America is a glorious country under democratic government, therefore every American success must be to the glory of democracy. With the same right, the same reasons for satisfaction and pride might be construed in Germany as arguments for the superiority of the monarchical system. A fair discussion will refuse such assistance and will consider the problem as a theoretical one.

II.

A theoretical discussion of all sides of democracy was not our aim. We set out to answer the question of the American, whether the German ought not to prefer democracy. The question involves logically a full belief in the merits and advantages of democracy; the answer which has to explain why the German negatives the question is thus not bound to restate the arguments in favor of democratic government; they are considered as well-known to the questioner, and the other side alone is in debate. No one, indeed, can be blind to the enormous moral advantages of democracy. It reinforces individual initiative, and through this the feeling of responsibility, it secures a high average of development, it stimulates every man to an equality of effort, and each one of these influences is worth being paid for in high sacrifices. Further, it makes an absolute change of policy possible, if the nation is dissatisfied with the old course; it reinforces the moral truth of the equality of men, and it avoids arbitrary and unjust standards of comparative valuation; in short, its ideal aim is moral, just, educative, and effective.

But have these merits not also their defects? is the realization of these ideal ends probable or even possible? are not certain other ideals of equal value totally neglected? The German who seeks to inquire thus into the logical meaning and working of democracy may, of course, feel from the first disinclined to get his information from the United States, inasmuch as the experiment was made there under exceptionally favorable conditions. There was nothing typical in its development, and that unique combination of splendid possibilities might have made a noble showing, even if democracy had been the most deplorable form of government, and if everything had had to be achieved against the spirit of democracy. Here, in a land which, by its enormous possibilities, its abundant wealth, its freedom from traditions, attracted millions of the most energetic men of all nations, their combined efforts, not dissipated by the militarism which results from the geographical conditions of the European powers, must be effective in spite of any governmental scheme. To learn a lesson in comparative sociology the German, therefore, looks more naturally to France, where the periods of monarchy were not the least prosperous ones of the century; or to Brazil, where everything turned from good to bad when the régime of the old Emperor was exchanged for a republic. But even if we take all our demonstrations of the practical results from the United States, how much power to convince belongs to those principles?

If we begin with the most seducing tenet of democracy, its belief in the equality of men and their equal right to determine the fate of the nation, we cannot doubt that the dangerous-error of the appeal is hidden merely by the glittering generality of the term equality. That man is equal in so far as every one is equal before God is not a new doctrine; it did not have to wait for the state philosophers of the eighteenth century. Every man's good will has the same intrinsic, absolute value, but this moral truth does not involve any consequences as to the nature of man. The inequality of his strength and beauty, his talents and intellect, is more certain than his similarities; and power to determine by a logical decision the wisest course of national action is, of

course, dependent upon his intellect, his insight, and his character; in short, dependent upon the unequal characteristics, and without any internal reference to the aspect in which man is really equal. The only excuse for political equality is thus not that it expresses the real equality, but that it is impartial to the different kinds of inequality. Every adjustment of political rights to the existing inequality of men is open to the reproach of unfairness and arbitrariness. If such adjustment were made according to education, it would be easy to insist that the most educated are not necessarily the purest characters; if according to wealth or birth, it could be shown that the rich man or the nobleman is not necessarily the most intelligent and the most educated. Every system, in a word, involves some injustice, and the only advantage of mechanical equality is not that it is freer from injustice, but that it mingles all possible kinds of injustice,—without any preference for a special one, indeed, but therefore, also, without the possibility of securing at least the partial justice of every other system. But this small negative merit brings with it an abundance of defects and dangers, which must be clearly felt by every unprejudiced observer of American life. A by-product, visible on the surface, is the empty conventionality which finds its ideal in likeness to one's neighbor. The constant desire of the democratic American is to avoid an individual standpoint, to accept a pattern in his social and æsthetic and intellectual life, to dress and to read, to travel and to talk like everybody else. But the dogma of equality entrains also much greater evils. One is chronic diletantism. In a democratic community every one can do everything; whether he is on a school board or in an embassy, in a legislative or in an administrative position, his guileless freedom from the influences of technical preparation, together with the fact that he is a democratic citizen, fits him for the job. The need of specialized experts is not felt, and the result is an ineffective triviality which repels the best men and opens wide the door to dishonesty. The career of experts in all functions of public activity is the pride of Germany, where the school committeeman or the mayor or

the diplomat climbs up step by step, and reaches the greatest effectiveness by his lifelong specialization.

But worse even than democratic dilettantism is the lowness of aims which results from the belief in equality. If everybody's judgment is of equal value, only that is valuable which appeals equally to everybody. This is an indirect and yet a logically necessary consequence, which shows its practical results with an alarming clearness. There are only two good things which appeal to everybody because they address the lowest instincts: money and physical strength. The result is that commercialism and athletics absorb the energies of men. That does not mean that those who hunt for wealth or indulge in sport do so in every case because their lower instincts are involved; but it does mean that ends which appeal to the higher tendencies only remain ineffective as stimuli for the national life. The final outcome must be that commercialism, if left alone, would devastate science and art, education and society, law and politics; city government and state legislature would go over into the hands of men who cared for the little money which was honestly in it, or for the much money which was in it dishonestly, and the national politics would become tainted by the influence of commercial corporations.

But all this has also another side. Where the belief in inequality somewhat discredits those premiums which appeal to the lower instincts, and which are, therefore, desirable for every human being, a certain outer organization of the national life under the point of view of the aristocratic values also becomes necessary. A kind of ideal coin must be stamped which can circulate in daily practical life like money; a system of degrees, of titles, of honors, of decorations must result which give distinction without the power to satisfy the lower instincts. They are based on examinations, on creditable service, on the judgment of experts, on excellence in all those directions where the appreciation of the masses stops. The consequences are clear. The more this ideal coin gains credit, the freer its owner becomes from the necessity of appealing to the masses and of attracting the atten-

tion of the half-educated and the quarter-educated: his title carries in a condensed form the appreciation of the experts. Where the democratic spirit makes such coining impossible, man must appeal again and again to the masses, who have no memory and no refined discrimination. The result is not necessarily, as Europeans often wrongly imagine, a general mob-like vulgarity, but the more civilized forms of vulgarity: a bumptious oratory, a flippant superficiality of style, a lack of æsthetic refinement, an underestimation of the serious specialist and an overestimation of the unproductive popularizer, a constant exploitation on the part of immature young men with loud newspaper voices and complete inability to appreciate the services of older men, a triumph of gossip, and a crushing defeat of all aims that work against the lazy liking for money-making and comfort. On the other hand, in an aristocratic country, the existence of a system of honors becomes secondarily a new form of appeal, even to the masses. As soon as people feel that the distinction of such honors given for intrinsic worth outweighs the distinction of wealth, the honors themselves become objects of desire, even for those to whom the ideal ends in themselves do not appeal. The development of a system of symbolic honors thus draws the people more and more away from commercialism and reinforces the striving towards higher aims and ideals. In its last results democracy must thus lower the aims of the best to the standard of the masses, while aristocracy must push the masses with their lower instincts into a striving towards higher ends.

The foregoing stands in close relation to another feature of pure democracy,—the conspicuous absence of great men. Democratic leaders are always men who take control of the movements of the masses, but not men who have the inner greatness to lead the masses into new directions. This is true for every field, for science and literature, just as well as for internal and external politics. The whole system must necessarily push into the foreground the skilful manager who appeals to the average man, and must keep down the really great man, who goes the unpopular

way of new purposes. No one can rise whose working cannot be understood in every phase by the man behind the plough. And yet it is an illusion to imagine that the great men can ever be replaced by the high average of the masses. A really great thought, a really great inspiration, has never come from the diffused intelligence of an aggregation or from the zeal of a multitude. A parliament is an effective vehicle for acknowledged ideas, but it never gave rise to a new thought; no philosophical or religious inspiration ever came to the world by a majority vote. The democratic situation will make great work possible merely where this is the result of a gigantic coöperation, as demanded by commerce and industry, or where individual premiums in the form of great wealth stand as temptations, as in the case of practical inventions. It is not by chance that while American inventions are in line with the best inventions of Europe, they are none the less all based on scientific discoveries made in Europe. Where coöperation is useless, as in every case of intellectual or æsthetical or moral effort, and where no commercial premium is offered, a democratic society must remain sterile and commonplace, since it has no means of stimulating the truly great men in their necessary solitude. Where a genius is needed, democracy appoints a committee.

Perhaps still more closely are defect and virtue bound together in the case of the democratic spirit of individual activity. Every one feels himself lawmaker and authority; the immediate result is the tendency to disregard every other authority but one's own self. A lack of reverence pervades the whole community and controls the family, the school, the public life. The pert American boy who does just what he pleases may thus get an early training in democratic politics; but while he wastes the best of the home and of the classroom, he gets at the same time the worst possible training for the duties of life, all of which demand that he do later quite other things than those which he likes to do. He will learn too late that it is a great thing to command, but a greater thing to obey, and that no one can sign early enough the declaration of dependence. Where no sub-

ordination is learned, no self-sacrifice and no enthusiasm can be expected, and all institutions of the land must slowly adjust themselves to the much-lamented influence of those who seek merely pleasure and success.

But does not the individual independence in democracy involve at least the highest degree of liberty? When Lecky, in his famous book, coupled the two conceptions, his "Democracy and Liberty" meant rather Democracy *versus* Liberty. And Democracy remains the defendant from whatever standpoint we may consider it. If we approach it from the side of social philosophy, we must understand that, philosophically, freedom means self-determination, but that self-determination is characterized not only by the absence of outer determining factors, but by the harmonization of all the inner energies. A man is not free, in a moral sense, when he is a slave of his passions and lower instincts, when he is unable to control his impulses by his higher ideas. In the same way a social body gains no real liberty simply by the overthrowing of external forces, but merely by an organization in which the higher elements control the lower ones, in which the representatives of social ideals supersede the forces of selfish social instincts and vulgar impulses. A social organism will thus be the more free, the more the influence of the best men, of the noblest characters, and of the best educated personalities suppresses a system of equalization.

The outcome is the same if we come to the question from a practical side. Democracy has, first, a necessary tendency to abundant lawmaking of a casuistic character, to restrictions and prohibitions, and a continuous meddling with private affairs, inasmuch as that is the only remedy for evils at the disposal of such a community and the only opportunity for the political representative to prove his right to exist, not to mention some reasons of less dignity. In democracies, more easily than anywhere else, all kinds of protection and prohibition interfere with the social and economic liberties of the population. Further, democracy, when it is not the question of a small country, as in ancient Greece, or in modern Switzerland, but of scores of millions, must necessarily bring into

existence the party machine, and finally the party boss. That the machine and boss system repels the best men from public life and attracts the cheapest elements to politics, that it opens the doors for corruption and selfishness, is only one side of the shield; that it destroys civil liberty is the other. The rule of the machine is more tyrannical and more absolute than that of a king. The party rule in America, with its methods of nomination, deprives the individual of his political powers more completely than any aristocratic system, and the despotism of the boss easily turns into the tyranny of a group of capitalists. History has shown that this tyranny in democracy not seldom takes even the governmental form of a political dictatorship. That outcome is not to be feared in America, but simply because the American masses lack the æsthetic sense for the beauty of imperial pageantry, that sense which fascinates the French when Boulanger returns on his black horse from the parade. Democrats are always inclined to take bad æsthetical taste for good moral feeling.

Is the government of democracy at least an effective political instrument? Of course a government, behind which the wealth and strength and power of a gigantic nation stand, is effective by its mere weight; but the question is whether it gains an additional advantage by the Democratic-Republican machinery. Has it, for instance, an advantage in political effectiveness over the opposite extreme,—the government of Russia? The Czar has had certainly no reason to be dissatisfied with the comparative success of his cabinet. To be sure, the democratic nation has this great advantage, that the discontented majority can break up the policy of the day and substitute a new one; but in itself it is no improvement simply to try the other party, and a state in which all efforts at reform must necessarily take the shape of seeking to throw overboard the existing government, chooses, at least, a very indirect way for the improvement of public affairs. In foreign politics, too, the government naturally suffers in several respects. It cannot have secrets; it must play all the time an open hand. It must make continual concessions to

public moods and caprices. Further, it has not sufficient time at its disposal to enter into far-reaching enterprises, as it cannot rely on its own continuance. Nor can it, finally, awaken in outsiders the confidence which an independent continuity of government engenders.

What do all the foregoing arguments prove? *Carthaginem esse delendam*? That Democracy is an evil? Certainly not. We have emphasized the great moral and educational and practical achievements of the democratic spirit, and no intelligent student of social philosophy can overlook the dangerous possibilities and the evil tendencies of aristocratic society. The principles of equality and inequality are, then, both one-sided tendencies with immense energies and possibilities for good, but encompassed by dangers, both open to compromises with human selfishness and to demoralization by the masses or by the classes. The logical superiority of democracy is out of the question, and just as no American wishes to see Dewey or Roosevelt established as Emperor, so no sane German wishes to see a political party leader become president of a German republic. What open-minded men on both sides wish, can be merely that the unhealthy tendencies which are involved in each form of public life may be avoided and suppressed; but, in itself, the one state form does not stand higher than the other. The form of government under which a nation lives—so the educated average German would argue—depends upon the conditions of its historic development: a colony of men who went out as pioneers and who separated themselves from the mother country could not find unity and self-dependence under another form than that of the American democracy, while a land which hammers out its unity in welding a multitude of States, each with a long history under kings and princes, needs as its crowning symbol the crown of an Emperor.

If in these two lands everything were to be moulded by the form of the State alone, the final outcome would be the greatest possible difference in the national life of the two,—one thoroughly democratic, the other thoroughly aristocratic. But the

other possibility is open, that each land supplements those tendencies which are a necessary consequence of its external form of public life by compensatory functions which reinforce the other side; if democracy counterbalances the evils of the crowd by social efforts of the aristocratic type, and if monarchy overcomes its intrinsic one-sidedness by democratic reforms and impulses, the differences will be unessential, and both countries will show a profound harmony of national instincts. Exactly that seems at present, from day to day, more the situation of the United States and Germany. They become more and more alike, and the fact that one is by birth, and desires to remain, a monarchy, while the other desires to remain a republic, appears secondary and unessential. How is that possible? A hundred years ago the question of political government moved the world and determined the greatest differences. How has it become so unessential that no one to-day seriously considers the problem whether democracy or monarchy is the "better" form of state? And if the progress of history has abolished that problem, how does it happen that the new life in the two lands moves in opposite directions, that on monarchical ground towards greater equality, that on democratic ground towards greater aristocracy, and both thus towards the same type of social existence, in spite of the important individual characteristics and differences?

To understand this whole situation we must take a more general point of view, perhaps even the most general one which the philosophy of history suggests.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

FRENCH COLONIAL EXPANSION IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY¹

CAMILLE GUY, *Paris*.

Immediately after the treaties of Vienna, in 1815, what were precisely the long-neglected colonial domains of France? In the Gulf of Mexico, some of the Antilles (Martinique, Guadeloupe, and their dependencies); in America, French Guiana, which was restored only in 1817, and the two islets of Saint Pierre and Miquelon; on the coast of Africa, a few trading posts in Senegal; in the Indian Ocean, the Ile Bourbon, that had been amputated from the island of Mauritius; our five posts in India, and nothing more. Our colonial possessions were even less considerable than after the disastrous treaty of Paris in 1783. Moreover, this lamentable state of affairs did not attract public attention, so completely absorbed as this was in the politics of the Continent. France, which was engaged with the problem of its reorganization, of the evacuation of its territory, of the cultivation of a soil that had been so long left fallow, gave but little thought to its possessions beyond the seas; and it appears that the government of the Restoration, which was so thoroughly devoted to reëstablishing commercial intercourse with other nations, to encouraging the progress of agriculture by a series of preservative measures, to developing manufactures by suitable enactments of protection, did not think seriously of extending

(1) Translated by Mr. C. H. C. Wright of Harvard University.

this parental care to the colonies that still remained, or of uniting them by mutual interests to the mother country.

Undoubtedly, under the influence of ministers like Chabrol and Hyde de Neuville, the government of the Restoration wished to preserve, and even to organize politically, our colonies, or at any rate what was left of them; but the decrees of February 9, 1827 and of September 21, 1828, take into account only political organization, and do not deal at all with the commercial or agricultural interests of the various establishments. "The Restoration simply took charge of the arrangement and organization of the colonies that remained in our hands or were restored to us by treaty. It did not prove unequal to this unpretending but fruitful task which paved the way for the future."¹ A single attempt at agricultural colonization, made, in 1823, on the banks of the "Mana," failed wretchedly, because the government did not know how to coördinate its efforts or to aim at a definite result.

Even more, one might maintain that the conquest of Algeria, the necessity of which is evident to-day, was an accident rather than the result of careful political reasoning. The expedition to Algiers was not so much for the purpose of ensuring to France control over the two shores of the Western Mediterranean, as to humor by a foreign war the patriotic feeling of the French people and to ward off an inevitable revolution.

The proof of this is that, once in control of Algiers, the government of Louis-Philippe, which held the same views on colonial policy as did that of Charles X., deliberated a long time before deciding to retain the conquered territory, and only in 1834 decided to organize the "Possessions of French North Africa." And this hesitation, which seems so strange to-day, was shared and encouraged by the Chambers and the whole of France. In the speeches on this question in Parliament, we find the same arguments and the same bits of sophistry which were brought forward fifteen years ago against the occupation of Tonking,

(1) Charles Roux, *Comment rendre nos colonies prospères*.

and still more recently of Madagascar. However, there were some vague but evident signs of a veering of public opinion, and the French government was gradually forced, in spite of itself, to increase its colonial domain. It may be asserted that the unreasonable hatred which the French then felt against Great Britain considerably promoted this evolution. It was, indeed, in order to emphasize its opposition to English interference that, in 1842, France extended its protectorate over the islands of Oceanica. It was as an answer to this occupation of Australia and its tremendous development that Dupetit-Thouars established French missionaries in New Caledonia. At the same time, some persistent promoters of colonial expansion assured to France, on the shores of the Soudan, possession of Grand Bassa and of Butu (1842), both banks of the Garroway River, and the posts of Assini and Dabu (1843). On the other hand, in 1839, Major Bouët-Willaumez acquired the left bank of the Gaboon and a regular treaty, in 1844, (April 1) made the acquisition permanent. There were, moreover, at that time, insignificant places that gave no indication of the importance which they were to acquire later. So, in 1848, on the part of France, there is scarcely anything but absolute indifference. And yet its older colonies had, during this period, as a result of the suppression of the slave trade and the incessant changes in the sugar taxes, experienced serious crises, which to some of them, especially Guadeloupe and Martinique, were well-nigh death blows.

While the sugar-producing colonies were brought to the verge of elimination under the influence of these modifications, the Algerian colony, for other reasons equally inevitable, was slowly stretching to the south. People were far from the time when a timid administration ordered the governors of Algiers not to advance beyond the limits of the Tell, and when colonization was confined to the plains of Oran and of the Métidja. The capture of Constantine, the overthrow of the army of Abd-el-Kader, the occupation of the high plateaux, were but so many steps forward in the direction of the Sahara, and, without realizing it, the French of Algeria were subjected to the same necessity that

had been put upon all those who had preceded them in Northern Africa. It was evident, as General Daumas had said, that "it was essential to be master everywhere under penalty of not being safe anywhere."

Such was the situation of the French colonial domain when the second Empire took the place of the Republic. Napoleon III. did not understand, any more than did Charles X. or Louis-Philippe, the advantage of a colonial policy. He was drawn, in spite of himself, and by economic necessities which it was impossible for him to avoid, to the Sahara and to mysterious Asia. He went against his will, hesitating to keep the advantages won, and he did not anticipate the great and glorious achievements that his timid and random expeditions would permit his successors to undertake and to carry out. Moreover, the close alliance with Great Britain, which was the main consideration of the first period of his reign, forbade an active competition with his new ally, the mistress of the seas and already an aspirant for commercial supremacy. In Africa, Marshal Randon gave a vigorous impetus to the exploration of the Sahara. The capture of Laghuat (1852), soon followed by the capitulation of the Mزاب (1853), the submission and then the coöperation of Si Hamza, who destroyed the sultanate of Wargla in order to hand it over to us, made conditions particularly favorable for commercial undertakings. In the direction of Ghadames, a young explorer, Henri Duveyrier, succeeded in penetrating among the Tuaregs Azdjer, thanks to the protection of the marabout sheikh Othman, whom Si Hamza had succeeded in bringing to Algiers. To try to reap advantage from this trip, the Mircher expedition signed, in 1862, the agreement known as the treaty of Ghadames. There might have been some doubt as to the value of this treaty, which was concluded with subordinate persons whose authority rested only on verbal assurances, and of which the real meaning, in the opinion of the Tuaregs, was to reserve to Khenoukhen and to his successors the collection of tolls upon French caravans. "M. Rouher was, therefore, making a bold statement when he asserted that this treaty gave perfect safety to French or Algerian

caravans.”¹ The murder of Messrs. Dournaux-Dupéré and Joubert was soon to prove the contrary. The question was nevertheless opened, and from 1863 on, all those who are obliged to solve Algerian difficulties must deal with the question of the Sahara. Indeed, from this is derived the whole of our policy in North Africa.

It was not only on the shores of the Mediterranean, but on the Atlantic as well that the African policy of France was working its course aside from direct governmental influence. The little colony of the Senegal, admirably governed by Faidherbe, was increased by Cayor and the country of the Trarza Moors, while the river became French as far as Médine. Regular and moderate tribute was exacted from the native chiefs, and all the rubber trade, the only one then remunerative, was directed to St. Louis. Thus was justified the opinion that was expressed as early as 1802 by Le Brasseur, governor of the African Coast, “The natural course of the rubber trade from the Sahara should be toward the banks of the Senegal, and the masters of this river will always control it, if their conduct be firm, politic, and reasonable.” Faidherbe, with a sort of premonition of the future, sent, in 1863, the naval lieutenant Mage to study the country between the Senegal and the Niger, with express orders to establish French posts thirty leagues apart, as future commercial stations and places of protection for the caravans. This was the great commercial route from the Senegal to the Niger, from St. Louis to Bamaku, which Faidherbe was thus opening up for his successors, who, in following out his policy, have finished what he so well began.

The French expedition to China, in 1860, had directed attention to the Eastern questions, and had revealed the immense wealth hidden in the mighty Middle Empire. It had also proved the importance for a commercial nation such as France of having a footing on the continent of Asia and of making sure, if necessary, of trading posts in that region of the world. The Indian

(1) H. Schirmer, *Le Sahara*.

ports, crushed and lost in the vast English colonies, were almost useless. If this policy did not appear clearly to the ministers of that time, it was understood by men of initiative and by far-seeing colonists such as Admirals La Grandière and Bonard and the explorer Francis Garnier. When, as a result of the two expeditions against the Emperor of Annam, France found itself in possession of an immense colony which it had neither desired nor sought, it did not understand the bearing of this result. Napoleon III., badly advised, even thought of giving up the new acquisition, and it must be acknowledged that public opinion, which at that time confused Mexico and Cochin China, crazy expeditions and productive undertakings, would have almost unanimously approved his action, if he had done so. It took nothing less than the energy of Chasseloup-Laubat and Victor Duruy, or the headstrong persistency of Francis Garnier and Rieunier to force the government's hand and to help to hold for France, in spite of France, the colony which was to be the centre of the Indo-Chinese Empire.

"This country adjacent to China," said Admiral Dupré, "will be the natural outlet of the rich southwestern provinces, a question of life and death for the future of the French control and commerce in the Far East." The protectorate established over Cambodia, in 1868, and the exploration of the Mekong by Doudart de Lagrée extended our influence and our commerce towards the roads to the interior and towards the Chinese frontier. Henceforth the line of expansion in Indo-China was marked out.

Two events had an important influence on the development of French colonies between 1860 and 1870: first, the new trade policy that was outlined by the commercial treaties of 1860, and secondly, the opening of the Suez Canal. The latter event resulted in a narrowing of the boundaries of the world, an increase in the bitterness and activity of commercial competition, and the necessity on the part of European nations of finding in the most remote lands outlets and trading places. This route, thus opened between three worlds so diverse in race, climate,

and products, changed the great commercial lines. It directed them from the Atlantic and America towards the Orient where people once had met. The day when ships crossed the Red Sea on their way to the Indian Ocean, the necessity for France of an Indo-Chinese Empire became more evident than ever before, and the conquest of Cochin China was that day justified. Much more, statesmen divined the imperative necessity of not allowing formidable competitors to take possession of this Red Sea passage as had been true of the way by the Cape. Though an attempt made on the coast of Abyssinia failed for lack of perseverance, though the timidity of political action prevented, at that time, the conquest of Madagascar, and though this same timidity prevented the Empire from asserting our indisputable rights to Sheikh-Said, the occupation, at any rate, of Obok, in 1862, seemed to assure us a useful post at the entrance to the Straits of Bab-el-Mandeb. However, the direction of colonial policy was changed. Without neglecting Northern Africa, of which Algeria and Senegal placed in her hands the two most useful keys, France was to be drawn into an active policy in Asia and in the Indian Ocean. It is clear that in spite of evident neglect and the desire to refrain from external activity, the colonial policy of the Second Empire was not without its fruits. It even planted, without wishing and without intending it, the first stakes of the future transmarine Empire.

II.

The war of 1870 seemed to be a stroke of good luck for those competitors who feared in distant lands the victorious rivalry of the French. What prospect was there that a land thus defeated, dismembered, impoverished, would persevere in its external expansion? Who would ever have imagined that even by 1875 France would have a colonial policy to which, in spite of many hesitations and vicissitudes, it has remained consistently faithful? For the commonplace and parsimonious conquests of the Monarchy of July and of the Second Empire the Republic substituted a system of annexation on a large scale; and, in less than twenty

years, it took Tunis to defend Algeria, Tonking to keep Cochin China, and Madagascar to guard the routes in the Indian Ocean. This French colonial policy, planned by Gambetta, and of which Jules Ferry was the most illustrious exponent, is not, as people have maintained, the result of chance and hasard. On the contrary, to those who look a little more closely, it seems a continuous policy, methodical and in conformity with a general scheme which complex events and interruptions for the moment have sometimes concealed, but which existed none the less. Both economic and political reasons took France at the same time to Asia and to Africa; in Asia, to reach the heart of the rich and mysterious provinces of Central China by ascending the two great rivers of the Indo-Chinese peninsula; in Africa, to join together on the shores of Lake Chad the possessions of Northern Africa and those of the mouth of the Niger, and, still later, the Congo Colony—thus forming, in accordance with the ambitious plan of Crampel, a vast French African Empire that stretches without interruption from Cape Blanco to the great outlet of the Congo.

While France was suddenly intervening in Tunis and imposing on the Bey, after a short contest, the treaty of the Bardo, which made Tunis a protectorate in name but a colony in fact, the steady advance towards the South made continuous progress, after 1879, and assumed a new phase with the schemes for railways that were to cross the Sahara. "Since the Sahara, in its actual condition, seemed so hostile and inaccessible, was it not possible to open it up by public works and by modern means of locomotion? Since the caravan trade persisted in holding aloof from Algeria and, moreover, remained insignificant, could not one establish a more vigorous current of trade by means of railways? The Sahara, without economic value in itself, would be the passage, after the building of railways, for the wealth of the Soudan to the ports of Northern Africa."¹ The first explorations in the Sahara did not seem to prove the theory that was so

(1) Aug. Bernard, *La pénétration saharienne*.

eloquently advocated by the engineer Duponchel; they even led up, in 1880, to the lamentable massacre of the Flatters expedition, which caused an excitement all the greater for the fact that the government came to the astounding resolution of not pursuing the guilty persons. Consequently, the boldness of the Tuaregs continued to increase, as a result of this weakness, and new victims (Palet in 1886, Doubs in 1889) were added to the already lengthy list of those who had perished in the Sahara. "If you do nothing," said a native of Tripoli to M. Feraud, "let no one venture toward the South: the impression of your weakness will always cause the murder of your explorers." However, the first Foureau expedition, in 1883, renewed, to a certain extent, the old tradition and proved that France had not, as supposed, abandoned its attempts to enter the Sahara.

The year 1890 is an important date in the history of French Africa. By the agreement of August 5, "Her British Majesty's Government acknowledged the French zone of influence to the south of its Mediterranean possessions to a line from Say on the Niger to Barrua on Lake Chad." This agreement, at first received by French political writers and colonials with a joy that is difficult to explain, was, after a deeper study of the question, severely attacked by these same people. It is certain that Lord Salisbury had grounds to boast of having given France an inferior portion by assigning it the light lands of the Sahara, where "the French cock would find a chance to do some scratching." It is certain, also, that to obtain the unnecessary authorization to extend Algeria to the South, France was permitting herself to be shut out from the rich lands of Sokoto. On the other hand, the treaty of 1890 resulted in ensuring the neutrality of England as regarded our attempts on Madagascar, and of defining clearly the policy of France in Africa. It was little, but it was something, and had immediate possession been taken of the Twat, some advantage would evidently have been gained from the transaction. In spite of the energetic advice of the governor-general, operations were limited, after 1893, to the creation of a certain number of forts and the occupation, in 1895, in the province of

Oran of El Abiad, Sidi-Sheikh, and Jenien-bu-Rezg, and then, in 1897, in the far south, of El Golea. Finally, in 1899, the surrender of Bu-Amama did away with the last obstacle to the central government's plans as to the Twat, and gave its policy full scope in the Sahara. That is how the Twat question was solved after the attack of M. Flamant's expedition, which took possession of the whole group of Ain Salah and Tidikelt (1900). Thus was partly realized the prophecy of Rohlf: "Algeria is not complete; it is absolutely essential that the whole system of the Wady Saura, and consequently Gurara, Twat, and Ain Salah, should be included in the French sphere of action." Certainly the problem of the unity of French possessions in Africa has not for all that been solved, any more than by the admirable achievements of the Foureau-Lamy expedition, which was the first to cross the Sahara and to reach the banks of Lake Chad. One might even maintain without paradox that the treaty of Ghadames and the Transsaharian railway scheme have falsified the real data of the problem. The opposition encountered by the French in the Sahara can be overcome only by force, but there should be some proportion between this and the obstacles to be overcome, as well as the results to be expected.

Much more fruitful results have come from the French advance towards Lake Chad by the Gulf of Guinea and the course of the Niger. As was stated not long ago by the "Daily News," French activity in this part of the world has followed a definitely outlined policy. From the time when Binger had completed his long journey and, on his return, published the map which was a genuine revelation of Western Africa; from the time when Monteil, in a daring raid, crossed the curve more to the North,—the plan that had been followed, in spite of a thousand obstacles, was to link the colonies in the Gulf of Guinea to the Senegal colony, and to strengthen the whole by connecting the great river artery of the Niger and that of the Senegal by a railway. It was to give reality to this magnificent scheme that the naval lieutenant Hourst studied so carefully the Tankisso region, that General Archenard, while pursuing the bands of Samory, brought back a topographi-

cal investigation of the Milo valley, that Captain Levasseur, who had been in the expedition of Colonel Combes, published a very accurate map of the adjoining parts of the Soudan and French Guinea, and that, in 1895, Colonel Marchand gave a very complete map of his Transnigerian plan. In 1896 Captain Salesses, entrusted with planning the railway from Konakry to Kurussa, modified considerably the state of knowledge of the mountain land of Futa-Jallon. There remained the question of the Cavally, the Sassandra, and the Fereduguba. It was for M. Blondiaux, first, and in 1899 for Messrs. Hostains and D'Ollones, to find the solution of this interesting problem and for M. Eysseric to finish and perfect the investigations of Marchand on the upper Bandama.

While the study of the west coast was being carried on, explorers were not idle in the North. Captain Quiquandon, when sent on expedition to Tieba, drew up a map of the Kenedugu, and Dr. Crozat brought back from the Mossi information that formed an admirable supplement to that of Binger. Colonel Archenard traveled over the country on the right bank of the Niger, and Lieutenant-Colonel Bounier reached Timbuctu. Once established here, the French officers gave proof of great activity, which was of considerable geographical importance, for the maps of Colonel Joffre cleared up many obscure points, while other expeditions discovered, to the northwest of the Niger, a great lake country as yet unsuspected.

To the east, the conquest of Dahomey opened up, by the Oueme, a means of communication with the very heart of the curve, in unknown lands. M. Ballot carried on without delay his explorations in the north; Decœur, Baud, Vermeersch, starting from the recently founded post of Carnotville, studied all the district between the Oueme and Say on the Niger, thus linking the hinterland of Dahomey, and examining the upper valleys of the Oueme and the Volta and the heights which divide these two rivers from the tributaries of the Niger on the right (Oly, Mursa, etc.). The configuration of all the land included between Dahomey and the Niger, south of the ninth parallel, was studied with great

care and extreme ability in observations by Major Toutée, who, starting from the coast, reached the great river opposite Badjibo, after having collected all the material that was of value for the systematic exploration of the country and its scientific study. Other explorations, on a less extensive scale but no less careful and accurate, by Messrs. Ballot, Alby, Develle, etc., determined definitively our topographical and hydrographical knowledge of the regions between the Guja and the Niger. In 1897 new travelers who also set out from Carnotville succeeded, Bretonnet in reaching Boussa, Baud in reaching Buna and Wa; others, finally, the vicinity of the Gurunsi, thus adding their discoveries to those of Toutée in the east and of Marchand in the west.

It may be seen that the explorations progressed from two directions at once, from south to north by the Gulf of Guinea, from west to east by the Senegal and the Niger: the lines of exploration were to meet at right angles. But what was wanting to complete our knowledge of the curve? A study of the Gurunsi and the Mossi. And this was the work of Captains Voulet and Chanoine in their first expedition.

But nothing was accomplished so long as the course of the Niger, the living unit of West Africa, was not accurately determined, so long as its hydrographical system remained unknown. Doubtless many investigations had already been made. Thanks to Mage, Caron, Aube, Zweifel, and Moustier, and more recently to Messrs. Passaga and Millot, the course of the Niger was well known from its source to Koriume. Doubtless, also, the two journeys of Mizon, in 1890 and 1892, had disclosed in the lower parts a different Niger from the one the English had intentionally mapped out inaccurately. He had discovered the water thoroughfare of the Benue, which had taken him to Yola. Doubtless Toutée had, by a bold trip, ascended the river from Badjibo to Zinder, and had twice passed the famous and dangerous cataracts of Boussa. But there was still lacking a general exploration which should, by investigating the as yet unknown parts of the stream join together and coördinate the information that had been gathered from other explorers. This trip down the river

was gallantly carried out by Lieutenant Hourst of the navy and his brave band. Now the great task was finished. Western Africa was freed from its mystery; routes from all parts of the horizon covered the land like a thick network. It was not merely a topographical chart that the explorers brought home, it was also a scientific acquaintance with the country, the solution of nearly all the geographical problems so timidly proposed during the previous fifteen years, and which are so clearly solved to-day; it was also such a gathering of economic information, such a thorough study of the means of communication, without which no colonization is possible, such a careful classification of the native races that, from now on, the development of the domain thus acquired may be assured of success, inasmuch as the conventions signed with Germany, in June, 1897, and with England, in July, 1898, have removed all motives for conflict with the two nations. It is to be hoped that the promoters of the colonial policy will not persist in placing, in a more or less factitious way, the Mediterranean colonies ahead of those of the Niger and the Atlantic. That a government has been created over Western Morocco to the north of the Soudan in order to ensure gradually the submission of the Trarza Moors is very well; but that the Foureau expedition by a journey, wonderful for its endurance and courage, should have effected at Kouka a junction with the Joalland expedition and the band of M. Gentil to the south is still better. But this is not a definitive accomplishment, and many years must pass before a railway or a safe road will enable one to pass from Biskra to Timbuctu, Zinder, and Barrua. The union must first be accomplished by telegraph. The future may perhaps bring about the rest; but for the present there are more pressing needs and more advantageous enterprises in other directions.

It is certain, for instance, that the union of the immense territories of the French Congo with the colonies of West Africa by Lake Chad, the Chari, the Ubangi, and the Congo itself, was destined to be of great moment for the dominion of France in those regions. And so the arrival of M. Gentil from the south

on the shores of Lake Chad is an important date in the history of the French exploration of Africa. It was the conclusion of the difficult advance which, step by step, had led our explorers and soldiers from Loango and the mouth of the Ogowai to Brazzaville first, then to the banks of the Ubangi, the Welle, the Mbomo, and the Chari. The first trip of Savorgnan de Brazza and of Dr. Ballay was in February, 1876, the advance to the North by M. Gentil was in 1896. The whole history of the French Congo lies within those twenty years. The four trips of M. de Brazza had won for France, in spite of the great competition of Stanley, the valleys of the Niari-Guillu and of the Alima, as well as twenty-six posts on the banks of these winding streams. The expedition of Crampel, with its sad ending, had permitted a more definite policy to the north of the Congo and the adoption of a scheme of gradual advance developed later by Messrs. Fourneau, Nebout, Dybowski, Clozel, Decazes, and especially the Casimir Maistre party, the good results of which proved the possibility of reaching the Soudan and the colonies of the Gulf of Guinea by the tributaries of the Congo and those of the Niger. The position of France was such in these regions that it was able, in 1894, to protest firmly against the Anglo-Congolese treaty, which leased to Great Britain a strip of land skirting the valley of the Nile, and to make Europe officially acknowledge its preëmptive rights on the lands of the Free State. But why conceal the fact that the excellent state of affairs of 1895 is no longer that of to-day. The heroic and almost superhuman trip of Marchand across all Africa ended, it will be remembered, in the annoying Fashoda incident, and unexpectedly resulted in the exclusion of France from the basin of the Bahr-el-Ghazal. It is, moreover, no longer a secret for any one that the Marchand expedition could have succeeded on the sole condition that another expedition, first entrusted to M. Bonvalot and then placed under the command of M. de Bonchamps, had reached Fashoda at the opportune moment from Jibuti, and Harar by the plateaux of Abyssinia and the course of the Sabateh. What would, indeed, have been the outcome of the Anglo-

French misunderstanding if Lord Kitchener had found a French expedition already settled for six months on the banks of the Nile? Unfortunately M. de Bonchamps was not able to arrive in time, and the bold plan was not realized.

More fortunate on the island of Madagascar, to which it could claim political rights that date back two centuries and privileges of exploration due to explorers like Messrs. Grandidier, Maistre, and Catat, Douliot, Emile Gautier, Father Piolet, etc., France is now undisputed mistress of the high central plateau, and is gradually extending her sway over the whole country. The position of Madagascar off the coast of East Africa, in the waters of the Indian Ocean, not far from the entrance to the Red Sea, would, even apart from its agricultural and mining opportunities, make it a political post and a strategic station of the highest importance. For a nation like France that holds in the Far East a vast Indo-Chinese Empire, it is absolutely necessary in case of war to occupy an almost impregnable position in an ocean traversed by the vessels of all nations. The conquest of Madagascar was, therefore, an appropriate conclusion to the work of France in Africa.

III.

The struggles of recent years over the partition of Africa have drawn public attention to the regions watered by the Niger, the Nile, and the Congo, but it would not be fair to forget that other explorers were undertaking the hard and dangerous task of penetrating the secrets of Asia, and were also accomplishing brilliant and useful results. Like Africa, Asia has for thirty years had its partisans, its explorers, and its martyrs.

The conquest of Cochin China and the exploration of the Mekong by Doudart de Lagrée and Francis Garnier had made clear the necessity, if France desired to derive any profit from this new colony, of reaching China and the great artery of the Yangtze-kiang, if not by the Mekong, then supposed to be impossible for navigation, at least by the Song-Koi, a river discovered

from the north by Garnier and from the south by Jean Dupuis. It was, moreover, the opinion of Admiral Dupré, who, as early as 1872, had intrusted to this skilful, reliable, and bold merchant the exploration of the Red River and the opening up of commercial intercourse with Yunnan. But the time was ill chosen, for the Annamite authorities could not make up their minds to allow French intrusion into the Tonking provinces, and their scheme, planned by the grand marshal, N'Guyen, was a fierce and stubborn struggle against French influence. Because of their bad faith and policy of treachery and fraud, the situation soon became so serious that it was necessary either to yield to the demands of the Annamite court or to impose, by diplomacy and, if it must be, by force, the sovereign will of France. To accomplish this most delicate task, the admiral selected Francis Garnier, with whose impetuous character and spirit of initiative he was already acquainted. The rest is known: with a small band of resolute men, Garnier conquered the whole delta of Tonking, ascended the Red River, captured the fortress of Hanoi, and, for a time, it seemed as though the conquest of Tonking was to be the least costly of French colonial undertakings. Unfortunately Francis Garnier trusted his enemies too much, and he fell on December 21, 1873, with the best of his followers in the very place where, ten years later, the brave and charming Major Rivière was to perish. Everything was in disorder; the government resolved to beat a retreat, and found, in the person of M. Philastre an agent, ready for anything, who undertook to direct the evacuation and withdraw the French flag, abandoning those natives who had trusted themselves to Garnier and inflicting a lasting blow to French prestige. But the ill-will of governments is unable to counteract the laws which direct events. Ten years later French soldiers were back in Tonking; the citadel of Hanoi was recaptured, and war suddenly broke out against China. "There are no more brilliant pages in our military history than the double campaign of General Brière de l'Isle and Négrier, who defeated two armies with two brigades, and faced all of the opposing forces with seven thousand men; on the one hand driving back forty thousand

well-armed Chinese, in hot pursuit, to the gates of China; on the other, opening up Tuyenkwan and repelling the army of Yunnan." The peace would have been still more advantageous, if Parliament had listened to the voice of Jules Ferry, who asserted before the Chamber of Deputies that "China was a negligible quantity" and that peace ought to be signed at Peking, or the words of Admiral Courbet, who advocated a landing at Tientsin and the occupation of the Pescadores Islands. But both had the misfortune to be ahead of the times: Admiral Courbet died of grief on his ship, the "Bayard"; Jules Ferry died later branded with the epithet of "Tonkinois," which, in the eyes of posterity, will certainly be his greatest title to glory. The war of 1894 between China and Japan and the recent expedition to Peking were to prove to France that they were right and leave to the French people only the bitter regret of not having understood them. However, the treaty of May 11, 1884, completed the following year by that of Hue, definitively established the French Indo-Chinese Empire.

Since then to the recent date when M. Doumer completed the financial and administrative unity of Indo-China, the Asiatic possessions have been slowly but gradually organized, and except for certain police measures necessitated by the presence of pirates on the frontiers, have not required new military expeditions. The substitution of civil for military rule in the person of a governor-general has not had the disastrous consequences predicted by the fierce partisans of armed occupation, and the figures of commerce and of transactions in general that have increased with every year are there to testify to the prosperity and security of the great country. When, by a system of navigation suited to the rivers and by an intelligent scheme of railways into the Southern provinces of China, Cochin China, and Tonking have become the great means of commercial intercourse between the mountains of Yunnan and Sechuen and the Indian Ocean, the Indo-Chinese Empire will console France for the Indian Empire, conquered by Dupleix and Lally-Tollendal and lost by the government of Louis XV.

IV.

Said Jules Ferry on October 31, 1882: "France must have a colonial policy. Every fragment of its colonial domain, every tiny morsel should be sacred to us. * * * It is not a question of to-morrow's future, but the future of fifty or a hundred years from now, the very future of our country." This programme is to-day carried out, and in less than twenty years' time. The period of explorations is really over and that of development has begun. Under the stress of economic as well as political necessity the rôle of France, instead of being merely European, has become general and even *world-wide*. Though the recent Swiss decision has deprived French Guiana of all the land we claimed, although our position in the West Indies is counter-balanced by that of other European powers and is very inferior to that of the United States, since the recent Cuban War,—though, in a word, the interests of France in America are insignificant, it occupies at least in Oceanica, with New Caledonia and the French establishments in Tahiti, a position which would place it on the track of shipping, when the American isthmus is finally cut through. On the other hand, in Africa, France leads other nations, since the conquest of Algeria, opposite France, has made of the Western Mediterranean a French lake, and since to-day one can go from St. Louis to Timbuctu, from Timbuctu to Lake Chad and from Lake Chad to Brazzaville without leaving French territory. In Madagascar and in Asia, France has now a large place under the sun of the tropics, and has wiped away by its conquest in the nineteenth century the memories of the eighteenth. As Sir Charles Dilke has said, no nation has done so much in so short a time. Much, indeed, remains to be done. The French colonies are not yet provided with means of penetration (roads, canals, railways); labor is lacking almost everywhere; colonists are not numerous enough, and do not as yet know how to adapt their efforts to the natural wealth of the soil and the subsoil. The customs regulations do not allow a sufficiently free circulation of commodities, and it would be well to find practical means

of assisting the old colonies which no longer live by agriculture and manufacture, and the young colonies which have not yet begun to do so. But, on the other hand, it is well to remember that the building of railways has already begun, that the labor problem will soon be solved, that certain French possessions, such as New Caledonia, the highlands of Tonking and the plateaux of Madagascar have already received their quota of laborers, and that there is room for many others. Though some of the new colonies still cost a great deal because military occupation is still necessary, there are others, even some of the newest (Guinea, Senegal, Dahomey, Madagascar), which have ceased to be a burden, and whose budget even gives a surplus sufficient to enable them to undertake the public works on which their future prosperity depends. A nation which, in less than twenty years, has conquered an immense colonial Empire, has preserved it peacefully and by its moral sway alone, which transacts with it a business of nearly eleven hundred millions, which has undertaken the construction of eight lines of railroads, organized navigation on there great rivers, offered concessions to agriculturists, materials and supplies to manufacturers, new markets to merchants, is a nation to which, except under penalty of injustice and misconception of its past and present history, one cannot deny the glory of having been, and of being more than ever, a colonizing people.

FRANCE AND ITALY

SALVATORE CORTESI, *Rome.*

Although Italy is far from being able to compete with the greatest countries with regard to armaments as well as economic resources, financial solidity, and social development, its foreign policy is at the present moment of great interest,—a leading factor, as it is, through a series of circumstances, in the grouping of the European Powers. It will to a considerable extent depend upon Italy whether, within the coming two years, the international European situation will remain what it now is, or will be very sensibly changed.

In May, 1903, the treaty of the Triple Alliance expires, and Italy, according to the new conditions, which she seems determined to claim, may or may not decide to renew it, as her "rapprochement" with France, which reached its climax with the festivities of Toulon last April, puts her in an independent position, and makes it possible for her to choose her friends according to her interests. The crisis in the Prussian Cabinet which led to the resignation of Herr Miquel, was partly due to the Peninsula, which rebelled against the protectionist, almost prohibitive programme of the German Agrarians and "Junkers," supported by that Minister. Italy made it understood that if the commercial treaty between her and Germany, now negotiating, should be in any way less favorable to her than the one of past years, she would think twice before continuing in the Triple Alliance.

The action of Italy, during the last twenty years, since she joined the Central Empires, has been especially directed toward freeing herself from the supremacy which France thought herself entitled to exercise over her, and which was the original cause of all the jealousy, misunderstandings, and active bad feeling between the two countries.

To adequately comprehend this, we must look back as far as 1859, when Napoleon III., ally of Victor Emanuel, fought the Austrians in company with this King "to free," as he said, "Italy from the Alps to the Adriatic." The French Emperor was drawn into that campaign without knowing the real state of Italian public opinion, which was all for the unity and independence of the country, while he desired to form of the Peninsula a confederation of States in which France could always make her predominance felt. He even dreamed of imitating the great founder of his house by giving a crown to one of his name, that is, the Grand Duchy of Tuscany to Prince Jerome Bonaparte. When he realized his mistake, he suddenly signed that treaty of Villafranca, which, since it left Venetia under Austrian rule, was by the Italians considered treason, and led Count Cavour to resign the Premiership rather than approve it. From this arose the accusation of ingratitude which France has so often hurled at her neighbor, while the latter thought that if the former had lost 20,000 soldiers on the battlefields of Lombardy, she had paid her debt by ceding two of her best provinces, Nice and Savoy, besides an indemnity of 60,000 francs. This, without considering that half a century before, under Napoleon I., 1,000,000 Italian soldiers shed their blood, all over Europe, for the glory and prosperity of France; the Peninsula only receiving in return the loss of her art treasures, which went to enrich the collection of the Louvre.

After the war of 1859, Napoleon III. became one of the greatest obstacles to Italian unity; he firmly intended to maintain intact the Papal States, and kept a French garrison in the Eternal City for that purpose. All the attempts made, especially by Garibaldi, to take Rome were checked by France, and the new kingdom could not possess its capital until after the fall of the Second

Empire at Sedan. France never entirely forgave her ally of 1859 for not having hastened to her help, notwithstanding a large contingent of Italian volunteers, headed by Garibaldi, fought for her in the Vosges Mountains.

In the first period of the Third Republic, there was a strong feeling against Italy ; the flame was fanned by the Clerical party, and the whole was generated by Thiers and by the Marshal MacMahon, in the latter of whom the Reaction hoped for a restoration of the monarchy in France, and a restitution of the temporal power to the Pope. For four years, the Republic kept at Civitavecchia, the harbor nearest Rome, the man-of-war "Orenoque," at the disposal of Pius IX. either for aid or flight, should he desire to leave the Eternal City.

People in Rome remember that when, in 1849, the Second French Republic sent Gen. Oudinot to suppress the Roman Republic of Mazzini and Garibaldi, and the great hero was defeated by the overwhelming numbers of the enemy, in that same harbor of Civitavecchia there was another man-of-war, a small corvette, over which waved the stars and stripes. When all hope was lost and the surrender imminent, Mr. Cass, Minister of the United States, went to Garibaldi, on July 2, 1849, and said, "General, an American corvette is at your disposal ; there you and those of your followers who are most compromised can take refuge"—which, naturally, caused a comparison, and the exclamation, "What a difference there is among Republics !"

However, in spite of the friction, both in France and Italy there was a strong party favorable to friendship and a good-understanding, led in the Republic by Victor Hugo, and comprising in the Peninsula all the Liberal and Democratic elements. Their efforts made such progress every year that an alliance was even spoken of, but obstacles were raised in France by the reactionaries and Clericals, who attributed to Italian unity their reverses of 1870, and refused to consider the Italians on an equality with themselves, thus wounding their *amour propre* ; in Italy, by the Conservatives and ultra Monarchists, who feared that a too close union with France might lead to a change of government at

home ; and finally, in Germany, where Prince Bismarck was most anxious to isolate the Republic and attract Italy into the German sphere of interest. After the wars of 1866 and of 1870, which consummated its unity, Germany was, with regard to international politics, in a less favorable position than is generally supposed. Russia was neutral but without any leanings towards the new Power ; Austria was still bleeding from the wounds of Sadowa and the lost supremacy over the German element ; France was dreaming of and preparing the "revanche" ; Italy was flirting with the latter ; and England was without sympathy or enthusiasm for any one. Bismarck, who understood that if Germany were left isolated, the hatred of Sadowa and Sedan might join and find other supporters, labored for a grouping of the Powers of which his country would be the centre. He first attracted Austria into the orbit of Germany, and then, pushing France into Tunis, which Italy considered an appendix of Sicily,—Tunis contained at that time a colony of over 50,000 Italians,—obliged the Peninsula almost to implore her admission into the alliance of the Central Empires. Rightly or wrongly she had been induced to believe that France might, in the same way, swoop down on every Italian interest in the Mediterranean. Still, the Triple Alliance was at first far from being popular in Italy, partly because of the Francophile elements which had grown in number and power, partly because in all classes there was a feeling of repugnance at the idea of being united with Austria, the bitterest enemy of their unity, whose past dominion over Italy was one of the most hated recollections of the latter.

In France the adhesion of Italy to the Triple Alliance was looked upon as a declaration of war ; Frenchmen considered that the "friends of our enemies are our enemies," and reprisals against the Peninsula began at once. The first important step was the law of 1884, prohibiting Italian steamers from carrying on a coasting trade in France, to which Italy replied with a similar law, in 1885, against French merchantmen. This was followed, in 1887, by the abrogation of the commercial treaty, which took place in a brusque form owing to Signor Crispi's

sudden visit to Prince Bismarck, while the negotiations for the renewal of the treaty were being carried on. The consequences to Italy were exceedingly grave. To form an idea of their gravity, it is enough to consider that the Italian exportation to France, which amounted to 450,000,000 francs annually, dropped to 110,000,000, while the French imports in Italy were reduced from 310,000,000 francs to 150,000,000; and 500,000,000 francs employed by capitalists in Italian industries were withdrawn. The 300,000,000 litres of Italian wine sent annually to France were entirely cut off, so that in the year following the rupture of commercial relations gallons and gallons of wine were thrown away in the south to make room for the new vintage. This situation brought on the most terrible agricultural, economic, industrial, and real estate crisis that any country has suffered in modern times; and it is really greatly to the credit of the Italian people that they have had the strength, endurance, and faith in their future, to weather the storm, notwithstanding the crushing burdens imposed upon them during that period by the military expenses required of their country as a member of the Triple Alliance.

This brave stand under adverse circumstances gradually led to a change in the feeling of France towards Italy. Marquis di Rudini, who succeeded Signor Crispi after the battle of Adowa, together with his Minister of the Treasury, Signor Luzzatti, tried to profit from it by opening negotiations for a reëstablishment of commercial relations; but no concrete conclusion was reached during the Meline Cabinet, as that Minister adhered to the principle which had been followed for ten years, "No concessions to Italy until she leaves the Triplice; after that, whatever she demands, even more." His successor, M. Brisson, was the first to think that a policy of "rapprochement," rather than one of continual hostility, would little by little detach Italy from the Central Powers. The Milan riots overthrew Marquis di Rudini in Rome, and the Dreyfus case M. Brisson in Paris. Fortunately their successors, General Pelloux and M. Dupuy, following the same lines, succeeded, with the help of Signor

Luzzatti,—who although no longer a member of the government went to Paris for the negotiations,—in concluding a commercial agreement which has been the starting point of the new friendly relations between Paris and Rome, preceded by the visit of the present King, then Prince of Naples, to the capital of France, in June, 1897, during which, for the first time, a crown prince of Italy visited a president of the Republic.

This is the background on which were sketched the fêtes of Toulon,—arranged in the two countries by the most democratic cabinets which they have ever had, that of M. Waldeck-Rousseau in France, and that of Signor Zanardelli in Italy,—which represent the latest and most important manifestation in the revival of Franco-Italian friendship.

Through our modern fault of exaggeration, the visit of the Italian squadron to the French naval stronghold in the Mediterranean has by some persons been interpreted as the breaking up of the Triplice, and the passing of Italy to join the Dual Alliance, while others have gone so far in the opposite direction as to find that at Toulon, outside of official etiquette, there was neither cordiality nor enthusiasm. The truth is that importance was given to the visit of twenty-six Italian men-of-war to the French coast, not only by the fact that Italy was represented by a royal prince, and France by the head of the Republic, but by the ocular demonstration that the reasons which twenty years ago induced Italy to take refuge under the Austrian and German eagles, have ceased to exist; and while the Kingdom itself has nothing to fear from its Western neighbor, the latter now appreciates its friendship at its true value.

With regard to the Franco-Italian enthusiasm, one would perhaps judge the manifestations of to-day differently, if one had chanced to be in Toulon, as I was, less than ten years ago, when at Aigues-Mortes, through labor jealousies between French and Italian workmen,—the latter numbering 50,000 in the Department of the Var alone,—Italians were hunted, massacred, and killed like savage beasts. About that time it was often dangerous to be known as an Italian, and when, in 1893, the Russian

squadron visited the same harbor of Toulon, among the cries emphasizing the enthusiasm for the Muscovite colossus were those of "*A bas,*" or "*A mort les maccaronis.*"

On the eighth of April last, just seven years after that visit of the Russian squadron, the flag-ship of the Duke of Genoa anchored in the same spot where Admiral Avellan's man-of-war had stood; having on one side beautiful pine forests, and the magnificent hanging gardens of the Villas of Tamaris and Les Sablettes, an Eastern paradise, and in front, Toulon, proud of her Phœnician origin, and made glorious by her forty-five sieges; the town surmounted by Mount Faron, from which fortifications radiate in every direction, requiring, in case of war, an equipment of 30,000 men. From all these hundreds of batteries, dominating and surrounding the four arsenals, which represent the centre of French naval power in the Mediterranean, the cannon saluted the entrance of the Italian squadron, producing a volume of sound terrific and awe-inspiring, as though it was intended to have it understood that the conception of the great Vauban was realized, that of having Toulon utilized for "a great navy that will guard its safety and fill jealous neighbors with very real uneasiness."

Another interesting result of the meeting of Toulon was, that since there was present—it is believed not accidentally—a Spanish man-of-war, the idea was conceived, and easily inflamed the Southern mind, of a union between the Latin peoples. The pride of the greatness of their race, which for so many centuries mastered the world, came for a moment to the surface, and they dreamed of reacquiring the lost supremacy. "What could not be done," one heard it said, "if like the Germans, the Slavs, and practically the Anglo-Saxons, the Latins also were united?" In what is called the Latin world, besides France, Italy, and Spain, are also included Portugal, Roumania, half of Belgium, four Swiss Cantons, Istria, Dalmatia, Albania, and the whole of Central and South America, making an aggregate of 163,806,000 people. However, as is easily understood, this is nothing but a dream, destined, perhaps, never to see even the beginnings of

realization. Central and South America, rather than finding their attraction in old Europe, will more likely obey the principles of the Monroe doctrine, as was practically demonstrated in the Hispano-American War, when Spain, among the many illusions she cherished, thought she might count on the sympathy of the Latin American republics, while the European Latin countries are often more divided among themselves than are nations of different races. Especially is this so from the point of view of the feelings of the people, independently of the political combinations which the interests of the moment may suggest to their governments. We find, for instance, that the French have, perhaps, no friendships besides that for the Russians; the Spanish, more particularly after the war with the United States, love only the Germans, and the Italians, notwithstanding the Triple Alliance, object to the Germans, dislike the Austrians, while the race for which they feel affinity is the Anglo-Saxon; the bulk of the nation, of course, not distinguishing between English and Americans.

During the whole of the last century, France predominated over the Latin world, and Italy for many years was under her protection and teaching. Such a privileged situation for France was the consequence of her long period of unity, of the leading place she took on the road of progress and civilization, with the triumph of the ideas of the great Revolution, and of the wars fought to destroy absolutism and establish democratic and free régimes, corresponding to modern ideas and needs. All this gave her prestige, power, and prosperity, so that even now she is perhaps four times richer than Italy, possesses a vast colonial Empire, and has a literature which enjoys universal fame. Italy, on the contrary, having scarcely thirty years of life as a united nation, with about half of her provinces just emerged from a state of semi-barbarism, with the wounds not yet healed of the epic struggle for freedom, cannot compete with her Republican sister; but, full of hope in her future, trusting to the youthful energies of her people, encouraged by the great progress accomplished in late years, she is determined not to submit to the tutelage of any other

country. The pretensions of France in considering Italy her ward were the true origin of the late Franco-Italian disagreement, while Germany, though under many aspects much more superior to Italy than is France, succeeded in rendering the Triple Alliance, if not altogether popular, at least very acceptable, through having had the tact never to make this superiority felt. The experience of the past seems, however, to have produced good results, as a visible change has taken place in the feeling of France, both in high places as well as among the people. "*Maintenant l'air est changé*," said M. Delcassé, French Minister of Foreign Affairs, to me at Toulon, "and we think that France has all to gain by having as neighbor an Italy strong, prosperous, and contented, an Italy which is now of age, and needs no advice from any one."

The formation of the Alliance between France and Russia has contributed to augment the importance of Italy, since, while formerly the Central Empires, even alone, were strong enough to keep any French aspirations in check, now that St. Petersburg has joined Paris, the withdrawal of Italy from the Triplice would mean a considerable weakening of it. From this point of view, the "rapprochement" between Rome and Paris has a great importance, and may lead to considerable international changes. It will be remarked that all the statesmen who have been in power have proclaimed and repeated that the only object of the Triplice and Duplice is the guarding of peace; but, if this is the immediate object, every one understands that alliances in international politics have, also, the purpose of being ready for war, and to prepare the propitious moment for those revindications which each country, more or less, nurses. France has never renounced Alsace and Lorraine, and Russia, notwithstanding her young Czar's sincere love of peace, ardently desires a "revanche" for the Treaty of Berlin, and for this purpose has prepared a strong army to support the ideals of the young Slav race, which, in the impetuosity of youth, imagines a supremacy over two worlds, Europe and Asia. The natural course of events toward the realization of these aspirations may be anticipated by the detachment of Italy from the Triple

Alliance, which, of course, has as chief interest the maintenance of the *status quo*. However all points to the conclusion that Italy is not yet sufficiently strong to feel herself secure as an isolated Power; she cannot entirely depend upon the assistance of England, as it was believed she could when, in 1887, Count Robilant, then Italian Minister of Foreign Affairs, concluded a convention with Great Britain for the safeguarding of Italian interests in the Mediterranean; and she is not yet ready to join the Dual Alliance,—the three cases in which she might venture to leave the Triplice. So very likely this treaty, which for twenty years has imposed itself on the politics of Europe, will once more be renewed, but under entirely different conditions from those under which it was concluded in 1882, and under the renewals of 1887 and 1891. Then, simply because of her belonging to the Triplice, France considered Italy her enemy, now, although the Peninsula still belongs to that alliance, President Loubet telegraphed from Toulon to the King of Italy his “ardent wishes to H. M. King Victor Emanuel III., for the prosperity of Italy, *friend* of France,” and the King answered, sending his “hopes for the prosperity of France, *friend* of Italy.” These words, which are apparently very simple, have in diplomatic language much weight, as it will be remembered that the phrase which set fire to the great Franco-Russian enthusiasm was, both in the French and Russian toasts, “the two countries *friends* and *allies*.”

THE AMERICAN SYSTEM OF SUPREME COURTS, AND WHAT IT ACCOMPLISHES

SIMEON E. BALDWIN, *New Haven.*

There can be no efficient government without a supreme authority somewhere, ready to show its hand and to enforce its will upon any emergency. In England this is vested in Parliament, in Russia in the Czar, in the United States in the courts of justice.

As soon as American independence was accomplished, every State except Georgia made haste to set up a Supreme Court of its own. In earlier days there could be an appeal from colonial judgments to the King in Council. Now the last word in any controversy was to be said by the highest court of the new State.

When we adopted a system of government under written constitutions, such tribunals, under American ideas of the nature of law, became a practical necessity. To make that a really effectual and working scheme, there must be some final authority provided to determine whatever claims may be set up, from time to time, as to conflicts between constitutions and statutes, or between constitutions and executive or judicial proceedings.

A written constitution is good for nothing without somebody to guard it. Magna Charta would have had but a short life, had there been no barons of England to hold on to what they had got by the strong hand. Government, whatever its appointed form, soon becomes what the administrative authority sees fit to make it, unless there be some superior power to hold it in place.

The American constitutions all proceed from the people. They are the ultimate source of all political power. They must

exercise this power through a few of their number, selected and commissioned for the purpose. Our plan has been to divide it up, as far as possible, between three great departments of government, in the belief that it will be thus best and most safely administered ;—best because to each set of officers will be given work they are specially fitted to do ; most safely, because each set will be a check upon the others.

The check in the hands of the Executive is that he may decline to execute laws or judgments which he deems wrong. The check in the hands of the legislature is that it can, to a large extent, circumscribe by statute the authority of the other departments, and refuse to appropriate money for purposes which it does not approve. The check in the hands of the judiciary is that it can declare what is the legal effect of any act or omission on the part of the Executive or the legislature.

But the courts have this advantage over the rest. They are empowered to decide, and to decide finally, all matters of controversy, whether political or not, between man and man. To do so, they must apply and, if it need interpretation, interpret the law. Whether it be statute law or customary law, this is equally true : every lawsuit is brought to get the benefit of the law applicable to certain facts. It is for the courts to say what the facts are, if they are in dispute, and what the law is, if that be in dispute.

It is desirable that such determinations be so manifestly right and just as to command general assent. But this is, after all, a matter of secondary importance. Roger Sherman, when in his younger days living in New Milford as a country lawyer and magistrate, was approached by a neighbor with this question, "Squire Sherman, are most lawsuits settled right or wrong?" "That," was the reply, "isn't the point. They are settled."

In the words of one of our courts of last resort, "Every lawsuit looks to two results : to end a controversy, and to end it justly ; and in the administration of human government the first is almost as important as the last." ¹

(1) *Hoyt v. Danbury*, 69 *Connecticut Law Reports*, 348.

The United States, under the Articles of Confederation, organized a supreme tribunal to pass upon Prize Cases, because these, in case of an alleged capture, may naturally lead to difficulty with a foreign power. They also set up, with indifferent success, a special court of commissioners to adjust controversies between the different States. But the original confederacy of States was doomed from the first to speedy dissolution. It had not anywhere that supreme authority which, as has been said, is essential to efficient government. It was a mere league of equal sovereigns. A war could hold it together by the pressure of necessity. Peace no sooner came than it began to drop apart of its own weight.

The men who framed the present Constitution for the United States had it for their purpose to replace this worn out confederacy, which was then all that made them united, by something better adapted to that end.

In the opening days of the Constitutional Convention of 1787, it was voted that a national Executive, a national legislature, and a national judiciary were each and all necessary to make the Union secure. On this platform they built.

The Confederation had a Congress but no executive head, and no general judicial establishment. The high court of appeals, which has been mentioned, created to pass in the last resort upon cases of maritime prize, had no jurisdiction over the ordinary subjects of litigation. The new United States of America, as they reconstituted them, were to have a single Executive with almost royal powers. The laws that he was to execute were to come from a legislature able to deal with all matters of national concern, which represented the States in one of its branches, and the people of the United States in the other. But as authority to make these laws was to be derived wholly from the Constitution, and was given in that instrument in the shape of a number of specific grants, which were not to be exceeded, it is obvious that unless every act of Congress was to be obeyed without question, however it might transcend the limits so appointed, there must be some right of appeal, either to the Executive or to the judiciary or to both.

One of the devices suggested in the Constitutional Convention was that the President and a certain number of the judges should have a qualified veto power as to any bill passed either by Congress or a State legislature. This came from Governor Randolph of Virginia, and was vigorously supported by Madison, Ellsworth, and Wilson.¹ Another proposition made by Hamilton, which found less favor, was that the President should have an absolute veto as to all Congressional legislation, and that the United States should name the governor of each State, with the same powers over the State legislature.²

It is fortunate that neither of these suggestions was approved by the Convention. An absolute veto by the Executive would have been as intolerable here as it has proved to be in Great Britain. Any interposition by the judges, to prevent the passage of a bill would have thrown them into an active participation in politics, and tended to impair popular confidence in the bench. The judicial function is to hear those affected by a judgment before pronouncing it. Under Randolph's plan the courts would have prejudged every case turning upon the validity of an act of Congress.

The Convention acted wisely in following here, as in so many other matters, the practice already established in the States. Questions of constitutional construction were left precisely on the same footing as any other. If it became necessary to decide them, in order to do justice between the parties to a lawsuit, the courts were free to exercise the judicial function in the ordinary way. A constitution was a written document. The construction of all written documents, if in dispute, must be settled by the judges before whom the dispute may come. It cannot be left to a jury of twelve. Not only might there be twelve opinions as to the true meaning; not only would they be the opinions of untrained minds, unaccustomed to deal with difficulties of this nature, but that which one jury decided would be no rule for the

(1) *Elliot's Debates*, vol. v., 128, 164, 344, 428.

(2) *Ibid.*, 205.

next, in another case involving the same point. What judges decide becomes a precedent to be followed.

The Supreme Courts of the States had been construing their charters or constitutions for years. New Jersey led off with such a decision as early as 1780. The people had acquiesced in their exercise of this jurisdiction. Those who stood preëminently for popular rights and State rights, like Jefferson and Gerry, looked on it as established, if not necessary.¹

The Supreme Court of the United States, at the outset, had some advantages for the sound disposition of constitutional questions not possessed by that of the present day.

It was not so unwieldy. As originally constituted, it consisted of six Justices. The number has gradually grown to nine. At first, the Justices spent most of their time in hearing causes in the Circuit Courts. Four constituted a quorum in the Supreme Court, and more than five were seldom present.

The smaller the number upon the bench of a court of last resort, the greater necessarily will be the sense of personal responsibility resting upon each of them. In a court of nine, from which it is rare that any member is absent, there is less weight upon the shoulders of each. When a case is argued, there is not one chance in five, but only one in nine, that it will fall to the lot of any particular member to write the opinion. There is, therefore, less motive to listen closely to what is said at the bar.

In the consultation room, there is a less close contact between the minds of the judges than results when they are fewer. They do not know each other's lines of thought so well. There is more of an opportunity for unsound theories to be suggested. The weakest among nine is apt to be inferior to the weakest among five. The best lawyers who will accept such a place ought to be selected for it. Presumably they are, and between

(1) *Five Centuries Growth of American Law*, 25 et seq.

the five best, and the four next, there is a serious and increasing difference.

The court was never overburdened with its work during the first twenty years of its existence.

There were very few classes of cases which could be brought before it otherwise than on appeal. Foreign ministers could have come there for protection, but none did. States could, as the Constitution originally stood, sue or be sued there; but there were not half a dozen actions of that nature. Only one jury trial was ever claimed before it.

Nor could there be any considerable demand for the exercise of its appellate functions, until there had been time to bring cases in the inferior courts of the United States and to dispose of them by final judgments. There was, therefore, ample time to consider every cause carefully and to express the decision in apt words and good form. Marshall's great opinions smell of the lamp. They were polished and repolished. As specimens of English style, they may rank with anything from the pen of Burke or Mansfield. Now, and for forty years, the pressure of an accumulation of cases often deprives the Justices of the power of giving the time to the preparation of their opinions which is necessary to produce the best results.

The term of office of a judge of a court of last resort is always relatively a long one. Petty courts may be manned and remanned every year without great loss, but to give a Supreme Court its proper weight and dignity a certain permanence of tenure is indispensable. This is gained partly by appointments or elections for long terms, partly by the natural disposition to reappoint or reëlect one who has done well, and partly by the continuity of corporate existence which is incident to such a body. It will ordinarily contain some members who have served for many years. They will probably constitute the majority. Like the Senate of the United States, the American Supreme Court is apt to represent the point of view of a former period. This gives stability of decision.

It may also put a Supreme Court representing one shade of

political opinion by the side of an Executive or a legislature representing another shade. This will become of especial importance if the Chief Justice is a man of power. The head of such a tribunal is in a position of commanding influence. He is the spokesman of his fellows. If he is able to lead them, he will lead them.

The Supreme Court of the United States was a rock against which the wave of political reaction which swept John Adams into retirement and made Jefferson President dashed in vain. Its members had all been appointed by Washington or Adams. Most of the original Justices had been active in promoting the adoption of the Constitution. But it was not till the advent of Chief Justice Marshall that it emerged into its commanding position. He was its leading spirit ; not so much because of his official headship as by his dominating force of opinion. Story had been a Republican leader, and was appointed to the bench by a Republican President, but he became from the first a supporter of Marshall's constitutional doctrines.

Jefferson lived for a quarter of a century after the fall of the Federal party, but he did not live to see the Supreme Court, wholly remanned though it had been during the period, save for its chief, take any view of the Constitution that the Federalists had not supported. In 1826, Dr. Thomas Cooper of South Carolina, one of the most pronounced Republicans of the day, wrote of it to a political friend, "They are all ultra federalists but W. Johnson, and he is a conceited man, without talents."¹ Mr. Justice Johnson, who is thus disparagingly mentioned, was then the only survivor of three Justices appointed by Jefferson.

Among the Chief Justices of the States who have led their courts in a similar way may be mentioned Kent of New York, Parsons and Shaw of Massachusetts, Gibson of Pennsylvania, and Bleckley of Georgia.

The number of judges constituting the Supreme Court is ordinarily left by our constitutions to the discretion of the

(1) *Am. Hist. Review*, vi., 731.

legislature. Five is that most common, except in the larger States. It is probably, wherever practicable, the best. In a court of three (such as that of the Federal Circuit Court of Appeals), any dissent can come from only one man. This deprives it of much of what is really its due weight. In a court of five, where two may join in a dissenting opinion, it will carry much more force, and deservedly so. "Two heads are better than one."

It is, however, impracticable, under our American system, so to limit the number in the Supreme Courts of the larger States or of the United States. Public sentiment and custom require here, as they do not in England, a formal written opinion for publication by the official reporter, in every case presenting questions of any general interest. Few judges can prepare, outside of court hours, more than forty or fifty such opinions in a year, of a kind meriting the perpetual preservation which is guaranteed by the Law Reports. The more cases there are to be heard before them the less time can be spent upon the judgment. Consequently, in the great States, or those in which all cases, great and small, can be reviewed on appeal, without limit,¹ it is generally found necessary to have a court of seven or more. Even with that, the judges not seldom are forced to content themselves with simply affirming, without further discussion, the opinion pronounced in the inferior court.

Occasionally, but rarely, the number of judges is lessened or increased to affect the action of the court in some matter of political importance. This is a power in the hands of the legislature which ought to be used only in the most extreme emergency. It is like the right of the British Crown to pack the House of Lords by a new creation of peers, in order to carry or defeat a particular measure. That such a prerogative exists tends to keep Parliament on an even keel; but to exercise it, or to threaten to exercise it, even in such a case as was presented by the Reform

(1) Georgia and Nebraska have constitutions guarantying such a right.

Bill of 1832, is justly regarded as a thing of the most serious moment.

What now have our Supreme Courts done for us?

It is said that we live "under a government of laws, not men." Yet every government is one of men,—of men above law, or of men behind law. Our American system of administration is one of men behind law, and, in the last resort, it is one of the few members of the Supreme Court of the particular jurisdiction. They must say what the law is; and what they say they can enforce.

A court is not complete without a clerk and a sheriff. The clerk records its judgments, and the sheriff executes them.

The sheriff is but one man, yet there is no force strong enough to resist him. Why? Because he can summon every able-bodied man in the community to his assistance, in case of necessity, and they are bound to obey.

But how is it if the sentiment of the people is against the judgment of the court, and they refuse the assistance which they ought to render? In such a case, an appeal can generally be made to the Executive for military support, and soldiers can be sent from a distance, and so unaffected by the feeling of the locality, to the sheriff's aid.

There are acts of Congress to this effect, under which the President has occasionally interfered, and always decisively.

If, however, the Executive sympathizes with the feeling of the community, in opposition to the execution of the judgment of the court, the court may be compelled, for the time, to yield.

In the controversies in Georgia, early in the last century, between the State and Northern missionaries of religion who went there to teach the Indians, and were looked on with suspicion in view of their relations with the slaves, the efforts of the Supreme Court of the United States to do justice were thus thwarted by the action or non-action of the President.

This is one of the necessary evils of a system of checks and balances; but the possibility of its manifestation is not without

its benefits. It tends to keep the judiciary within due bounds in a doubtful case. Nor are they helpless in the end. The temporary feeling of popular excitement will pass away. The executive office will pass into new hands. Meanwhile, if illegal acts have been done, in disobedience to the mandate of the court, whoever may be injured by them can bring his action for reparation. Lawsuits move slowly, but the end is sure. There is always the same Supreme Court, and to it an appeal can always be taken.

The American system of Supreme Courts investing one tribunal with the right to reverse the judgments of all others has also given to every man a reasonable and increasing certainty in respect to his rights and obligations, under any and all circumstances.

This is due to our Law Reports. For more than a hundred years, the judicial opinions of our highest appellate tribunals have been reduced to writing by the judges themselves, and published for common information. During most of this period the publication has been made officially, and at public expense. No other people has ever done this. It has given us a mass of legal precedent, and it belongs to our system of jurisprudence that—

“Freedom broadens slowly down
From precedent to precedent.”

It is not merely political freedom that thus grows. It is freedom also from unjust interference with personal rights, in the ordinary relations of private life, between man and man.

These Law Reports are interwoven with American history. They constitute no small part of it. Such opinions as those of Chief Justice Marshall as to the right of Congress to charter banks, or to make commerce between two States free from the control of either of them; of Chief Justice Taney, before the Civil War, in the “Dred Scott Case”; of Chief Justice Chase, after the Civil War, that the United States is an indestructible Union composed of indestructible States; and of the various Justices in the recent “Insular Cases,” are great historical events. They are true State papers.

But the reported decisions of our State courts are still more important as a record of the history of American society. The political relations of men are far less complex and far less important than their private relations. The object of creating or suffering political relations is to secure proper private relations. The mutual rights and obligations which, from time to time, govern the daily life of men in civilized society must depend largely on the application of sound reason to changing circumstances. This is the work of the courts, and the Law Reports explain it for the public benefit.

A complete code of civil rights would be better, if it were a possibility. But the fullest code calls for interpretation, and demands it more and more as the years roll on and conditions change. What code of fifty years ago, for instance, could provide for the use of the telephone in the negotiation of contracts, or as an instrument of evidence in court?

When the Roman law was codified under Justinian, every attempt was made to keep it as the only source of authority. Lawyers were forbidden to cite the original works from which it was compiled. Commentaries were absolutely prohibited. All was, of course, in vain. It was a collection of signs, that is, of words used to express thoughts and precepts. What thoughts and what precepts? This inevitably, in many cases, would be a matter of controversy. The magistrate must settle the dispute, and to do this justly he must have all the light to be got from argument and treatise.

Precisely because of this impossibility of making word signs convey exactly the same meaning to all men under all circumstances, the power of our Supreme Courts to declare the law, when used in the interpretation of statutory and constitutional provisions, has been not infrequently pushed beyond due bounds.

The Executive and the legislative officers are sworn to support the Constitution, as fully as are the judges. It is to be presumed that in their official acts they mean to support it. Only in a clear

case should it be held by the courts that they have failed in this purpose.

It is always a misfortune when a statute is judicially pronounced unconstitutional and void by anything less than a unanimous court. A dissenting opinion, under ordinary circumstances, is almost a demonstration that the statute may fairly be held to be consistent with the Constitution.

At the national Democratic convention, held in 1896 for the nomination of a President, one of the Kansas delegates advocated the insertion in the party platform of the following declaration:—

“Our theory of Government is, in the main, averse to the decision of one, but relies with confidence upon the voice of the whole. From very necessity, the Judicial branch of the Government must, in matters of Constitutional right, become the final arbiter, and to the end that its determination shall have that highest confidence and respect, as being the determination practically of the whole, rather than of one, we would commend to the thoughtful and patriotic consideration of our country, the advisability of the following Amendment to our national Constitution :—

“That before any Act of Congress which shall have been regularly enacted according to the general forms provided for the enactment of laws by Congress, and duly approved by the President as the representative of the Executive branch of the nation, shall be held void by the Judicial Department of the Government as being in conflict with the Constitution, such decision shall be the concurrent opinion of seven (7) Judges of the Supreme Court.”

This was rejected, and probably wisely. Any numerical rule of decision tends to substitute quantity for quality. The proposition, however, voices a general feeling that this great power vested in the judiciary should be exercised with caution, and is open to abuse.

Nor is it to be denied that it often reflects the popular and even the political feeling of the day, or of the former day in which the judges giving the decision were appointed. This, however, is not an unmixed evil. Theory may be perfect; practice is imperfect. The best government, as Solon said, is the best which the people subject to it will endure. Authority may be too rigid; it may be strained till it snaps.

This atmospheric influence of the judicial surroundings increases with the public interest in the questions to be determined. No

bad illustration of it was furnished by the "Dred Scott Case" in 1856. Almost every great public measure in those days was considered in Congress and out of it largely in view of its relations to slavery. Did it tend to strengthen the hold of that institution upon the nation? Then the South was for it, and the North was divided. Of those who were then upon the Supreme Court of the United States, the Chief Justice and four of his associates were from Southern States. All five, with one of the Justices from the North, stood for the doctrine that the Missouri Compromise was unconstitutional and void. It purported, they said, to dictate to the people of the United States what should be the character of their local institutions, and this was outside the powers with which Congress had been invested, and never within the view of those who framed the Constitution. "I look in vain," said one of the strongest of the Associate Justices, Campbell of Louisiana, "among the discussions of the time, for the assertion of a supreme sovereignty for Congress over the territory then belonging to the United States, or that they might thereafter acquire. I seek in vain for an annunciation that a consolidated power had been inaugurated, whose subject comprehended an empire, and which had no restriction but the discretion of Congress. This disturbing element of the Union entirely escaped the apprehensive previsions of Samuel Adams, George Clinton, Luther Martin, and Patrick Henry; and in respect to dangers from power vested in a central government over distant settlements, colonies, or provinces, their instincts were always alive. Not a word escaped them to warn their countrymen that here was a power to threaten the landmarks of this federative Union, and with them the safeguards of popular and constitutional liberty; or that under this article there might be introduced, on our soil, a single government over a vast extent of country,—a government foreign to the persons over whom it might be exercised, and capable of binding those not represented, by statutes, in all cases whatever." ¹

(1) *Dred Scott v. Sandford*, 19 *Howard's Reports*, 505.

Of the three others, one waived this question, and two upheld the validity of the act.

The discussion probably spoke the almost unanimous opinion of the South, and what also had been that of half the North up to the date of the troubles in Kansas, which brought the cry of "squatter sovereignty" so prominently into politics.

Fifty years pass, and in the "Insular Cases" a similar question divides the court again. There is now no great all-controlling party force like that furnished by the institution of slavery. The country is nearly equally divided in opinion as to the extent of Congressional authority over our new possessions. The Court was nearly equally divided. The Chief Justice and three of his associates held that it must be exercised in subordination to certain express provisions of the Constitution. The majority of the Justices took a different view, though they were not agreed as to the reasons for the judgment. Neither is the country agreed. The opportunism of the court was the opportunism of the people; disposed on the whole not to disapprove what has been done by a government struggling with a new and difficult situation, and more interested in the "condition" than in the "theory."

The American Supreme Court is an American invention.

It could only exist in a republican government under a written constitution, and among a people with high conceptions of the sanctity and inviolability of fundamental institutions.

Its peculiarity lies in the absolute grant to the judiciary of power to pronounce any act of the Executive or of the legislature void, because contrary to the supreme law of the land.

Powers somewhat similar had been held by the highest tribunals of other nations; but these tribunals were not purely judicial, or if judicial, their decree was not absolutely final.

The French parliaments anciently passed their judgments on matters of state, but if they refused registration to a royal ordinance, they did so as a parliamentary body. When the consti-

tutional era set in, the judicial power was more strictly limited, and no court for a hundred years has had the right to declare a statute void.

The Swiss Confederation has its Federal Tribunal, but it is bound to accept and enforce whatever statutes the Federal Assembly may enact, however they may seem to conflict with the articles of confederation. It is the same in each canton. The cantonal laws cannot be rejected by any court.

Bluntschli, in his "*Allgemeines Staatsrecht*," asserts that this is true of all Europe. The Imperial Tribunal of Germany emphatically affirmed this position in 1883. A Bremen court had ventured to apply the American doctrine, in holding a local ordinance void, because an unconstitutional interference with vested rights. This decision was reversed on appeal. The constitutional provision (that well-acquired rights must not be injured) which was invoked, is to be understood, said the Imperial Tribunal, only as a rule for legislative power itself to interpret. The judiciary could not differ from its view.¹

In Great Britain, the "Law Lords" have come by practice and rule to constitute what in that kingdom comes nearest to the American idea of a Supreme Court. But until recent years every peer was entitled to sit in the House while it was engaged in judicial business. The court is still the House of Lords. It is an ultimate court of appeal for the British islands, and the King in Council (or "the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council") for the outlying dominions of the Crown. One of these tribunals is essentially a legislative body, and the other essentially an administrative body.

The English model was at first followed in a few of the American States. The highest court of New York was com-

(1) See this case fully stated in Coxe on "Judicial Legislation," p. 95. It is probable that the Imperial Tribunal, while incompetent to declare any act of imperial legislation void, might treat thus a statute of one of the German States. A similar distinction was once suggested between acts of Congress and State statutes by Chief Justice Gibson of Pennsylvania, but was pronounced untenable by general public opinion.

posed of a mixture of senators and judges. The highest court of New Jersey still consists of a mixture of regular judges with judges who have not or may not have been educated in law. But the judgment of the American people has pronounced itself against such attempts to dilute the judiciary. New Jersey alone clings to it, but in practice her eight lay judges are now generally appointed from the bar.

It has been the easier to maintain this feature of American government because the States, as such, have no foreign relations. If they come into controversy with each other, the Supreme Court of the United States is an appointed arbiter. With a foreign power they cannot have any question of difference.

To the United States it has often brought serious embarrassment.

In no other sovereign government is the decision of Prize Cases so fully a matter of judicial decision. Elsewhere the Executive has its say. It is either represented on the court, or it has some power to review the judgment.

In no other government is the foreign office so powerless to control judicial proceedings by which foreign relations are affected.

This is partly due to the limited jurisdiction of the Federal courts.

A massacre of Italians occurs in Louisiana or of Chinese in Wyoming. Their sovereign demands redress. The President is obliged to respond that it can only be sought in the local State tribunals, although he may know well that it would probably be sought in vain. Practically, in such cases, we make pecuniary reparation from the national treasury, and acknowledge regretfully our incompetence to do more. Our Presidents have repeatedly and justly urged upon Congress legislation to bring criminal proceedings in such cases out of the exclusive jurisdiction of the State, and into the grasp of the courts of the United

States, but thus far with no success. If we were a weaker nation, the continuance of such a state of things would be impossible. It did bring us once to the brink of war with Great Britain, in the case of Alexander McLeod. Congress then grudgingly gave a certain measure of relief; but it has proved quite inadequate.

But the courts of the United States themselves are so independent of the Executive, that however much their judgments may jeopardize our foreign interests, the President cannot (except by an extra-constitutional act) control their execution. The British ministry is directly represented in the court of last resort before which causes of international importance may be brought. The Chancellor presides over its deliberations. The Supreme Court of the United States is a body purely judicial. It has no right to act upon notions of State policy. Its office is only to declare the law.

Practical politics, however, has done something towards bringing the Executive and the Court into friendly touch, in matters of diplomatic interest, and judicial comity has done more.

Our early Chief Justices, Jay and Ellsworth, were sent abroad on foreign missions. In recent times, the Court has been repeatedly drawn upon for members of international arbitration tribunals. But, more than this, the English precedent has been followed of informal communication, pending the decision of a cause, between the Court and the State Department, when information is wanted which the hearing did not bring out; and it is the settled rule that the construction of a treaty adopted by the Executive will be followed by the Judges, unless it be plainly contrary to what is called for by the established principles of documentary interpretation.

A conspicuous proof of the high estimation in which our American system of Supreme Courts is held by foreign observers appears in an incident in the recent Behring Sea sealing controversy between our government and Canada.

One of our admiralty courts had condemned a Canadian ves-

sel to be sold for breach of our fishing laws. She had been seized by one of our cruisers at sea, some sixty miles from the coast of Alaska. Great Britain had taken the position that our jurisdiction for such purposes did not extend beyond the three mile limit. If so, the condemnation was a violation of her rights. Diplomatic negotiation had failed to bring the two nations to a common understanding. In this state of things, the Attorney General of Canada, acting, as he announced, "with the knowledge and approval of the imperial government of Great Britain," appeared by counsel before the Supreme Court of the United States, and asked for a writ prohibiting the admiralty court of Alaska from enforcing its decision.¹

For a technical reason the writ was denied; but that it was asked for showed the willingness of a great power to submit to the Supreme Court of another a disputed question of fact and law, in the conviction that it would be justly and impartially answered.

(1) *In re Cooper*, 138 *United States Reports*, 404, 412; 143 *United States Reports*, 472, 503, 513.

THE HISTORICAL SERVICE OF JOHN FISKE

ALBERT BUSHNELL HART, *Harvard University.*

It is the usual fate of an eminent man that his friends—or his enemies—construct a view of his character which will explain all that he has done or omitted, and especially which will harmonize in one logical consistency all that he has ever written. Scrupulously we decide on the exact dimensions of the reputation which posterity is to accept, the exact niche which a writer is to occupy on the pedestal of fame. John Fiske was, however, not a man to be measured by line and plummet; nor, with all his multifariousnesses, was he a man whose character is hard to fathom: in his mind were no unexplained recesses; a simple, genial, straightforward man, whose great learning was unassumingly borne. As for his reputation, that was made not by critics, but by delighted readers; and the next generation will still be delighted, without analyzing the charm.

In an article in *THE INTERNATIONAL MONTHLY* for September, 1900, on the "American School of Historians," the present writer called attention to two peculiarities of American historical writing: the close connection of the present historical writers with colleges, and the concentration of historical energy in and about Boston. John Fiske was from his youth up exposed to both these tendencies, for he was a student, lecturer, librarian, overseer, and LL. D. of Harvard University; and most of his life was passed in Cambridge. Yet neither Harvard University nor Boston was responsible for his historical training or for

his historical career: Fiske was independent of any school of history, he was independent of his own environment—or rather he was one of those men who are an environment to themselves. His audiences of hearers and readers were chiefly out of the Boston circle; perhaps for that very reason he became the most widely read and one of the most influential American historians.

Nowadays, a young man with Fiske's early interests would elect historical courses, take a seminary, and go to a graduate school. All that Fiske could do was at seven to read Rollin and Josephus, at eleven to construct historical tables based on Gibbon, Robertson, Prescott, and Froissart, and at eighteen to know Greek, Latin, French, German, Italian, Portuguese, and to study Hebrew and Sanskrit. The professional teacher of history ponders upon the success of men like Lea, Winsor, Mahan, McMaster, Schouler, Rhodes, Ropes, and Fiske, who had no specific training in what became their life-work. Perhaps it is the case of the man of ninety years who had always used liquor and tobacco, but doubtless by that time would have been a hundred years old, if he had abstained from those indulgences. Perhaps John Fiske, caught early, and at the beginning taught to harness Pegasus, would have had such a long start that he would not have left his historical work unfinished.

Doubtless the world needed a many-sided man far more than it needed a highly trained historian, for it was twenty years after Fiske's first historical work before he began to devote himself to that specialty. His first publication was an article on "Mr. Buckle's Fallacies," which appeared in 1861, while he was still a college student; and it is hardly fair to call it an historical article, as it was a discussion of Buckle's since discredited scientific hypothesis of history—he discussed Buckle's philosophy and not his history.

Fiske graduated from Harvard, in 1863, a time inauspicious for a youth so gifted who had no fixed bent. He studied law and was admitted to the bar in 1864; to the end of his days he

retained the lawyer's belief in his client, which is far from historical impartiality. Then an ideal opening came to him. In 1868 a new administration at Harvard University set itself resolutely to break up the system of a fixed curriculum; and while proceeding to the later elective system, it furnished a body of advanced "university lectures," by eminent men, intended to stimulate the students. Fiske was appointed instructor in American history, and served from 1868 to 1870.

From this beginning ought naturally to have developed a regular appointment as professor; but the times were not ripe for systematic instruction in American history. In 1868 it was properly taught nowhere except at the University of Michigan; students had the soul destroying tradition of a rote text-book; collateral reading, thesis writing, quiz, and written recitation were as yet undreamed. The few readers of American history were still poring over the colonial and revolutionary periods; and the effect of the Civil War in rousing teachers, lecturers, readers, and writers to a conception of the dignity of their national history was not yet manifest. Fiske's opportunity passed by; although later titular professor of American history in Washington University, St. Louis, he never accepted a fixed appointment as resident teacher anywhere; and not till 1895 did he again give brief lectures at Harvard University. That the world was not yet ready for Fiske in 1868 is shown by the fact that of his four immediate successors in the teaching of American history at Harvard, including Henry Adams and Henry Cabot Lodge, not one persisted in the specialty.

The connection with Harvard University was not broken, for from 1872 to 1879 John Fiske was one of the assistant librarians. The work was not in itself congenial, but it required the cataloguing of materials in American history, and it left time for the literary work which had now become Fiske's main pursuit. While instructor in American history, he had been lecturing elsewhere on philosophy; for about ten years that was his chief interest; and at intervals throughout his life he returned with fresh spirit to philosophical writing. In lectures and widely read

magazine articles, which in 1872 he began to assemble in volumes, in books fresh from his mint, he discussed the application of the doctrine of evolution to the sciences, theology, and psychology of the day, and he established a reputation for style, for love of truth, for analysis, for broad treatment of great subjects.

Meanwhile Mr. Fiske had also developed a talent for public lectures, which was in many ways a drag on his career: people loved to hear him talk, and he was a frequent lecturer in brief courses. When he left the Harvard College Library, in 1879, and looked about for an occupation, his tempting facility beset him. In that year he gave a course of six lectures in the Old South Meeting House in Boston, which was a turning point in his life. His engaging voice, his fullness, his cogency, his humor, his beautiful language, his power of statement, made him one of the most popular speakers of his time; he had invented the livelihood of lecturing on American history, and founded a career which continued up to a few months before his death.

Fiske's lectures were a drag upon him, because they were so good. Even big men have a limited stock of vitality, and he put into his lectures a power which ought to have gone into investigation. For years together, he appeared as a lecturer more than a hundred times annually, besides numerous lectures abroad. So far as this work was a needed support for a man with a rising family, it was simply a misfortune; so far as it took the place of equally well paid literary work, it was a mistake.

Mr. Fiske persuaded himself that the lectures were a part of his preparation; he said that he always began a topic in that way: "I look it up or investigate it, and then write an essay or lecture on the subject. This serves as a preliminary statement. It is a help to me to make a statement of the kind * * * it always assists me to state the case." Without doubt it is helpful to an historical writer to block out his work, and to try it on an audience; and later forms of statement will therefore be more exact and penetrating: but Mr. Fiske did not commonly write out and read his historical lectures; he spoke without notes, his diction

bubbling like an overflowing spring. Whatever the critical effect of silent and satisfied hearers, there is no additional stimulus in a course of lectures ten times delivered; while travel, interruption of the normal course of life, the physical demands of lectures often an hour and a half long, the effort to meet new people and places, was a heavy drain and a withdrawal of a part of Mr. Fiske's possibilities as a literary man. His vital forces were lower, his year's product was less, his prospect of long life was reduced.

The criticism is that of one who wishes that John Fiske had been physically able to write more or rather to write less hastily. On the other hand, the lectures were of great consequence as an intellectual force in the community; and as a means of spreading abroad sound ideas on American history. Thousands of hearers caught the inspiration which few men can put into a printed page; throughout the land people took a more rational view of our history, because John Fiske was a lecturer. His hearers became his readers; his readers wished to hear their favorite author. No American historian has ever had such personal relations with the public; he was the last of the race of lyceum speakers who for two generations helped to make the public sentiment of America; he had no rival, he leaves no successor. To arouse his countrymen was as much John Fiske's delight as to interest and instruct them: in themselves his lectures were a national service.

The service as a speaker on the whole diminished the service as a writer, and did not make a lasting reputation, for even Shakespeare's acting might now be forgotten, but for his plays. As a writer of history, John Fiske was one of the most facile and prolific of Americans. In the seventeen years from 1885 to 1901, Fiske put through the press eighteen historical volumes as sole author, and six as joint editor. The catalogue of his historical writings, in the order of their appearance, is as follows:—

1885, "American Political Ideas."

1887-89, "Appleton's Cyclopædia of American Biography"
(six vols).

- 1888, "Critical Period of American History."
1889, "Washington and his Country."
1889, "War of Independence."
1889, "Beginnings of New England."
1891, "American Revolution" (two vols).
1892, "Discovery of America" (two vols).
1894, "History of the United States for Schools."
1896, "Civil Government in the United States."
1897, "Old Virginia and her Neighbors" (two vols).
1899, "Dutch and Quaker Colonies."
1900, "Mississippi Valley in the Civil War."
Posthumous, "History of the United States" (three vols).

The long list, to which might be added some occasional contributions to magazines and cyclopædias, probably represents more words penned and printed than have come from any other serious student of American history, except George Bancroft. Fiske's works form several distinct groups: a volume of critical essays, four school-books, a work of reference, a general history of America, one volume on the Civil War, and nine volumes (a tenth was projected) on the history of America from the Discovery to the Federal Constitution. In forming a judgment on Fiske's historical work, it will be convenient to set each of these groups by itself.

Earliest in date of publication and least mature in conclusions are the three lectures grouped together under the ambitious title, "American Political Ideas Viewed from the Standpoint of Universal History" (1885). The essays on "Town Meeting" and "Federal Union" are restatements of some doctrines as to the origin of American government which are now exploded—they have little originality and no present value. The third essay on "Manifest Destiny" shows Fiske's later power to apply the lessons of history to present conditions, and is singularly prophetic of a day then fifteen years away.

Any man who gets his name up as a good lecturer and lucid

writer on history is a loadstone for school-book publishers; and Mr. Fiske was repeatedly drawn into text-book ventures. His first essay in this direction was a kind of astral partnership with the shade of Washington Irving, in a work entitled "Irving-Fiske, Washington and his Country," an abridged and improved Irving's "Washington." This was one of the earliest efforts to bring American historical classics within the province of school-children.

In 1889 Fiske published a small volume, "The War of Independence," a precursor of the "American Revolution," which came out two years later, and a briefer statement of the "Critical Period," which had appeared a year earlier.

Much more important than the two earlier books is Fiske's "History of the United States for Schools," first published in 1894, and several times revised. It was a protest against the old-fashioned, stupid text-book; Fiske wrote a book worth reading for itself, briefer and livelier than the conventional manual, more like a thing to read and less like a calendar. Recognizing that the work had not sufficient length and substance to be a sole text-book, he enriched it by reading lists and practical exercises intended to lead pupils to other books, and to individual thought. Nobody but the writer and publishers know how the experiment succeeded: some teachers found it too good, too readable, too general, too colorless; certainly one misses the pugnacity and criticism which stand out in his more elaborate histories.

Upon very similar lines is the "Civil Government in the United States," (1896) a wise and ingenious book, in which the really essential matters are set forth; and it also is supported by an apparatus of questions and topics. Mr. Fiske could always charm a roomful or a handful of children by his lectures; he is not so successful in his books, which abound in appeals to a degree of reason and good sense not often found among children.

The compilation known as "Appleton's Cyclopædia of American Biography," edited jointly by Mr. Fiske and James

Grant Wilson, appeared in 1887-89. It bears little impress of Fiske's genius, and probably owes much less to his pen than to his wonderful memory, which helped in the selection of names for treatment.

Against all these books so far discussed might be brought the same complaint that has been brought against his lectures: they added nothing to the reputation of the author of "The Discovery of America," and all of them took away just so much productive power. It is true as Mr. Guppy remarked, that "a man must manger," and probably these pot-boilers made possible the leisure for more serious work; still one regrets that there were pot-boilers.

John Fiske's reputation as an historian must chiefly rest on the series of nine related volumes which form a history of discovery, colonization, the Revolution, and the framing of the Constitution, from 1492 to 1789. The first thing that strikes the reader is the crab-fashion in which the series was written: first the Confederation, then New England in the seventeenth century, then the Revolution, then systematic books on the discovery and southern and middle colonization. One other American historian, Parkman, has worked in this roundabout fashion; but Parkman was hedged in by illness, and all his works were part of a preconceived and intelligent plan. Fiske had an explanation of his method: "When John Richard Green was planning his 'Short History of the English People,' and he and I were friends in London, I heard him telling about his scheme. I thought it would be a very nice thing to do something of the same sort for American history. But when I took it up, I found myself, instead of carrying it out in that way, dwelling upon special points; and insensibly, without any volition on my part, I suppose, it has been rather taking the shape of separate monographs."

It was not in Fiske's temperament to lay out for himself a life-task, and to make everything else bend to it; he could not sit down like George Bancroft for vast preliminary studies, years to pass before the first volume. Perhaps it is juster to say that when he began to write in detail on American history, he did not yet

know his own power of luminous statement. After about ten years of historical lecturing and unrelated writings, at last, about 1891, he seems to have made a plan for volumes which would fill in the gaps; and, with the exception of the book on the French in America, which he left unfinished, he brought up the arrears, and leaves a complete work.

Whether his mind had conceived a second series, to cover the constitutional period is uncertain; the one monograph in that field, "The Mississippi Valley in the Civil War" is on a more minute scale, and could not have been a part of such a scheme. He did, however, complete, shortly before his death, a history of the United States in three moderate sized volumes, to be issued as part of a world history in many sections. We may expect that the pre-constitutional period will be treated brilliantly; that the federal period will have all the graces of style and illustration, but will lack the insight which comes only from deep study; and that the Civil War will be well done.

When we speak of "John Fiske's historical service" we necessarily mean his formal pre-constitutional history in nine volumes, which alone entitles him to the name of historian. The first exception to that work must be the haphazard method. Having written four of his volumes irregularly, he could not later arrange his scheme so as to include all that he would have treated; for instance the "neglected half-century" from 1700 to 1750 is still neglected. Some repetitions are also inevitable; the Andros episode is cut into two halves, though it had a grim unity. -On the other hand, there is some gain in treating the three groups of colonies throughout as separate entities.

Fiske's point of view is distinctly social—Fiske wants to find out and to tell us, what is after all the most important thing in history, the motives and standards of bye-gone times. Mr. Fiske was a man of the world, widely traveled, far-acquaint, rejoicing in full and vigorous life; and he reflected the lusty strength of our forefathers.

In method, Fiske adheres to the modern school; he freely

uses contemporaries, and makes them contribute quaint and ill-spelled observations, which fit with his vigorous and lively style. Such are "The Straight now cauled the Straight of Magellanus, beinge in sum place C.x. leagues in length"—"Our food was but a small Can of Barlie sodden in water to five man a day"—"At length they catcht one of them alone but they kickt him so vehemently as if they meant to beat him to a jelly." Everywhere the author is on the watch for a word, a phrase, an incident, which may characterize the times.

Probably the lecturing was an aid to Fiske's writing in so far as it led him to make very clear his terms and conditions. If he speaks of a charter granting the privileges of the Palatine of Durham, he inquires what a palatinate was, and what the Bishop of Durham could do. His history is throughout so written that he who runs may read. The man himself was cast, physically and intellectually, in a large mould,—and this breadth is reflected in his historical writings; he does not amass details as a small broker puts gold coin in his front windows: details are to him means to one end, the impression to be made on the reader; hence his writings abound in discussions, elucidations, excursions, all meant to make the story plain. He writes no more than he can make comprehensible, and his quiet humor is always lurking around the corner, ready to point his argument.

These undoubted merits have some corresponding drawbacks; the dissertations run into disputations, till the reader begins to feel like Mr. Dolls in the hands of his irate parent. Vespucci, for instance, is a particular friend of Mr. Fiske, who defies the body of learned scholars who agree that the Venetian was a braggart and a liar. John Smith is so entertaining that he must be truthful, and Mr. Fiske provides him with a good-conduct ticket. The process is disputatious, and sometimes vexing: Mr. Fiske does not permit you to examine his evidences and make up your own mind; he sees his findings clearly, and if you do not feel satisfied, "so much the worse for the coo."

Many sane, enlightening, and original views find place in Fiske's work; he thought and judged for himself; yet he fails in

one of the criteria of a great historian, for he left no large lesson of his own discerning. Unapproachable Parkman was the first to grasp the significance of the frontier; Von Holst first clearly saw the inevitableness of the slavery conflict; Winsor revealed the wealth of source materials; Rhodes points out the force of popular sentiment in the Civil War. With what similar enlightenment is the name of John Fiske interwoven? He has after all done no more than to tell better what other men painfully toiled to tell as best they could.

For the lack of first discovery of truth there are two reasons: Mr. Fiske had not time enough for what he attempted, and though he enjoyed research, he did not like grubbing. As for time, Fiske's nine volumes were published within about twelve years, in which period he also printed four pot-boilers. Of the seven or eight years previous to his first volume—the "Critical Period of American History"—a considerable part went to philosophy. With possibly fourteen years of labor, during which he must have lectured fifteen hundred times, he produced nine volumes. Compare George Bancroft's fifty years on twelve volumes, or Von Holst's twenty-five years on seven volumes. Quick, brilliant, incisive, strong, ready as he was, he simply never had the time to upset the conclusions of Winsor and Channing and Doyle on points where they are experts. Hence Fiske's most striking generalizations always leave one asking, "Did he go to the bottom of the subject?" He is so swift and so sure of his own judgment that one is tempted to forget how many are the unhewn forests of tangled questions in which nobody has arrived at certainty. Did Cabot discover Virginia? Were the Acts of Trade advantageous to the colonies? Did the men of 1774 feel a burning sense of injustice from England? Were the Americans consciously a nation under the Confederation? Who knows? Certainly not Mr. Fiske.

The conclusion seems inevitable that Fiske's work will not be accepted as foundations on which future historians will build. None the less they will be read, remembered, and valued because John Fiske had what some men of deeper historic instinct lack,

the power to make people read him ; and to be read is the main way in which a man may reach his fellow men after the voice is stilled. The metal comes from the ore, and the miner with toil begins the process of giving a boon to mankind ; the smelter comes along and turns the ore into bullion which will pass current anywhere. The metaphor though trite is apt enough for a sermon : John Fiske was an adept in extracting shining truths from unlovely writings ; he read the secondary authors ; and he poured about them a matrix of material from the more obvious sources. Hence more than many carefully studied books his works have the flavor of the times that they describe.

The great historical service of John Fiske was that of the interpreter of the dull and the confused ; he made it his honorable profession to bring home to the average man wholesome truths about our ancestors. Like other historians he fell into some errors, and he had his prejudices, but he loved and sought the truth ; he stated it as he saw it ; he made it clear. A recent critic calls him " John Fiske, popularizer." Large the service of him who popularizes love of truth !

A HISTORY OF THE ENGLISH POOR LAW¹

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No more important study of social conditions was ever written than Sir George Nicholls' "*History of the English Poor Law.*" Three circumstances combined to give that work such distinction. First, the English Poor Law itself, from the Norman Conquest down to the Poor Law Amendment Act of William IV., was the most remarkable development of social experimentation in a practical field ever attempted. Second, the authentic record of the experimentation is practically complete in statutes, decisions, and reports of parliamentary committees, government boards, and commissions. And third, Sir George Nicholls was a man in every way admirably qualified to select from such a mass of material the most significant things, and to illuminate the whole history by the white light of clear intellectual analysis. It is hardly an exaggeration to say, that if all other books on sociology, descriptive, theoretical, and applied, were destroyed, every important principle of social science could be recovered from a study of Sir George Nicholls' pages.

Inasmuch as the study of pauperism and its prevention is a very small part of the whole field of sociology, and nothing is more ridiculous than the pretensions of those half-educated per-

(1) *A History of the English Poor Law*: being a supplementary volume to *A History of the English Poor Law*, by Sir G. Nicholls: vol. iii. From 1834 to the Present Time (1898). By Thomas Mackay. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. London: P. S. King and Son. 1900. 8vo., pp. xv., 617. Price, \$6.50.

sons who pose as sociologists as soon as they have become interested in paupers, criminals, tenement house conditions, vice, and so on,—totally ignorant of the vast realm of study which includes social psychology and the problems of the historical evolution of society,—it is an astonishing thing that, in a work on pauperism, we should thus find all necessary materials for the construction of an entire system of sociological principles. The explanation lies in the fact that the causes of English pauperism, from age to age, have lain in the very process of social evolution itself, that they are clearly revealed in the preambles of statutes and in other documentary evidence, and that the legislative and administrative experimenting with the problem have, in like manner, revealed every phase of social psychology. Not pauperism alone, then, but social evolution in general, its causes and laws, are what we find presented with rare ability in Sir George Nicholls' pages.

A continuation of his work by an equally competent hand, from 1834 down to the present time, has long been needed. Probably no more competent scholar could have been found to undertake this than Mr. Mackay has shown himself to be.

Although the period which he had to review is but a fraction of time in comparison with the centuries that Sir George Nicholls' two volumes cover, the intensity of life has been enormously greater, and the changes that have occurred in knowledge, in economic conditions, and in political relations have been unparalleled. The Poor Law Amendment Act of William IV. has been put to a practical test such as few legislative enactments in all human history have had to endure, and it is far within the truth to say that few acts have endured any test so well, and that rarely has the practical wisdom of any body of men set to study social conditions been so triumphantly vindicated as has been that of the famous Poor Law Commission of 1832-1834.

The Poor Law Amendment Act received the royal assent on August 14, 1834. Strictly speaking, no new principle was adopted in this legislation. By the legislation of Elizabeth's

reign the English policy of the public relief of pauperism, through the machinery of parish and county administration, had been carefully defined. Relief of the industrious poor, by rates supplementing wages, was not contemplated in that legislation. Step by step, sentimentalism in legislation, dishonesty and incompetence in administration, extended parish relief until, at the opening of the nineteenth century, entire parishes of agricultural laborers had been educated into the belief that the less they earned and the more bastard children they had, the better off they would be, not only in old age, but throughout adult life. The new law reestablished a stricter policy. Practically, it cut off relief from able-bodied paupers and their families, except at the workhouse. Cases of sudden and urgent necessity might, however, be dealt with by the magistrates and overseers as the occasion demanded. The act further introduced order into the administrative system by establishing a central board of Poor Law Commissioners, whose functions were to oversee and coördinate the local administration of the law by county and parish officers.

The Report of this commission, dated August 8, 1835, was the first of a series of fourteen annual reports, which carry the official history of the reformed administration down to 1847, at which time the Poor Law Board, a body somewhat more powerful, and responsible directly to Parliament, was substituted for the Commissioners.

The first Report was noteworthy on account of recommendations which it offered to the local administrative officials; and which admirably summed up the whole philosophy of the reformed policy and administration. Able-bodied paupers, the commissioners of course say, should if possible be put at work; but the specific merit of the recommendations is found in particular details, such as a preference for pure task-work over other employment, insistence that the allowance for pauper work (whether the same be day-work or task-work) should be considerably less than the ordinary wages paid for similar work, and

the rule that when it should be found impracticable to set able-bodied paupers at work one half at least of the relief given to them should be given in food or other necessities of life. These and other recommendations, which need not here be quoted, were in no sense orders, but they carried great weight, and, on the whole, they fairly reflect the spirit in which for many years the new policy was put into effect.

The effect of this policy was, of course, to make men and women responsible for their own well-being during the years of able-bodied life. As Mr. Mackay puts it, "The Act of 1834 may be popularly described as defining the responsible period of life as the able-bodied period. While a man is able-bodied, he and his are not to be relieved except in the workhouse." Further than this the reform did not extend. Childhood, widowhood, sickness, old age, the laborer need not make provision for. In those periods the public would provide for him and his, if his necessities called for aid.

As compared with the Poor Law of Elizabeth, then, the law of 1834 was liberal. It assumed, as did the law of Elizabeth, responsibility for the position of all helpless poor, and it extended some relief to the able-bodied poor. Only when compared with the scandalous system that had immediately preceded it, could the law of 1834 be regarded as severe. It did compel the able-bodied poor to provide for themselves, or accept the workhouse alternative.

That the transfer of responsibility for the able-bodied from the parish to the able-bodied themselves was wholly justifiable is conclusively shown by trustworthy statistics which extend back from the present time to 1849. With a continually increasing population, English pauperism has continually diminished, not only relatively, but also absolutely. The mean number of indoor and outdoor paupers together, in 1849, was 1,088,659, or 62.7 per 1,000 of estimated population. The curve of decline has been almost continuously smooth, until in 1898 the mean number of indoor and outdoor paupers together was but 813,986, or 26.2 per 1,000 of estimated population. Mr. Mackay's comment is,

"The administrative success of the Act of 1834 consists in the fact that the offer of the workhouse served quite as well as an absolute refusal of relief."

Notwithstanding all this, however, a powerful undercurrent of reaction has, during these latter years, been setting in the direction of those beliefs and prepossessions which, it was hoped, the liberal and rational movement of the middle of the nineteenth century had finally set aside. Individual liberty and personal responsibility, the corner-stones of the Poor Law Amendment Act, are again openly contemned by sentimentalists and socialists, and we hear an increasing clamor for an undermining of the Poor Law by old age pensions and innumerable institutions, including national workshops supported by taxation. How far this reaction will carry the nation, and to what repetition of old disaster and moral debauchery, no one can predict.

In any case, the sentimentalists will encounter vigorous opposition, and Mr. Mackay's array of facts will supply the sturdier minds with ammunition. That the present Poor Law is imperfect, and that its administration is attended by many evils, no one is more ready to admit than this careful historian and staunch believer in individual responsibility. But the cause of these defects he finds not in any inadequacy of relief under the present system, but rather in the failure of the Poor Law Reform to go far enough, and to accept the principle of responsibility in a thoroughly consistent fashion. "The assumption that responsibility for his able-bodied period of life was beyond the powers of the laborer has now been universally condemned as one of the most fatal errors on which legislation was ever based. But, it is asked, was that assumption more unwarranted, more fatal to the progress of an honorably interdependent community, than the very narrow definition which limits the responsibility of the individual to the period of his able-bodied life only, and leaves the other risks of life to be met by a Poor Law allowance."

Back of this question, of course, lies the deeper question, whether the modern industrial organization of society is such that

the average laborer can, out of his wages, make adequate provision for his children, his days of illness, his old age, and his wife if she survives him. Mr. Mackay admits that the present organization of society "with its mechanism of property, exchange, and the natural affection bred in the family and in the intercourse of daily life," is an organization in process of formation. Clearly it does not yield much to the unskilled wage-earner. But no one fact in the history of the Poor Law before 1834 was more overwhelmingly demonstrated than was that of the ruinous reaction of the poor rates upon wages. Can we doubt that the public relief which is continued under the present law, and the innumerable private philanthropies, in like manner operate to depress wages? Once more to quote Mr. Mackay: "Obviously, as we shall endeavor to narrate, the healthful absorbtion of the population into the forms prescribed by the necessities of an industrial society was hindered by the old law. This has been remedied by the administrative reform which we are now considering. The laborer, for the period of his working life, is emancipated from pauperism. Is this all that civilization can give? Our history will show indubitably that it is not all. We cannot, alas! write of the Poor Law as of a thing of the past. We maintain, however, that the Poor Law cannot be understood unless it is regarded as an anachronism, and cannot be reformed except by carefully considered action, all tending to its ultimate and complete abolition."

In this conflict of tendencies represented by the Poor Law Reform and its sociological principle, on the one hand, and the reaction toward communism, suppression of individual liberty, and sentimentalism, on the other hand, Mr. Mackay has had the same kind of problems to set forth and to analyze that Sir George Nicholls also dealt with. Mr. Mackay has done his work exceedingly well. It is a worthy continuation of the great volumes of his predecessor, and the three volumes together make up a work that is as indispensable to the student of society as Blackstone is to the lawyer or Adam Smith to the economist.

In fact, a perfectly legitimate means of testing the pretensions of the nondescript brood of amateur sociologists would be found in a prompt and penetrating examination in the pages of Nicholls and Mackay.

ERNEST RENAN AND THE SOUL OF THE CELT¹

L. MARILLIER, *Paris*.

On the occasion of a banquet to Ernest Renan, in 1884, in that town of Tréguier where he had spent his first years in devotion and study under the shadow of the old cathedral which soars towards the heavens like a prayer in granite, he expressed his solemn desire to sleep his last sleep in the peace of the ancient cloisters, lulled by the distant sound of the vast ocean stream, in a humble grave bearing only these words, *Veritatem dilexi*.

Such was, indeed, the motto of his whole life, and it was because of his persistent faithfulness to this motto that he was accused by so many who were of an over-narrow and unconciliatory simplicity of mind, of not seeking the truth with all the eager candor and sincerity of those who cherish it above all things. Truth has many aspects, and he wished to include all of these in his thought in a single embrace. He always endeavored, with perfect honesty, to retain his control over every part of that knowledge of the universe and of man, of that knowledge of the real and the ideal, which alone, in his opinion, gave to life its dignity and value. It is this passionate yearning for the totality of truth which led dogmatic minds and frivolous characters, incapable for more than one reason of understanding him, to suspect him of greater interest in the harmony and grace of his style than in the thought that it contained, and of attaching more importance to the beauty of ideas and their novelty than

(1) Translated by Mr. C. H. C. Wright of Harvard University.

to their absolute exactness. But no man, however, had to a greater extent than this incomparable artist a respect for facts, for reason, and for the dignity of thought; no man was ever more honest in intellectual matters or more persistently sincere towards himself.

But he dealt no less fairly with the beliefs, sentiments, and ideas of others. Fear of making a mere travesty of the theories which he opposed and of not setting them forth in their best light often caused him to adopt an attitude which might mislead superficial readers or hearers. He seemed, at times, a thoroughly sincere partisan of the very ideas which he the most detested, and he understood them so fully that to a certain extent he did make them his own. On many topics, he had much more firm and positive convictions than he allowed others to perceive, but he distrusted them for the very reason of their solidity, and he feared lest these opaque masses of certitude might conceal from him the lighter and more aerial forms of truth. He often contradicted himself, but this was not the result of flippancy or inconsistency on his part, not that indifference of the dilettante, who cares but little for the essence of things, and heeds only the manner in which they are expressed. He contradicted himself consciously and on purpose, because it seemed to him that both arguments contained some essential fragment of the truth, and that he had no right to sacrifice one to the other, and to impose dogmatically on any one else, with the authority of his own name, a mode of thinking that was most in harmony with his own cast of mind—for the very reason that it did appeal the most to him.

As to questions of fact, he was, in so far as documentary evidence allowed it, as positive as any one. At times, he even went a little farther than one could have desired, and among the duties of a historian the single duty with regard to which he may be accused of delinquency was that of knowing when not to know. In scientific questions his attitude was the opposite of a sceptic's; he not only admitted that in the field of experimental knowledge truth is accessible to man, but he proclaimed very

boldly, as against those doubters whose doctrines have been so eloquently interpreted by M. Brunetière and Arthur James Balfour, that, in more than one respect, the truth no longer needs to be sought for, and that we now know absolutely what position to assume.

There were even certain philosophical matters which by their very nature seem undemonstrable, and which he treated, on every page of his writings, as though they were based on unquestionable proofs; such, for instance, as the denial of the miraculous, the special, supernatural interposition, which he had transformed into a sort of article of belief. It would be possible to bring together from Renan's books the materials for a sort of Creed of the Critical School. The content would doubtless be very different from that of the Nicene Creed or the Augsburg Confession, but it would abound in affirmations, notably one borrowed from Malebranche, of which it would be rash to deny the dogmatic quality, namely, that God never acts by individual means.

In spite of his admiration for positive science, which Berthelot had taught him and made him love during the long conversations of their youth, he never acquired the demeanor of a positivist: no man ever felt in his heart a deeper faith in the ideal or proclaimed more loudly its reality. If in the sphere of general ideas, particularly in metaphysics, he shows himself, nevertheless, averse to affirmations,—exclusive affirmations, let me rather say,—this is not because he does not attach to such speculations upon the essence of things, the nature of the divine, and the destiny of man, great value and serious importance, but because, far from being indifferent to truth, he feels for it such a deep respect that he never considers himself free from his obligations towards it. He is afraid of wronging the truth by too hasty an affirmation as by too inconsiderate a denial, by giving in his thought an undue share to one aspect of the Universe to the injury of others, or to any one representation of the Eternal. When he reserves his judgment, he is not always in a state of doubt; in his heart he already is, and perhaps has been, for a long while or always persuaded. But he does not think that he has a right to cease from doubt, and

through a scrupulous honesty, a refinement of logical courtesy and sincerity, he is satisfied with bringing face to face the two rival affirmations and the opposing arguments on which they rest. It was not, it would seem, in the way of a paradox that he wrote in the Introduction to his "Prêtre de Némi": "I have criticised all, and, in spite of whatever may be said to the contrary, I have maintained everything. I have done more service to good by concealing nothing of the truth than I should do by wrapping my thoughts in those hypocritical disguises which deceive no one. Our criticism has done more for the preservation of religion than all apologies."

When he is induced to speak out on the profound questions which involve the whole future of a human life, when the high and noble words of duty, virtue, and sacrifice, which he cannot utter without veneration, rise to his lips, he becomes even more circumspect and hesitating. He has an inner, positive conviction that what they express is a thousand times more real than the tangible realities which surround us, and that, even though all else were vain, it would at least not be vanity to obey the gentle, imperative voice which we hear in our hearts when our passions are silent, and the tumult of the world subsides into silence about us. He even goes farther, and ventures to write that "the inward inspiration which makes us affirm duty is a sort of oracle, an infallible utterance that comes from without and that corresponds with an objective reality."¹

But this inner conviction is by its nature incommunicable, this affirmation of a kind of moral finality in the Universe is to Renan himself a sort of wager: one cannot demonstrate by the processes of logic that we must be virtuous, or, above all, that there is no deception in being so; that the heavens are not empty, and that the portals of death do not open into the void. If we sacrifice all the pleasures of life to our ideal, it is because this pleases us; it is a noble adventure upon which we are entering, but one which it is fitting that we should undertake alone and at our own risk.

(1) *Feuilles détachées*, p 394.

We have no right to involve others in this risk. It is through the very delicacy of his conscience that Renan expresses, here and there, upon such topics, doubts which he himself is far from sharing. His long life of unimpeachable honor and desperate toil is the best proof of this. He says, "It is particularly for the sake of others that we must be careful. For ourselves we may run high risks, but we have no right to take them for others."¹

It would, moreover, have caused him a feeling of actual discomfort to have been scientifically certain that heroism and patient virtue were assured of their reward. This certainty would have made them lose something of their beauty; they would almost have ceased to exist, and would have been transformed into mercantile calculations: to remain an honest man it would have sufficed not to have been a fool, and it would have been necessary to pity criminals for their lack of common sense, or to envy them, perhaps, for the persistency of the fancy which had made them, in spite of evidence, remain faithful to their caprices. He had too lofty a conception of the dignity of duty not to prefer to a prosaic and commonplace assurance of never erring the noble risk of being deceived. And this is why he tried only to half-believe the things of which he was, in fact, fully persuaded.

It seemed to him, moreover, as though there were a lack of modesty in appearing too sure of the lofty value of the virtues which we practice, and that nobody has a right to give to others over-imperious instructions: the very purity of his own life seemed to give him a right not to condemn another severely, and even to constrain him to such a course. "The fear of appearing a Pharisee, the idea, which is, moreover, quite in accord with the Gospel, that the pure have a right to be indulgent, the fear of misleading, if perchance all that the teachers of philosophy say is not true, have given a vacillating appearance to my ethical code. In reality, it is because my code is proof against every onslaught."²

(1) *Ibid.*, p. 395.

(2) *Souvenirs d'Enfance et de Jeunesse*, p. 150.

These disguises which were imposed on Renan's thought by the countless scruples, the germs of which had been planted in his conscience by the education he had received, and which, increased and strengthened by his constant meditations and his familiarity with the men of all centuries, may have misled superficial observers and caused them to conclude that he was but an artist in exquisitely wrought phrases, a past master in dialectics, who took incessant delight in rearing wondrous fabrics of ideas and in destroying them with a breath, even before their completion.

Such would seem to be, at least, one of the sources of the legend of the dilettantism of this conscientious and upright scholar, whom no theory, no matter how enticing, could attract, if it was not in accord with positive facts. I use the word "legend" and could not use another word. A strange dilettante, indeed, is he who abandons an attractive career in life, who parts from a Church to which he is drawn by all his dearest memories, his piety, and filial devotion, and throws himself headlong into a world of which he knows nothing, but which he foresees will be indifferent or hostile, where he feels that he will be awkward and out of place;—and this, not because of wounded self-esteem, not because he was spurred on by the passions of youth or intoxicated by some prophetic ambition, not that he chafed under a yoke which his honored superiors had made gentle and easy, but because he could not admit the authenticity of the Book of Daniel or the ascribing to Isaiah of the prophecies of the unknown seer who was the great builder in Israel of spiritual religion. A strange dilettante is the author who, among all the exquisite books he has produced, books which have won him incomparable renown, gives his preference to the impersonal work which he had initiated, the *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum*, and does so, because it seems to him his most useful achievement.

We must, nevertheless, acknowledge that a legend is not apt to have so wide a vogue, if it does not contain a grain of truth. The general public has put a false construction on the true import of the apparent paradoxes which Renan placed in the margins of his noble history of Semitic and Christian Thought,

and he has more than once, as it were, maliciously contributed to this false construction. One aspect of the great writer's genius is there displayed which, at first sight, seems in strange opposition to the trust in truth, the respectful seriousness, the eager gentleness, which had found their fullest and most touching expression in the "Avenir de la Science," a book written as early as 1848, but which seems as though it were written but yesterday, and which has, perhaps, the most immediate interest of all those brought into being by his thought. His irony, in turn familiar and haughty, is at times disconcerting. He speaks of things and of beings of the most profound importance in all the world to him, and to which he is bound, we feel, by all the fibres of his heart, in a tone of surprising flippancy.

On reading some of the pages of his work, one is tempted to ask if he is not giving way to the commonplace desire of mystifying his readers and of displaying to the astounded Philistine his marvelous and bewildering skill in juggling with ideas. But the next moment, we think we can distinguish, beneath the smiling serenity and the disdainfully cordial good-nature which he is pleased to express to the Almighty, the secret anguish of a pious soul whose prayer mounts ever towards the hidden God, concealed from our glances by the dissolving views of the universe; waiting ever in vain for a sign that its cry of love has been heeded. It seems as though he would move by his raillery the Most High whom he worships in the depths of his heart, and persuade him to emerge from a silence in which it has too long pleased him to remain. Irony appears to him, moreover, as a sort of retaliation that the man who sacrifices all his temporal satisfactions in the worship of an Ideal that will probably not reward him for it, may inflict upon that Ideal: "We owe virtue to the Eternal, but we have a right to join to it irony in the way of personal indemnity."¹ This irony is, in a way, a homage to truth; it implies that we are only half-sure of those maxims for which we are ready to die, or rather

(1) *Feuilles détachées*, p. 397.

that we are only justified in being half-sure of them; it asserts that we know this, and that if we submit to the rôle of dupes we are determined to proclaim aloud that we are not deceived. But, like blasphemy, it is an act of faith: you cannot sneer at the Divinity if you feel that the infinite heavens are peopled only by rigid laws that guide the worlds in their course; you cannot jeer at the Ideal when it appears as a feeble though sublime creation of the suffering heart of mankind, an idle vision of beauty to which no reality corresponds, hidden beneath the variegated robe of the Universe. Renan knows very well that to be angry with God is "the most absolute absurdity"; he thinks that to mourn over one's dead beliefs is "cowardly"; he tries to "keep a stout heart in the face of adversity," but he cannot gain his own consent, after all, not to speak to this God whom he feels present and living in him, and who remains deaf to all appeals. "When Nimrod hurled his arrows at the heavens, they returned to him dripping with blood. But we receive no answer. Oh God, whom we worship in spite of ourselves, whom we invoke, without knowing it, a score of times each day, indeed, thou art a hidden God." ¹ And it is in the preface to the "Antichrist"—the one among his books in which in some respects he has most freely displayed that ironical dandyism which he at times affected—that one may read the declaration in which is expressed with a manly soberness the true thought of the great historian, the thought which he was able to conceal beneath the splendor of his style, but to which he ever remained devoutly attached: "I believe as much as ever that religion is not a subjective deception of our nature, that it answers to an external reality, and that he who has obeyed its inspiration will, indeed, have been truly inspired."²

And yet there are certain sallies of Renan which seem to be but sallies; he is fond of trifling with holy matters; he has for them a little of the apparent disrespect which those who frequent

(1) *Feuilles détachées*, préf. p. xxix.

(2) *L'Antéchrist*, p. xlix.

the sanctuary display in their acts; he lets himself fall into pleasantries which must be taken *cum grano salis*, and which have that air of pious blasphemy occasionally found in the language of certain simple hearted and upright ecclesiastics who prattle, after a jovial dinner of kindred spirits, about the countless mysterious things which lie between heaven and earth.

Sometimes, too, he takes pleasure in speaking the language of worldly people whom in his heart he despises somewhat for their idleness and their frivolity, but to whom, in his boundless goodwill, he wishes to be agreeable, as to all living creatures. He pays them many a compliment, and these they have taken as ready money. He has put them on a level with the saints (in a different category, it is true), and they have gone into raptures over the exquisite dilettantism of this subtle theologian. Perhaps in this case some people were mystified, but they were not the ones these children of the world imagined.

This capriciousness that nothing could restrain, this flexibility in opening his mind to all sensations, even the most merry, to all thoughts, no matter how frivolous, this desire to frolic with his own wit and to display to his own eyes all its varied glittering facets, this irrespective raillery directed toward the most revered topics, this familiar offhand treatment of the noblest manifestations of goodness and genius,—all this so clearly visible on every page of certain works of Renan, especially his later ones, surprises one, after all, in such an austere and firm disposition, in a mind so eager for truth, so enamored with nobleness, so disdainful of all that is commonplace. In many cases, doubtless, Renan's irony has a religious meaning, but the eager and serious young scholar who wrote "Let us be proud of exposing ourselves through the seriousness of our conviction to the laughter of the unbelievers; * * * those who laugh will never rule,"¹ is certainly far from agreeing in every respect with the over-faithful disciple of Coheleth, who, apparently convinced that all is vain, judged that it implied some mental

(1) *L'Avenir de la Science*, pp. 441-443.

heaviness to value the virtues of the wife or the patient toil of the laborer above the idleness of the frequenter of races, or the graces of fair sinners. There was in him a master faculty, the intellect, which had overpowered all others, a leading and conquering passion, the passion for knowledge, curiosity. But this curiosity was directed to such varied objects, this intellect was so multiple and so supple, that two men, strangely unlike, could coexist in his mind. And yet these two men were strangely akin; they were himself, equally intelligent, equally inquisitive.

Of these two men there was one whom Renan, who realized this duality of his nature, was wont to call the "Breton," the one "who, on a certain day, fled in terror from Saint-Sulpice, because he began to think that some of the things his masters told him might, after all, not be entirely true."¹ This Breton, he declares in the "*Souvenirs d'Enfance et de Jeunesse*" (p. 174) began to die in him as soon as he became acclimated in the worldly and brilliant establishment of Saint-Nicolas du Chardonnet, directed by the Abbé Dupanloup. "The Gascon (Renan's maternal grandfather was a Southerner) had, alas! sufficient reasons for coming to life," he adds ironically. It seems to us that the little Breton did not die in this premature way and that he lived on, indeed, as long as the author of the "*Histoire d'Israël*." This was, at bottom, his own opinion, and he would have been somewhat annoyed at being taken at his word, at having this decease registered and legalized. It seems to me, too, that the Gascon was more of a Breton, perchance, than he was willing to acknowledge, and that Celtic blood coursed abundantly through his veins. But to decide this more satisfactorily, it becomes necessary to draw, with a little more of detail, the portraits of these two men, who were as similar as two brothers, who had neither the same tastes, nor the same ideas, nor the same principles of life, but whom we, nevertheless, feel to be of the same lineage. It had pleased nature to give them an abiding-place in one body; they usually got on

(1) *L'Avenir de la Science*, préf., p. v.

well together; at times they disagreed, but courteously and with a sort of amenity; they did not try too much to oppress each other, and one might have supposed they thought their collaboration necessary to stamp their common achievement, marvelous for its combination of dialectics, erudition, and fancy, with the individual cast of mind which gives it a place apart in the history of letters. But it was now one, now the other, who took the lead in the great inquiry into human reason in its search for God, and who had the upper hand in managing the partnership.

At first the Breton spoke as master, and he spoke almost alone. "The young man living solely in his ideas, and with a frenzied belief in truth," who wrote the "*Avenir de la Science*" was the faithful pupil of his old masters at the college of Tréguier, who, by his own testimony, had taught him "something infinitely better than criticism or philosophical acumen." They had taught him, says he, "love of truth, respect for reason, the seriousness of life."¹ Such was he when, with his friend Guyomar, he used to go home after school through the silent streets, between the long, austere walls, of the old monastic town, scrawling on the convent doors sums in arithmetic and geometrical figures on his way to the little house in the Stanko lane, whence his glance could roam over the banks of the Jaudy fringed with the brown-gold seaweed. Such was he, too, when in the tiny abode in the Rue du Val de Grâce, by the side of his sister Henriette, so bravely sincere in her melancholy sweetness, he served his apprenticeship to the writer's trade. He had, moreover, himself a feeling of having but little changed; he heard in the depth of his heart ancestral voices, the voices of the fathers "of that obscure tribe at whose hearth he had imbibed faith in the invisible," of "that humble clan of husbandmen and of sailors" to which he owed "the preservation of his vigor of soul in an age without hope." He had kept the Breton belief that "man owes more to his blood than to himself," and it seemed to him as though it were his

(1) *Souvenirs d'Enfance et de Jeunesse*, p. 134.

race itself, that Celtic race¹ whose poems intoxicated the Middle Ages with the fever of love and of yearning for the divine which attained in his thought plenitude of consciousness and of life. He had in a high degree respect for the past, respect for tradition, the feeling of the continuity of human effort. It was painful to him to sacrifice a legend to his probity as a historian, and this free philosophical mind was in the domain of criticism singularly prudent, even to the point of timidity. All that was very old seemed to him by that fact most august, and he treated it only with infinite precaution. He was a bold innovator only in the realm of ideas, that world of fleeting visions which was ever in some degree to him a world of dreams. In the moral sphere it seemed to him that the wisest course was to tread the paths in which our ancestors have gone; he had an inward conviction that in such matters nothing useful or great can be accomplished without the collaboration of ages. "Many things, and excellent things, in intellectual matters are young in the world," he wrote, "but it is not so in the moral order. * * * In morals, what is old is what is true."² This moral truth seemed to him so solid, so impregnable that he had little hesitation in taking the greatest liberties with the theoretical principles on which it is based; he was convinced that this had no importance. "Necessary beliefs are above any attack," said he. "Humanity will listen to us

(1) In this article the expression "Celtic race" is used to indicate the totality of peoples speaking a Celtic language. They do not seem to constitute a race in the biological sense of the term, a somatological unity. It is probable that the ancient Celts, who imposed on these peoples of Western Europe their speech, and probably at least a part of their civilization, were much like the Germans with whom they were closely connected. It is quite possible that the very peculiar cast of feeling which we find among populations speaking a Celtic dialect, and especially Brythonic populations, is not that of the organized invaders, but that of the previous occupants of the soil, who have been less transformed in these regions than elsewhere by invasions from the East and the North, and later by Latin culture.

(2) *Essais de morale et de critique*, p 213.

only in so far as our systems coincide with its duties and instincts. * * * Ring ye bells, at your will; the louder you ring, the bolder I shall be in saying that your melodious chatter carries no clear meaning. If I were afraid of silencing you, then, indeed, I should become timid and careful.”¹ He thought that no one has a right to modify the text or the substance itself of the precepts of moral life which a people transmits from age to age, though the reason of every one may comment upon them at pleasure, and explain at will their origin and authority. There is a solidarity between us and those who have lived before us on our soil, and we are the offspring of their souls as well as of their bodies. We cannot, without denying ourselves, deny the deep faith on which they subsisted, the “eternal piety” which persists beneath passing dogmas. “The most grievous mistake,” wrote he in the preface to the “Souvenirs d’Enfance et de Jeunesse,” (p. xxii.), “is to believe that it is serving one’s country to calumniate those who established it. All the ages of a nation are the leaves of a single book. True men of progress are those who take as their point of departure a deep respect for the past. All that we do, all that we are, is the issue of a labor of centuries.”

Now, perhaps no race of men lives in closer attachment to its past than the Bretons of Armorica or of Cambria, the Gaels of Scotland or of Ireland, whose heir Renan was fond of declaring himself to be. They have preserved, even to our day, the feeling of the solidarity of all those who belong to the same race, which was at the foundation of the characteristic institution of Celtic peoples, the clan. To the Celts of yesterday, as to the non-civilized of today, the individual, born only to die, has his full reality and his true value only as a member of the clan, which alone remains indestructible, and almost eternal. The man who has broken off from his fellows, like the outcast of India, lives only a precarious and, so to speak, illusory existence. No one esteems his life to be really his own, or can consider it “as a personal adventure which each one experiences on his own account and at his own

(1) *Etude sur l’Ecclesiaste*, pp. 89, 90.

risk and peril.”¹ He merely continues to live the life that was lived by his ancestors; he is a link in the chain of tradition; he has received a trust which his mission is to transmit faithfully to those who shall be born of him: the true motive of the present is to join the past to the future. Hence those persistent hopes, those unwearied attachments to the vanquished and the dead. The vanquished live on, immortal, in the hearts of the living, who remain in the ardent conviction that what has been will be again, and that the heroes who fell on the night of some battle will rise from their graves to sit once more in the banquet hall, amidst the rattle of arms, by the side of the women they loved, the women they love still, even in death. To the Celts time is of little account, centuries fade like the hours of fairyland, and even in this world they partake of the life which lasts forever. This feeling, doubtless modified and diminished by contact with modern civilization, still persists in the hearts of the Bretons of today, and we cannot doubt that it inspired the fishermen and sailors of Goëlo, whose vague and lonely meditations prepared, in the course of years, the advent of the great poet who was to conjure up before the delighted vision of the men of his time, weary of the perverse ugliness in which they lived, the pure freshness of the landscapes of Galilee.

We cannot expect great aptitudes for action on the part of a race so persistent in looking backward, so heedless of the fate of the individual. Initiative is rare among such people and that desire to affirm one's self by one's acts, which has found its fullest expression in Ibsen's plays. The Celt is not very capable of the sustained and methodical labor of the German, of the burning activity of the American, of the conquering tenacity of the Englishman, if all this activity is to make him only more rich and more powerful; still less is he inclined to act for the sake of action, and he often has a sort of physical indolence and heaviness of motion. He needs to be excited by some passion in order to work and struggle with all his heart, and very often this

(1) *Essais de morale et de critique*, p 382.

passion is, in a way, an impersonal one and always of a religious aspect, even there where it has not God for its object. But, until recently, it scarcely occurred to the Bretons, who had not mixed with men of other races, that it was possible for them to be the architects of their own fortune. It seemed to them beyond the control of man to change his condition, and their fate was one to which they easily yielded unless injury were done to the very lively feeling, which they acquired at an early period, of justice. They were easily reconciled to a destiny but little to be envied, and, indeed, they still are so, not as a result of the German's good-humor and joy in living, or of the Southerner's gaiety, which runs riot in gesticulations and songs, but through a sort of strange indifference to material things. Among the commercial middle classes this frame of mind could not persist, but it is still found among the mariners and peasants; and Renan, in this respect, felt like a fisherman of Plougrescant or a ploughman of Minihiy. Along with a very lofty notion of his worth, he was never ambitious or at any rate remained always incapable of taking any step to approach the object of his ambition. Had a concatenation of circumstances, with which he had nothing to do, not led him from the College of Tréguier to the establishment of Saint-Nicolas, it is very probable that he would have become the colleague of his masters and would have died, old in years, canon at Saint-Brieuc, without having written anything but pious works and small investigations upon topics of local erudition. The gods had willed otherwise, but certainly the little Breton had no share in their council. Moreover, physical activity was always distasteful and almost painful to him. At the Seminary of Issy he spent all his play hours, even during the damp days of October or of November, seated on a bench in the park, wrapped in a heavy cloak, and reading a philosophical book. His ever-active mind did not feel the necessity of dragging the body after it in its countless journeys, and the body, indeed, would have cared but little to go; it would really have had to travel too far.

If the Celts, in fact, can at times, without too many regrets, yield the possession of the world in which we live to men of

other races, it is because a world, a thousand times more beautiful, opens to the countless creations of their fancy,—the world of their dreams. No people has ever dreamed with such passion, with such eagerness not to be disturbed as have the Bretons and the Gaels; and their dreams have enchanted Europe, the whole of which has followed “Perceval le Gallois” on the quest for the Holy Grail. And very often they do not tell their dreams, they live them today, as in the past, while carrying on their insignificant employment, and enjoy them in silence. “Less expansive natures,” says Renan, “are almost always those which feel most deeply, and the deeper the feeling, the less is it likely to be expressed.”¹ This imagination which feeds on itself, eager for the Infinite, enamored with noble adventures, persistent in pursuit of the ever-fleeing object of its desire, mystical and love-impassioned, has at times driven the Celts of the past to the conquest of mysterious Edens, lurking behind the opal mists of the ocean. It led Renan beyond history and reality into that world of pure ideas which combine into systems of a day multiple and changing forms of the Absolute, monuments like those palaces which the clouds build in the burning gold of the sunset.

This imagination is not plastic and highly colored like the imagination of the Italians and of the Greeks; it is essentially a sentimental imagination; its evocations are primarily states of feeling; and the forms which appear in them, the violet tints in which they are clad, have no other function than to be their embodiment, as a symbol is the embodiment of a thought. They do not exist in themselves or for the mere delight they give to the eye.

The old builders of legends bequeathed to Renan the very substance of their dreams. No man was ever more cunning than he in imagining sentiments, thoughts, desires, sorrows, and joys; no one was as capable as he of living the inner life of the beings he brings upon the stage, and of infusing his own into them.

(1) *Etudes d'Histoire religieuse*, p. 384.

At times, they have so long dwelt in his soul that, in more than one respect, they have come to feel as he himself does, and the most serious criticism to be made against some of his books, the "*Vie de Jésus*," for example, is that, on certain pages it would seem to be Renan himself speaking in the words of the fishermen of Galilee. He has imagined them so concretely and has evoked them so often in his thought that he can only with difficulty distinguish himself from them.

And, like all those who dream, the Bretons are even more tender than impassioned. To them, at any rate to those who have not been corrupted by the licentiousness of the large cities, love is the serious thing of life. The woman beloved is the object of a deep and silent worship, which long remains sufficient unto itself. Breton love can wait, it is not exacting nor tyrannical, and the confession of his affection is to the lover a sort of sacrifice and of renunciation: he has to tear himself from the lingering contemplation in which he takes delight, and in which sings in his heart, stirred with a melancholy joy, the fair sweet voice of his gentle lady. These loves of the peasants and "*cloarek*," shown in the popular songs, the "*soniou*," are made up of reserve, restraint, mystery, restrained desire; and voluptuousness itself is veiled in a discretion which makes it still more voluptuous and exquisite. They invade the whole soul and take possession of it as masters; the image of the well-beloved, ever present in the lover's heart, sheds its rich and delicate perfume over all his acts and all his thoughts; he lives in her and by her. If he must renounce the hope of the one he loves ever being his, he is resigned without rebellion, and shuts himself up all the more closely to the bitter sweetness of his memories. No one can prevent him from having, in some degree, the one to whom his dream so persistently clings. The crimes of love are very rare in Brittany. The Celt does not consider the woman he loves as his possession, and a jealousy which does not contain an element of wounded self-pride or of exasperated vanity, rarely makes of the abandoned lover an assassin. It would, moreover, seem to him a sort of sacrilege to lay violent hands on the one toward whom has gone

out, as it does toward the Holy Virgin, all the tender piety of his pent-up soul. Bretons have had to fall under the sway of the fiend of alcoholic drinks for the custom of wife-beating to grow up among them. If, however, it is too painful for the lover to see his sweetheart or his betrothed in another's arms, he makes his escape from life gently and noiselessly, with his eyes bent on the delicate countenance which he sees in his heart as far as the very threshold of death. When he has succeeded in achieving happiness, he does not find in this happiness itself the joyous and cheerful peace, the tranquil content, which gives to the German his "Gemüthlichkeit." There ever crops up in the folk-songs the feeling of its fragility. Death prowls silently about the one to whom his heart is riveted, and its invisible presence gives a melancholy charm to the bliss which, scarce tasted, is gone, to the tenderness through which flits the gray shadow of the here-after.

Renan inherited from his race this deep respect for love, and he remained piously faithful to it all the days of his life. Love and Woman,—these are almost the only things ever spared by his irony; the only things which appeared on into his old age intangible and sacred; and those who have imagined that in the "Abbesse de Jouarre" he was heaping blasphemy upon the purest affections have either not read the play or have not understood it. "Those who speak best of love," wrote he, in 1892, "are those who have misused it least and have considered it a religious act. * * * Love is the best proof of God."¹

His innate tendencies had, moreover, been confirmed and reinforced by his education. Renan was brought up by women, by his mother and his sister Henriette; his playmates were little girls. By contact with them his feelings became purer, finer, gentler, more feminine, and their memory, their unseen presence in his soul, preserved him always from two essentially masculine defects, coarseness and pedantry. Whether primarily indebted to his native sweetness or to the examples of his early years, it

(1) *Feuilles détachées*, préface, p. xxxiii.

remains a fact that he was always incapable of brutality, of violence, of meanness, of hatred. Persistent with a firmness and energetic with a serenity which no threat, no danger, could conquer, he always preserved the cool courage, the quiet intrepidity of the sailors of his native land, who, day after day, quietly and without boasting, run the risk of death, a hundred times over, among the reefs which arm the coast between Paimpol and Morlaix; but he was ever the least aggressive of men, and if his amenity, his courtesy, and his cordiality, so familiar and yet of a cast so lofty, were partly clerical, they were feminine as well.

This Breton conception of love which has been outlined above is, moreover, a feminine one, and the whole Celtic race is womanly in its mode of feeling. Renan was, indeed, one of his race.

Absolutely sincere and infinitely scrupulous as he was towards truth, it was, however, only under the influence of scholastic theology that he experienced a need to give clear and definite outlines to his general ideas, and when this influence, which still remained, without his completely realizing it, during the composition of the "*Avenir de la Science*," became inoperative in him, he returned to the indefiniteness, to the vague and misty outlines in the expression of thought, which give to his last books the mysterious charm of things and beings that no formula can envelope, the mysterious charm of woman.

And he was giving expression to his inward thoughts when he wrote in the exquisite study of Breton love, "*Emma Kosilis*," these lines into which we must not read a satirical purpose, which is certainly absent from them: "Feminine virtue is one of the providential elements of the world. Woman is entrusted with the Good. The True is scarce her province, but the proof of morals is far more in the eyes of the honest maiden than in the arguments of the metaphysicians."¹ Elsewhere he says, "Woman puts us into communication with the enduring fountain where God beholds himself."²

(1) *Feuilles détachées*, p. 35.

(2) *Souvenirs d'Enfance et de Jeunesse*, p. ix.

Outside the realm of positive science and of history, arguments of sentiment seemed to him alone to have any value, and this tendency only increased with age. We do not know much of the hereafter, and we profit nothing by importuning truth with questions to which it does not respond, he used to say, but what we do not *know* we may hope, even affirm at times. And we may act in all cases as though we were sure that our aspirations are not vain, and that our ideal is not a figment of our dreams: this right we assume because it is a need of our souls. An agnostic, or practically so, by reason, he was never able to persist for an hour in his agnosticism. Very feminine in his feeling in this respect, he could never make up his mind to know nothing of that which, a moment before, he had proclaimed unknowable, and he affirmed his belief in what escaped the control of his logic. It seemed to him, moreover, that a religion reduced to clear and definite dogmas lost its sway upon minds: to remain divine it had to remain obscure; it had to have in it what is in the heart of young virgins, the charm of candor, of simplicity, and of mystery. But simple and spontaneous as we may imagine it to be, it is to him "synonymous with distinction, elevation, refinement. It arises with moral delicacy."¹

Such words as delicacy, nobility, distinction, moreover, constantly recur on every page of Renan's writings; horror of vulgarity is perhaps one of the best marked and most distinct features of his moral physiognomy, and it is much less his attachment to the past than a sort of almost physical repulsion for the "egalitarian" brutality of democracy and its fondness for everything loud and brilliant, indiscreet and noisy, that made him, between 1870 and 1875, so often unjust towards it.

Educated by women and by priests, he preserved, in spite of himself, a kind of instinctive disdain for those who neither dream, think, nor pray, for men of action, who have not like Mary chosen the better part, but are busied only with making money. He put scholars and artists on a level with priests, but he felt

(1) *Questions contemporaines*, p. 469.

towards those who have not given themselves up to intellectual and moral things a sort of embarrassment derived from the contempt taught him by his old masters at the College of Tréguier for "laymen." They had at once made him unfit for any temporal occupation and stamped him with the ineffaceable seal of those who are predestined to a spiritual life.

This feeling of the priests whose precepts he followed was, moreover, that of the whole town of Tréguier. Handlers of money were held in slight esteem. Anything to do with lucre seemed then to the Bretons but little worthy of an honest man. The noble occupations were the ones which bring in scarcely enough to support those who follow them; to be soldier or sailor, magistrate or priest, such were the professions which presented themselves to the ambition of the gentleman's son, if he could not live on his land by drawing from it the usual returns. It seemed to the people of average station in those days and, even more so to the lower classes, as if industry and commerce made one rich only at the expense of others, and the incurable idealism of men of Celtic race made them turn from such mediocre ways of getting on in the world.

Though Renan came to modify his thoughts somewhat in the second half of his life, he never ceased, on this point, to feel as people had felt about him in his schooldays, and it seems as though his article on the poetry of the Exposition¹ might have been written by a talented old gentleman of rank from Trédarzac or Pleumeur. He admits that material progress has some value when it improves the condition of the lower classes, but he attacks luxury and wealth in terms which would not be disavowed by a preacher of Christian asceticism, and he displays a kind of proud disdain for what is useful and nothing more. It is because of too great a preoccupation with the merely useful, says he, that our age is hastening towards mediocrity.

He doubtless did not maintain to the very last this unwillingness for compromise. Though by temperament an aristocrat,

(1) *Essais de morale et de critique*, pp. 352-374.

he became reconciled with Caliban through reason and the feeling of justice; though a passionate idealist, the study of history taught him that the diffusion of comfort, the increase and exchange of wealth, are the effectual instruments of intellectual emancipation, and however pious he remained, he came to the point, in his fear of clerical despotism, of almost forgiving the common sense which, in the time of his youth, he had declared to be alone unproductive.

Moreover a transformation had taken place in him. He retained to the end of his life his jealous love of truth, his sturdy steadfastness of character, his disinterestedness, his painstaking industry in any work, no matter how disagreeable, which might seem useful to the knowledge which he had worshipped in the days when he had dreamed that the whole nation could drink abundantly from the cup of learning. He had kept his obstinate fidelity to duty, his sincere modesty, which was joined in him to an exact and keen appreciation of his worth and power, his morality anxious to avoid anything pharisaical or hypocritical, his tender and gentle sensibility, his contempt for what is base, his attachment to the ideal God, whom he felt within him, and whom he found diffused throughout the infinite Universe. But he experienced every day the feeling that of all the manifestations of the divine the most evident is goodness, and that of the many attitudes which man can adopt in the presence of the mystery of his fate the most dignified is, after all, a cheerful resignation.

The melancholy in which his soul had been steeped, as is the case with all Celts, in the sweet, monotonous days of his childhood, in the hours of inner struggle and disenchantment of his youth, made more gloomy and sombre still by the death of his sister Henriette, the long slavery of thought during the second Empire, the dismemberment of France, and the rude awakening to the fact that Germany, fatherland of his intellect, had changed to a nation of brutal soldiery, acknowledging no right but the "Faustrecht,"—this melancholy had faded away before the rays of the star of glory whose bright splendor had enlivened the evening of his existence. He enjoyed the quiet satisfaction of

those long years of fruitful labor which stretched behind him, he regretted his too great severity toward Béranger's God, and chided Amiel for his pessimism.

A Stoic courage, a sincere bravery (his last years were passed in almost continual suffering) were hidden beneath a smile. But this was not, on his part, an assumed position. He desired to be cheerful because it seemed to him that thus one entered more deeply into the views of Providence; he thought that it was not well to deprive humanity of any of its satisfactions, and that it was praising God to be with it at least in spirit. And from contact with this cheerfulness, "the great reward of an honest life," his seriousness had not suffered. His heart had become warmer, there was in him less disdain, less aristocratical and elegant reserve, and in drawing closer to men he seemed to have drawn nearer to the hidden God, whom he invoked on his death-bed, as he repeated over to himself those old Hebrew psalms which he loved so well. "Man is a subordinate creature," he wrote in the preface of the "*Nouvelles études d'histoire religieuse*," (p. xv.), "no matter what he does, he adores and serves. Virtue is joyous and eager contribution to the supreme good."

And yet we cannot deny that the Gascon, with an inclination to "solve many a difficulty with a smile," sometimes lets himself loose in those years of luminous good sense and of sympathetic humanity. He fell into strange and disconcerting caprices, and he had, as M. Faguet has remarked, moments of amiable perverseness. But this Gascon, though he spoke less loudly in the days of Saint-Sulpice or in the "*Rue des Deux Eglises*," nevertheless was already living in the soul of the young theological student, and, in spite of the lessons of reverent simple-heartedness which he received from the literature of modern Germany, into which "he entered as a sanctuary," he allowed himself such liberties that it sometimes took all the efforts of Mlle. Renan to restrain him.

He was, indeed, of good Celtic stock, like his Breton brother, and his true name was Fancy. Preëminently intelligent, Renan could not refrain from experimenting in the most diverse mental

processes, even those of which he disapproved and considered false and dangerous; what was base and low, that only he constantly shunned. He experienced adventures in the boundless realm of thought; they were his *imrama*, like those of the old Irish saints seeking the Celtic Elysium. He was incapable of submitting to an inflexible discipline his imagination, creator of all those visions into which his yearning for liberty and for the infinite expanded, and he was more than once faithless to the promise which he made at Athens in his prayer on the Acropolis: "Taking my stand in thee, I will resist my evil counsellors, my scepticism which makes me doubt the people, my mental restlessness which, when the truth is found, makes me still seek it in accordance with my fancy, which, when reason has spoken, prevents me from pausing in rest."¹

His strong and keen intelligence had a subtle appreciation of the possible even more than of the real, and it thoroughly proposed to enjoy all these possibilities in turn. He added each day to his conception of things new points of view, and he never entirely gave up the old. He realized better than any one else the unequal value of the ideas which defiled through his consciousness and to more than one he refused his assent, but in these dialogues "between the lobes of his brain" he never imposed silence upon one side. It was hard for him to sacrifice any one of the conceptions or images which had dwelt in his mind, and so his historical method was inclined to conservatism, and in his writings he gives evidence of more erudition and divination than of criticism.

His principles were very firm, but he cared not to arrange them in a system, or rather, he was fond of arranging them in a thousand different ways. Symbols and myths attracted him by their very fluidity and by the countless interpretations to which they lend themselves. What made him averse to dogmas was, even more than their incapacity to contain all religious truth, the barrier which they set up against the free creations of the mind.

(1) *Souvenirs d'Enfance et de Jeunesse*, p. 69.

He had remained a faithful disciple of his teachers at Saint-Sulpice, and it seemed to him that one must take a dogma as it is or reject it: it did not appear to him like a living being undergoing continual evolution and transformation. Hence his distaste for all dogmatism.

An artist without a peer, he was as alive to the beauty of ideas, to the grace of the thought as to its truth. He felt some contempt for the heaviness and clumsiness of those who confine their intelligence within the narrow limits of a system. He avoided with equal care all that was coarse, defiling, or debasing, all that takes from the intellect a part of its easy grace, all that clogs its activity. The quality which he valued on a par with sincerity was refinement. He was afraid of becoming the slave and dupe of truths too commonplace and mediocre, and he freed himself through irony. His mother had bequeathed him her animation, her humor, her refined sense of the ridiculous, that kindly humor which is understood so well by the Celts on both sides of the Channel. This mocking good-humor was refined and sublimated in his mind by contact with his deep and encyclopædic culture; it never became cruel, not even with the mitigated and considerate cruelty of clever people. It smiled with kindness upon its lips and never chastised, even fools. But this irony gleaming in his eyes was a protection to him against contact, distasteful to him, with the uninitiated; it enabled him to expose himself only partly, and to celebrate for himself alone, far from the view of people of low or frivolous minds, the mysterious cult of the God whom he worshipped in the tender humility of his heart.

Renan's dilettantism found outlet only in his dreams. His life was a serious life, in the fullest and most noble meaning of the term. At times he reproached himself with it as a too severe criticism of the way worldly people have understood life, but the reproach was uttered by his lips alone. His faith in the divine meaning of the Universe he affirmed at every moment by his self-renunciation, his attachment to the most abstract duties; he affirmed his inexhaustible goodness by an incessant toil. He had

not the doubts of an Amiel, nor his heart anguish, nor his troubles, because he toiled unweariedly, like the French peasants who turn the land over and over again through very love of the soil, even though they are not to store the ripened grain. And in the evening of life he had the serene conscience of the aged toiler who has finished his task and chats by the threshold with his grandchildren.

Once his task was done, he could without compunction take delight in the visions which Ariel conjured up before his wearied gaze, or in the rather ponderous jokes of Caliban. Sure of having obeyed the divine voice which had spoken to him in the far off moments of his childhood, beneath the arcades of the old cloister, and which spoke to him still as he sat, old and weary, in meditation among his books, he could allow himself the supreme exquisiteness of doubting the reward he knew that he had deserved.

AMERICAN DEMOCRACY

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(Concluded from October number.)

III.

If we try to bring order into the manifoldness of tendencies which characterize a period, we must seek the deeper motives and the underlying energies, as the mere classification of outer phenomena is easily misleading. For a newspaper editorial it may do, for instance, to call the nineteenth century the period of natural science, but the superficiality of such an appellation becomes clear to every one who examines more carefully the first half of the century, or, better, considers the progress of natural science and technique in periods that have gone before. When Schiller, one hundred years ago, praised the man of the eighteenth century, he called him the man who had mastered nature, and who was fascinated by the victory over the energies of nature. We cannot understand the times better if we choose another outer mark for the characterization of the time; we must proceed from external to internal factors. It is so everywhere in scientific classifications. The child divides the animals into those of the air and those of the water, those of the air into such as fly, and such as do not fly. The zoölogist neglects such external resemblances, and divides them into those with a backbone and those without a backbone; and among the vertebrates, he distinguishes the mammals from the non-mammals, and so his classification separates much that seems to belong

together. If we seek such principles of internal division for the phenomena of civilization, we find only one which is deep enough to allow us to comprehend the true connections: it is the division into realism and idealism. I know that some realists would at once be inclined here to think of the zoölogical classes we have just mentioned, and to consider the realists as beings with, and the idealists as beings without, a backbone. But we have at first not to praise and not to blame, but simply to separate the different types of human interests.

The realist seeks reality in objects, the idealist seeks it in ideas. The realist considers, therefore, that which is as final, and the idealist that which ought to be. The realist, therefore, relies on perception, the idealist on feeling. The one seeks to understand the world, the other to ennoble the world. The one works with the understanding, the other by means of inspiration. Realism, therefore, urges on to science, idealism to philosophy and religion; and in the scientific realm the realist works inductively, the idealist deductively: the realist prefers natural science, the idealist historical science. The realist emphasizes technique, tries to master nature, and produces material for exchange; the idealist finds his mission in art, masters nature by the inner liberation of his mind, and creates symbols. In art the realist is naturalist, the idealist comes in the garb of romanticism or symbolism or classicism. The realist seeks the essence of human life in pleasure and pain, the idealist in man's will. Therefore morality is, for the realist, based on utility; for the idealist, on the idea of good. For one the greatest happiness of the greatest number is the criterion, for the other the idea of duty, independent of happiness and majorities. As all men have equal capacities for pleasure and pain, the realist considers all men equal. The realist thus believes in the masses, the idealist in the hero and the genius. The realist is, therefore, democratic, the idealist aristocratic: the realist is cosmopolitan and humanitarian, the idealist is national and imperialistic; the realist seeks his goal in liberty, the idealist in justice.

Realism and Idealism are the two poles of mankind, and just as

the realism of the man and the idealism of the woman supplement each other in every noble home, so these two great tendencies have always coöperated in the history of the peoples. We have only to look to the two greatest men of ancient Greece, the two men who controlled the thought of more than a thousand years, Plato and Aristotle, to feel at once the typical expression of the two great tendencies. "Plato," says Goethe, "penetrates the world to fill it with his own ideals; he does not wish to recognize the world, but to bring it into harmony with the good and the true and the beautiful. Aristotle, however, approaches the world like a master-builder; he examines the ground and brings material together and arranges it to build up his solid pyramid." As long as men will take a systematic view of the world and of human life, it will be ultimately Platonic or Aristotelian.

Such a coöperation of the two tendencies does not mean simply their fusion, but rather their alternation; and when they work together,—that is, when they reach a compromise in a special case,—a state of equilibrium ensues, and the problem is then relatively solved. But so long as there is to be development, the one or the other must prevail. As we cannot move towards the right and towards the left at the same time, so the social mind cannot turn, at the same time, to nationalism and cosmopolitanism, to naturalistic and to symbolistic art, to speculative and to philosophic science, to atheism and to religion. And such an alternation is the necessary outcome of the mental structure: every psychic movement has a tendency to go to an extreme, and the extreme has a tendency to produce a reaction in the opposite direction, which must itself go to the extreme again. If the tendencies alternate, it is clear that one alone does not mean progress and the other regress: both are indispensable to development, and it is absurd to imagine that the realistic movement, for example, is alone progressive and the idealistic energy a hinderance to civilization. Whoever stands, in the battle of the day, on one side must see the enemy on the other side; but from the standpoint of social philosophy, both energies, realism and idealism,

are equally important and valuable. It is unfair to imply that realism is selfish and idealism unselfish: the utilitarian morality of the realist is not less unselfish than the intuitionist morality of the idealist; realism is not in its nature egoistic, just as idealism is not unpractical. And both sides can be equally inhuman and base. It was realism which sharpened the blade of the guillotine, and idealism which set fire to the funeral piles of the Middle Ages; it was realism which at times brought the mill-laborers to the misery of starvation, and idealism which shot down the helpless lower races in the dark countries. Great and small men, clever and stupid men, noble and base men, have been always on either side.

If this alternation characterizes the progress of civilization, it is further clear that the movement cannot be a simple pendulum movement. The pendulum always swings again to the same point; civilization, on the other hand, moves forward. If civilization is realistic, then idealistic, then realistic again, it is not the same realism for a second time. The past is not simply repeated; the new movement arises from the same moral energies, but the whole foregoing development is included in the new position. Every phase of this gigantic counterplay brings certain problems to rest and fulfillment by a compromise, and new problems come to the front. Realism takes up one problem and carries its one-sided solution to an extreme; then awakes the idealistic counter-movement and becomes powerful. Idealism takes up new impulses and reinforces them till a realistic counter-movement begins; but the first problem, since both sides have fought for it and have defended their extreme positions, comes in the meantime to a compromise, and thus ceases to be a problem. It is thus less a pendulum movement than a spiral movement. It is as if we should climb up a tower by a spiral staircase; we are then looking from the windows of the tower, now to the north and now to the south, but we never look twice through the same window: whenever the stair brings us back to the same side, the window lies higher, the view has become more extended.

Such alternations took centuries in the slow rhythm of earlier

civilization, but the changes have come more and more swiftly, and in the last hundred years they have followed each other with the rapidity of generations, in so far as the great fundamental movements of a world-civilization are in question. Of course, whenever one wave begins to swell, it does not mean that the after-effects of the foregoing wave have disappeared; while one world-tendency is at its maximum, the movement of the last, and perhaps even of that before the last, may still be felt, and the slow beginning of the next wave may already be perceptible to the sensitive mind. And, secondly, this great fundamental up and down of realism and idealism in the world's civilization does not exclude the possibility that the same change of realistic and idealistic energies may continue in narrower circles, in local realms, in special problems, independently of the great world-movements; a local realistic movement may thus coincide with a general realistic tendency, and thus reinforce it, or may fall together with a general idealistic wave, and thus inhibit it, or limit it to certain regions.

This change from generation to generation is reflected very clearly in the alternating phases of philosophical thought. The middle of the eighteenth century was controlled by a realistic view of the world: experience and analysis were the methods—sensualism, scepticism, materialism were the results; the spirits of Locke and Hume, of the French encyclopædists and Voltaire were in the foreground. The reaction came with the German idealism of the end of the eighteenth century; Kant emphasizes the “ought” as against the “is,” and the idealistic philosophy, in its increasing energy from Kant to Fichte, to Schelling, and finally to Hegel, conquers the philosophical world. Hegelianism represents the extreme which demands a realistic reaction; before the middle of the nineteenth century is reached, idealism lies again in the dust, a new realism triumphs, positivism and materialism push to the foreground, Comte and Spencer become the spokesmen of an unphilosophic age, and natural science, with Darwin and Helmholtz as leaders, absorbs the philosophizing interest of the time. But before the nineteenth century came to an end, the situa-

tion changed once more : for about ten years philosophy has been again on the idealistic track. While realistic philosophy ran to its extreme, from materialism to psychologism and sociologism, a serious idealistic reaction began in the midst of empirical scientists who had despised philosophy for forty years. The leading thinkers, the world over, plunged again into epistemological inquiries, Kant and Fichte were revived, and an ethical voluntarism grew from year to year. The situation of the world's scholarship of today shows decidedly in every line the philosophical, idealistic trend, notwithstanding that it has found so far no overwhelming classic expression : the wave is only swelling today, its highest point may be ten or twenty years hence.

This up and down of realism and idealism in philosophical thought is not a chance feature, nor even a by-product of civilization, but the clearest expression, and perhaps most central factor, of the world's development throughout that period. The French philosophy of the eighteenth century cannot be separated from the French Revolution or from the American Declaration of Independence. The anti-idealistic movement of the post-Hegelian time, with its overestimation of the natural sciences, cannot be separated from the development of modern industry and modern technique. And thus in every way the philosophical movements were both the moving powers and the indicators of the whole rhythm of civilization. The Western civilization, as a whole, shows, indeed, a realistic character in the second half of the eighteenth century, an idealistic wave in the first third of the nineteenth, a new realism since the middle of it, and the beginning of a new idealism near the close of the nineteenth century. We might just as well have followed it in the movements of art and literature. Can it be doubted that the realistic period of naturalism in art is over, and that, since the days of the new symbolism, a young idealism is passing through the art exhibitions of all countries ? or that the period of Zola's realism is a thing of the past, and that Ibsen and Tolstoy and Hauptmann and Kipling approach, from very different quarters, the realm of idealism ? or can we overlook the corresponding alternation between realistic cosmopolitan-

ism and idealistic nationalism, and, nearly connected therewith, the alternating phases of human belief in the equality and in the inequality of men? The former break the chains of the slaves, the latter are eager to take up the burden of the white man. Our own period, as it presses towards philosophy and religion in its thought and towards idealism in its art, must be nationalistic and expansionistic.

But the strongest feature of this movement of the last hundred and fifty years has not been pointed out so far. The realism of the eighteenth century was first of all democratic, the reaction in the nineteenth was necessarily aristocratic, monarchic, imperialistic : the outcome was a compromise, for Europe the constitutional monarchy ; and by this compromise, as always happens, the movement itself came to an end, the problem ceased to exist. In the second half of the nineteenth century the form of political government was no longer a question which moved peoples. How far otherwise was it considered in the eighteenth, and how narrowly connected with all the other phases of the realistic movement, with its philosophy and its religion, its literature and its social life ! It was the great period of enlightenment, which worked with sober clearness, with sceptical understanding, with humanitarian common-sense. Such a period must have one aim above all, not to allow any illusions. And as the foregoing idealistic period had left a world full of illusions and symbols of a religious and historical character, the chief energy of the time had to become destructive, and to turn against the authority of the Church and of the State : equality and liberty sounded in all the streets. It was a period rich in its inheritance for the following century, full of humanitarian and civil impulses, and yet it was narrow and Philistine, as is every enlightenment of the understanding alone ; it was anti-historical, anti-religious, anti-artistic, with no imagination, no emotion, no great historical consciousness ; and the idealistic reaction was unavoidable. The time of Hegel and Goethe and Beethoven had to be the time of Napoleon and of Prussia's war for its national independence ; it was the time when romanticism and Gothic art awoke again,

and mankind thought more of the genius than of the masses. The fusion of these two great antagonistic tendencies reduced this problem to silence. When the great reaction against romanticism came, it could not again be a return to the standpoint of the eighteenth century, but it brought new problems forward as the old ones had reached a compromise. The new problems came from the new realism, which meant natural science, modern industry and commerce and transport and medicine. But here, again, the movement had to work itself to an end, to reach an extreme which demands reaction. We stand in the middle of it. The new discoveries are no longer solutions of life-problems, but luxuries; the phonograph is not what the telegraph was. Above all, modern industry brought up the question of modern labor, the social conscience awoke, a new type of man, the mill-laborer, stood before the world; and mankind recognized that he was helpless, and must become daily more helpless, in the presence of combined capital. The idealistic reaction began, the social question absorbed the thinking world, and thus the great antagonism of energies, of the same mental energies which fought a hundred years ago over the problems of state form, are concentrated today on the problems of the social question. The idealistic reaction in which we live will grow to a point where a compromise will be reached, and the social problem will then become as obsolete and indifferent as the political problem of monarchy or republic is today; and while the alternation of idealism and realism will go on, new and ever new problems will offer themselves as the results of the new fields which are opened up by these antagonistic energies.

IV.

We have answered our first question, how it has come about that the question of monarchy or republic has been laid on the table in the congress of nations; but we have not answered the second question, why the Republic of America and the Monarchy of Germany approach each other by a movement in opposite

directions; the United States moving towards aristocracy, Germany towards democracy. But the foregoing reduction of all human efforts to the alternation of realistic and idealistic energies contains, also, the explanation of this second phenomenon. We emphasized from the first that the great progress of general civilization of the whole Western world is not the only illustration of that counterplay of energies: the world-movements are accompanied by local movements of far-reaching independence. The French Revolution, Darwinism, electrotechnique, or the labor question are world-movements which cannot be localized; but other waves are limited by the boundaries of a nation, others even by the walls of a town or of a set or of a group: any social unit may have its independent alternation of realistic and idealistic energies. While the general world-movements show today the ebbing of a great realistic wave, which was at floodtide twenty years ago, and the slow upward swelling of an idealistic wave, which has not yet broken, there is a local realistic democratic movement just now sweeping over Germany and an idealistic tendency over the United States. Both are determined by local conditions, but both work towards a surprising similarity of the two forms of national life, inasmuch as they are necessarily diminishing those differences which resulted from the different forms of the historical constitution.

It may sound paradoxical, and yet it can hardly be doubted that, within a certain limit, it is on both sides the same cause which has had an opposite effect. It is the accumulation of wealth which creates the aristocratic movement in America and which spreads a democratic spirit over Germany. The strenuous pioneer life, where wealth begins merely in the first generation, has no room for class discrimination and for aristocratic fashion, culture, art, and taste; on the other side, in the society in which the nobleman is the rich landowner and high officer and state official, with all the power in his traditional rights, while the population is poor, and therefore powerless, there is no chance for democratic ideas. But if inherited wealth and a leisure class grow up on the one side of the ocean, and

if commerce and industry bring wealth to the middle classes on the other side, then the time for a change has come.

Two recent novels, one American and the other German, throw light on the contrasts of the situation. "In this country we are all free and equal," says Selma in Robert Grant's "Unleavened Bread," and Flossie retorts, "Yes, there is something of the sort in the Declaration of Independence, but that was put in as a bluff to console salesladies. * * * People here are either in society or out of it, and society itself is divided into sets. There's the conservative aristocratic set, the smart rapid set, the set which has not much money, but has Knickerbocker or other highly respectable ancestors, the new millionaire set, the literary set, the intellectual philanthropic set, and so on. * * * Most of the people in these different sets are somebodies because either their grandfathers or they have done something well—better than other people—and made money as a consequence. And when a family has made money or won distinction by its brains, and then has brushed its teeth twice a day for two generations, the members of it, even though dull, are entitled to respect, don't you think so?"

And now as a contrast to Grant's ironical sketch, so full of truth, let me quote the splendid novel of Georg von Ompfeda,— "Eysen." It is the life portrait of the family von Eysen, an old noble family which has belonged for centuries to the aristocratic set which has controlled social life by holding the high positions in State and army and owning the great country estates. It now sees that a new time is coming, and feels that the land is passing into the hands of the new merchants and bankers and industrials and that the higher standard of the middle classes, with their hard work and intellectual energy, is bringing them more and more to power and leadership. The General von Eysen is conscious that he has overcome his old prejudices; he has given permission to his only son to become neither officer nor state official, but engineer; and at a reunion in which he meets the younger members of his family he says in his toast: "Above all—you must work; who does not work, must

sink. Be everywhere—not only where we could be found in the past—on our own ground, in the state service, in the army.

* * * We live in a new time and a new time demands new conditions; give honor to the tradition, but do not become its slaves. If you look only backward to the history of the past, you will lose your freedom. * * * No, my young relatives, we old families do not want to be submerged. Go into art, into science and medicine, sit on the merchant's stool, guide your ships into foreign seas for the honor and advantage of the German name; enter life not only as state officers, but as lawyers, or as architects; wherever in the world money is to be gained by the exertion of commerce and industry, go and take part; money in the right hand gives freedom."

Yes, a new time has come for Germany; in thirty years of undisturbed peace it has grown rich, it has changed from an agricultural country into an industrial country, the standard of life has been raised with an undreamed of rapidity, the horizon has been widened, the new industry has pushed trade over the ocean, a colonial system has grown up, and all has had only one effect in common,—the rise of the democratic spirit in the noblest meaning of the word. It has not taken anything from the aristocratic power of the Empire, has not touched all the noble achievements of an aristocratic army and state service, has even reinforced the German's love for his king and his princes; and yet, as General von Eysen said, the new time has come. The symptoms are felt wherever we turn. The raising of the social level of the business man, the merchant, and the industrial man, together with the sinking of the social level of the landowner, is certainly one of the most prominent features. The power which the great representatives of industry and commerce and banking and the market have today in the state organism of Germany could not have been dreamt of twenty years ago, and the number of high officials who seek business positions grows rapidly. There is a certain analogy in the steady raising of the practical professions, that of the engineer and the scientist, in comparison with the literary professions; the entire education is being turned,

and not least through the Emperor's influence, into the direction of practical, technical achievements as over against the classic traditions. It is the same principle which emancipates the woman, a movement which, after a long time of waiting, today perhaps overhastens its progress: the democratic desire for equality must demand the same rights for women. But the principle of emancipation applied to the business world, the practical professions, the women, cannot be limited to the middle classes; the same tendency must help the lower classes also. Nowhere, perhaps, does the "new time" appear more clearly. The Social-Democratic party, which was, even ten years ago, considered and suppressed as an enemy of the State, becomes daily more and more a coöperating member of the social organism, while the material fate of the laborer is protected by the state socialism, which has become law. And, above all, the intellectual and æsthetic interests of the masses are growing with the higher standard of the whole population. The reading of papers, the formation of clubs and societies, discussions and lectures, reach wider and wider circles, while rich men begin, in growing measure, to devote large gifts to public benefits. Add thereto the new enthusiasm for the sea, for naval affairs, for foreign lands beyond the ocean, a widening of the horizon, which necessarily has a democratic tendency, and which greatly reinforces the spirit of independence and individual activity;—add the immense development of technique, of transportation, of means of communication, all thoroughly democratic factors, since they put men more on an equal footing and bring progress within the reach of every one;—add the whole increase of the yearly saving, which means better food and better houses, health and cleanliness and enjoyment; and if we sought to compress all into one word, we might say, Germany has become in the last ten years Americanized. The thoroughly aristocratic nation, with all its appreciation for the historical forces and symbols, for arts and education, for the leadership of the educated and for the acknowledgement of authority, has added to itself since the coming of the new time the individual activity and the equality of the ideal democracy.

And America? Is Flossie right, has equality become only a bluff for the consolation of salesladies? Certainly not! Democracy is still today the rock on which the United States are built, and will remain so, exactly as Germany in its deepest structure will remain monarchical; and yet, if it is true that Germany becomes democratic, in a thousand respects, it is still more true that America becomes aristocratic: a new time has come for America, too. Of course I do not have in mind here those pseudo-aristocratic and pseudo-monarchic tendencies which work against the democratic institutions by dishonest means and intolerable abuses: bossism is merely the caricature of aristocracy; and while it is true that Quay and Croker and their likes are tyrants without a constitutional background, whose whims lead men on to fortune or destroy them, this tyranny is the outgrowth of democracy and not at all the legacy of aristocratic impulses.

But even when we turn to the really aristocratic symptoms of national life, the question is not whether we welcome or deprecate them; we are interested merely in the question whether the phenomena exist. Thus it cannot be our task here to inquire whether the United States is wise or unwise in its policy of aggressive expansion, whether it would be better to remain loyal to the principles of the past, which reduced the chances of friction with other nations, and thus saved to the land the burdens of militarism, or whether the progress of the country demands that new responsibilities be courageously faced. For us it is sufficient that imperialism is a symptom of the aristocratic attitude towards man, and that imperialism is the creed of the country. Imperialism means the belief in the inequality of men, which, as we emphasized from the beginning, follows the logic of idealism. It is true that only one of the two great parties stood for the imperialistic policy in the last presidential election; but the social psychologist cannot doubt that the Democrats were anti-imperialistic only because the Republicans had chosen otherwise beforehand; while the Democratic masses, before the campaign had hammered the issue into their mind, were not less carried away by the Kipling mood than the other half of the nation.

But it was not even necessary to wait till the Philippine issue was brought before the American consciousness. The suppression of the Chinese in California, the barriers erected against the undesirable types of immigrants from Europe, above all the adroit laws to deprive the negro of his vote,—all speak the same language, all demonstrate the same way of feeling: the aristocratic morality of a powerful and noble nation, what Nietzsche called the morals of masters—so different from the democratic morals of slaves, who try to make the world believe that all men are equal.

But does this undemocratic spirit turn against the outsider only? Where is the equality in the inner life of America? Of course it is true that we have public schools where all are equal; the only difficulty is that they are not in use. Yes, there is no doubt that we are fast approaching a state where nobody in a city sends his children to the public schools when his means allow him to pay for the instruction of a private school. "*Tout comme chez nous!*" The whole educational system is rapidly becoming aristocratic. This case is similar to that of travel by rail. Americans who go to Europe like to ridicule the class differences in the European trains and boast that American railroads have only one class; but on inquiry it appears that it is hard to find any one of your acquaintance who travels in America, from one large city to another, without carefully avoiding that single class by sitting in the parlor car. And this exclusiveness of the passenger reflects the character of society. The plan after which the smart set, and not in New York and Newport alone, celebrates its festivities and weds its brides is not only the pattern of fashion and luxury, but a conscious imitation of aristocracy. A typical expression is found in the immense growth of the pedigree craze. The marriages of American heiresses with European fortune hunters of the nobility seem to me un-American, and thus not typical: it is the fancy of individuals and not a symptom of national life. But the genealogical passion, "the pedigree spleen," grows out of the best material of the nation, and yet it is thoroughly anti-democratic. If a single family of Con-

necticut needs three volumes of 2,740 quarto pages to print its own history; if the Daughters of the Revolution have 27,000 members; if the genealogical societies, like the Colonial Dames, the Daughters of the Holland Dames, the Mayflower Descendants, and so on, multiply with every year,—the aristocratic undercurrent cannot be doubted. It is thus not by chance that the old Southern aristocracy just now begins to become somewhat reconciled: public life begins to move more and more in their direction.

And all this is reflected in the public life. We know the simplicity, according to the tradition at least, with which that President of the past went on horseback alone to the Capitol to take the oath of office, and tied his horse to the post; we know the kinglike pomp with which the President of the last inauguration drove through the lines of his troops. And this aristocratic desire for the outer symbolic decoration percolates through all layers of society, down to the car conductor and elevator boy, who are proud of their distinguishing uniform, while, only a short time ago, as I am informed, a free American still objected to wearing any uniform in civil life. The tendency to develop more refined and polished manners belongs necessarily to the change; the spitting and chewing decrease from year to year, and the men who put their feet on the table and the women who rock while they are talking become rarer specimens.

But these are matters of external life. It is the inner vitality in which the really important changes are felt, changes which are essentially beyond difference of opinion, changes which cannot be disposed of as snobbish, and which none the less are decidedly aristocratic. Here belongs the steadily increasing influence of college bred men in public life; the fact itself has recently been often demonstrated with full statistics, and its meaning is clear: the men of superior education are brought to that superior position which aristocracy willingly offers them, and which democracy finally cannot deny them, in spite of the flagrant inconsistency of the act. Parallel with this movement there necessarily goes a twofold development: the growth of the feeling of public

duties and responsibilities and the substitution for merely commercial ideals, ideals of an æsthetic and intellectual character.

There will, of course, always be pessimists who lament that the present is worse than the past; and for editorials with a point against Tammany or against Wall Street, it is the right thing to begin by declaiming that politics has reached its lowest moral ebb, or that the whole life of the land is sacrificed to commercialism. This may be effective, but it is not true. The stronger current of the nation is at present setting in the opposite direction. The number of men who, unselfishly and with high ideals, serve the community in a thousand forms is undoubtedly increasing every day. The Roosevelt type is increasing in politics, but far more outside of politics. If the feeling of duty led merely to financial bequests, it ought not to count for too much in a country in which—compared with Germany for instance—the rich men pay so small a tax; but those men should count who give their time and effort, their intellect and honesty to public trusts. “Noblesse oblige” is daily more felt, but it presupposes, of course, the “noblesse,” the aristocracy. That the new time means a new life for art and science must impress every one. The rapid growth of our graduate schools, with their goals far beyond the reach of the college, demands an understanding of the value of pure knowledge, which offers itself at first only as a luxury of the leisure classes: truth for truth’s sake belongs to an aristocratic society. And since the days of the Chicago Fair and the Washington and Boston libraries, the wave of American art is swelling. All the conditions are surely favorable to it. History has always shown that art comes to fullest flower whenever wealth is abundant, so that a leisure class may exist, and when, at the same time, a characteristic national development arises. The leisure class is as yet made up for the most part of women, but the more wealth comes into the second and third generation, the more men are joining their ranks. And the more the new politics brings the country into relations with other nations, the more it becomes conscious of the specific national characteristics of its civilization.

This beautifying impulse, which is so strictly antagonistic to the utilitarian aspect of democracy, brightens the whole country. Ten years ago the railroads were no less well-equipped, but the railroad stations were painful to a European eye; the new stations built in the last ten years in the leading cities reflect the whole development of a nation which is passing through an aristocratic period. Not the narrowness of the farmer, but the æsthetic taste of the educated controls the outer forms of public life, and the marble of the public halls teaches the masses that they must refine their manners. Still more evident is a growing refinement in the industrial arts and in the decoration of the home. Democratic wealth admires silverware and jewelry, aristocratic life does not care for the value of the material, but appreciates the form, the idea, the soul: Tiffany glass and Rookwood pottery would have been impossible in America twenty years ago.

One other position democracy begins slowly, too slowly, to surrender: the democratic belief that everybody can do everything, if he only will, is slowly fading, and the public, not less than every corporation, demands expert talent for its business; and this with the necessary changes on all sides. It demands, first of all, civil service reform and a pension system. The pension system, outside of the army, is undemocratic and thus foreign to the United States till recent years; it is one of the greatest blessings of the aristocratic wave that it carries the pension system into the most different fields of life, and thus creates the repose of faithful service which knows itself protected and is not obliged to push itself constantly before the attention of the masses. Even in the highest classes of service, like university work, the pension idea is only five years old. On the other hand, there are symptoms that the salary question, also, in all walks of public life, will be settled in the near future. Today the judges of the Supreme Court, the Vice-President, the members of the Cabinet, and correspondingly all the lower officials, are paid according to the naïve democratic idea that the salary must be large enough so that some one who is ready to take the job can be found for it. This farmer's economy is dis-

appearing, and the public is learning an aristocratic lesson from the big trusts and corporations. This undemocratic belief in the authority of the expert brings the regular army steadily forward in public estimation, while the volunteers are losing ground. The demand for a diplomatic career, for a systematic schooling for consular and diplomatic service, daily becomes louder; the time for democratic dilettantism has gone; since America has become a world-power, it has too much to lose. The government cannot play any longer with a hand always open to the criticism of every editorial writer, and its diplomats need the preparation of a lifetime; in short, America daily becomes more like the others, and among the "others," especially like Germany, where the belief in the superiority of expert work and expert judgment has found its fullest development and realization.

Germany is Americanizing and America is Germanizing, and nothing at this stage can stop the further development in that direction; it has become necessary as an outlet for energies which were artificially kept down by aristocracy in Germany and by democracy in America. Only since these two national movements have supplemented the existing tendencies, are both countries fully prepared for their rôles as leaders on the globe. Germany will remain a monarchy, America a republic and democracy in its entire political structure, and yet this political difference will be daily less felt, because, as we have seen, the political questions of the state forms have lost their character as problems. They have not lost their importance, but they have, like morality, become a matter of course, which is not under discussion, and which must be understood from historical conditions: the constitutional difference no longer means any difference of opinion. The "problem" has become a social one, and it is just this field in which, as we have seen, the development of the last years has brought about in both countries the same result. The same end-point, a complete harmonization of aristocratic and democratic energies, has been reached from two opposite starting points. There is no third country for which that is equally true. It points to the profound similarity between the

Americans and the Germans, a similarity which was a long time hidden by the dissimilarity of occupations. Now, however, that the pioneer period of America is over and that Germany is entering into the world-market, the time has come when the deep harmony of their natures can fully show itself. This kinship of character is the best security for a future of lasting peace, not free from competition and rivalry in all fields of commerce and industry, of science and art, of culture and ideals, but free from animosity and ill-will. Whatever fate may bring, the present conjunction of the stars would seem to betoken that Americans and Germans will never again forget that they belong together.

A POLITICAL SURVEY OF FRANCESCO CRISPI

SALVATORE CORTESI, *Rome.*

No other man, in the last thirty years, has aroused in Italy such inextinguishable hatred, and such passionate enthusiasm, as Francesco Crispi; no other politician has been so persecuted and so idolized, and even now, after his death, we have been the witnesses of an explosion of ancient rancor together with one of the most solemn apotheosis.

To judge Crispi and his times calmly, we must espouse neither the one side nor the other; we must consider that, while Crispi committed many errors, he also accomplished many noble works, in a long life passed in the midst of the most extraordinarily stormy adventures. It is a fact that, even in late years, the most passionate polemics in favor of or against Crispi were the order of the day. Perhaps it was because, as the oldest among the leading politicians, he had suffered and enjoyed a past of which no other could boast, and was almost the only survivor of an heroic period of conspiracies and revolutions. More likely it was because he possessed, if not the great political wisdom, at least the art of making his politics of great effect,—a kind of scenic form of wielding power which impressed the imagination; thus giving the people what his friends called the substance, and what others—with perhaps more truth—called the illusion, of greatness.

No matter what has been done to modernize the thoughts, feelings, customs, and habits of the Italians, in order to prepare them for the new battle of labor and intellectual and industrial

competition, the bulk of the nation, in the depths of its soul, still is, and will remain, dreamer and poet. Ancient political greatness, the glory of their arms in the past, and afterwards their supremacy in trade, splendor in arts, the first place in the intellectual movement, the spirit of adventure which produced so many heroes and martyrs,—all give rise, in the present modest and humble situation of the country, to a continuous hope and desire that some one of these past forms of glory may return. Thus, whoever gives this people, even for an hour, the proud illusion that there is still something of the ancient Roman in them, or that the light of a renaissance still sparkles, or that the fire which led them through their miraculous resurrection still preserves some heat, arouses such enthusiasm as to be able to kindle them to real greatness, or to drag them to ruin. Crispi had the ability, if thus it may be called, of touching this sensitiveness; but there is no doubt that his personal strength, as well as that of the country, was not in proportion to the ambitious vision which he unrolled before them; and the consequence was a resentment as violent as the popularity he had evoked. However, as clearly appears after his death, his admirers have been, and are, much more numerous than his detractors; and this arises exclusively from the connection which existed between the external form of his policy and that eternal dream and aspiration of the Italian race.

The new Italian State, from the manner in which it was formed and began its life, had not sufficient force to react against all there was of the non-modern feeling in the soul of the people, and thus had not the strength to impose a policy of retrenchment, of labor, of pacific development of those energies in which the Italians are rich; it could not induce them to live quietly and industriously, with the conviction that it is possible for them to be satisfied and enjoy prosperity without eternally recalling their descent from those who conquered the world by force of arms, and who afterwards enlightened it with the flame of their thought, or beautified it with the work of their genius, when they had arms no longer or used them only against themselves. This inability on the part of the Italian people to renounce, courageously and

entirely, these ideals was Crispi's chance, was the ground for the blossoming of his chief characteristics, the opportunity to seize power, which he did, and in such an unscrupulous and dictatorial way as to create a precedent in parliamentary government in the Peninsula. With him Italy went through all the trials and dangers which generally precede greatness, without, however, attaining it, and did not enjoy the prosperity which she might have attained by renouncing her dreams.

This severe judgment of Crispi as a statesman of modern times does not in the least affect his undoubted and incontestable merits as a patriot. In fact, all that can be said in condemnation of Crispi as a politician came from the circumstance that he had remained a man of the past, almost entirely wanting in modern culture. He had remained what the Italians call a "quarantottista" (a forty-eighter), that is to say, a man of that epic period of 1848 when for a moment all Italy succeeded, through revolution, in throwing off the yokes under which she groaned. Crispi was a special personification of Jacobinism adapted to the atmosphere of the Italian revolution. As long as the struggle for unity and independence continued, he was the right man in the right place, but trouble began when this very same person who had spent the greater part of his life in trying to overthrow kings and governments, had to undertake the support of a Monarchy and to maintain a Government. However, when Premier, for the first time, in 1887,—his longest period of power,—notwithstanding the usual exaggerations, especially in foreign policy, he accomplished some reforms of the highest importance, such as the enlargement of the franchise, until it became almost universal suffrage,—since all those who are of age and can read and write have a vote,—a better proportioned system of taxation, more effective sanitary laws,—admired and partly adopted by France,—the reorganization of charitable institutions, and a whole work of reform and civilization, especially in the administrative departments, of which Italy had, and has, great need. But all this was marred by the most fantastically grandiose foreign policy, and by attempts at great colonial enterprises,—all originating in the exaggeration of a

feeling which was his only political passion, and the root of all his actions, heroic and reckless, in his youth, and of his errors as a statesman,—the desire for a great and strong Italy. Perhaps nothing has better characterized this spirit of a *greater* Italy—which Crispi had long before Jingoism and Imperialism had ever been spoken of—than a caricature, when he was in power, which represented him as saying, in one of his moments of fury at the country's not responding to his grand plans, "Oh! if instead of making Italy I had only made England!" This disproportion between his aims and the reality of things made his existence a long, fierce battle, without rest. During the first conspiracies of his Sicily, of which at twenty-nine years of age he was the soul,—since he was the organizer of the forces which for a year resisted the army of the Bourbon,—through his eleven years of exile, in which he suffered misery almost to starvation, up to the periods of power, which were so bitterly contested by his enemies, who wanted to deprive him not only of worldly honors, but of his personal honor as well, he had no peace. In the end he was defeated, and before dying bodily, he was politically killed by the disaster of Adowa, and morally by the "Parliamentary Centure,"—a measure created on purpose for him, because, above all, he belonged to a world gone by, and insisted on continuing the fight by means, systems, and arms no longer adapted to changed times. At heart he was always the same man who had been accustomed to the most adventurous enterprises, who had been the courageous leader in the heroic venture that resulted in the unification of the country, who had gone to Sicily twice as a new Rocambole, disguised, and evading the brutal police of the Bourbon, and who, by a patriotic deception, rendered possible the expedition of the Thousand. Legitimate and thorough son of the Revolution, he preserved all the revolutionary instincts and methods, even when, gradually changing his Republican faith and abandoning Mazzini, who called him a traitor, he succeeded in becoming the idol of the Conservatives and reactionaries, and in gaining the entire confidence of the Court, which for some time after his conversion had looked on him with distrust and diffidence. The highest power made

no difference, he never abandoned his ancient customs, and I do not remember having once spoken to him in his office without seeing a revolver on the right of his desk, ready to his hand, while I knew that in his pocket reposed a rosary and a charm to keep off the evil eye,—all of which show how strong in this man of undoubted genius were the influences of his youth and of his Southern temperament,—the love of force, a religious sentiment of his own, and superstition. Thus his whole life was a continuous storm; the quiet satisfaction of having grasped a coveted object was never his, although all possible satisfaction was conceded to his inexhaustible pride, as when he became the friend of Prince Bismarck, when the King conferred on him the order of the Annunziata, which made him of royal rank, and when Giosuè Carducci, the greatest living Italian poet, sang his praises.

The eulogists of Crispi have compared him, in his political capacity, to Gladstone and the “Iron Chancellor,” but I think that the most appropriate figure to which the late statesman can be likened is that of Cardinal Richelieu, who, as a Minister, was the object of the most opposite judgments, which ranged from delirious praise to the most cruel curses. The great Cardinal had on his desk the breviary and Machiavelli, and used to say, “When I have made a decision I go straight to the object, I overthrow all, I cut through all, and then I cover all with my red robe.” Crispi, besides his revolver, had Tacitus on his desk, and his political creed was comprised in the following formula, “The King reigns, the Cabinet governs, and the Chamber makes the laws,” which, especially in later years, meant to him that the Premier had all the power. In foreign affairs Crispi’s policy was principally directed toward cultivating the friendship of England, toward rendering closer and closer the unity of his country with the other members of the Triple Alliance, and toward maintaining a disdainful and sometimes provocative attitude towards France;—an attitude which is to be attributed to an ancient feeling of hatred against the Republic, which he considered responsible for the fall of Sicily into the hands of the Bourbons after the revolution of

1848-49. In his memoirs he accused France of premeditated treason, and says, "The reactionary Government of Paris, which sent troops to kill the Roman Republic, had as a creed the murder of the Sicilian people, and a return to absolutism." Things went so far under the first Crispi Cabinet that a war seemed imminent, as is proved by the episode of the sudden arrival of the English Mediterranean Squadron at Genoa, commanded by Admiral Hervett, who asked anxiously, on landing, if hostilities had begun, and if the news were true of a French "coup de main" on Spezia, the principal Italian naval stronghold.

Besides, by the permanence of Crispi's power, the apprehension of a collision was justified by the exceptional instability of cabinets in France, and by the presence at the war office of the Republic of the famous Boulanger, who, for a moment, seemed destined to be the man to set fire to the gunpowder accumulated in Europe. A conflict would perhaps have really been the issue of such a situation, so full of electricity and friction, had Crispi not been overthrown by the vote of January 1, 1891. At that moment ends, however, the best part of Crispi's career as a dominant politician. His return to power, in 1893, served only to injure his reputation, since he was obliged to abandon entirely his friends of the Liberal and Democratic parties and to throw himself into the arms of his ancient enemies, the Conservatives, in order to keep at the helm of affairs. More than as Prime Minister of a constitutional sovereign, in a parliamentary country, he acted as a Dictator, with the most open disregard of the Constitution, and for the prerogatives of the Chamber, having recourse to the most reactionary measures; and, if he was attacked ferociously in his public and private life, he as ferociously defended himself in all ways and by all means. No one can say what would have happened if the crumbling of his ideals of colonial greatness with the African failure and the "Parliamentary Century" had not put an abrupt end to his career. After that he existed no more for the political arena in Italy, so that now that he is gone, his lack is not felt in the Chamber, especially as he has left no parliamentary succession. The only "succession"

that remains is his enormous collection of documents and personal notes, embracing over half a century of Italian political life. These papers have been sealed by the authorities, until they can be sorted for the purpose of choosing those that, from their character, will go to the State and those which can be left to the family.

Such a measure is not unprecedented. It was not adopted in the case of Count Cavour, when he died suddenly in 1861, but some of his friends were delegated to separate the documents that were to be consigned to the archives of Turin from those that were to be given to his relatives, and these are now in the hands of the Marquis Visconti-Venosta, late Minister of Foreign Affairs. His numerous letters to the Marquis Urbano Rattazzi, however, notes and telegrams containing important state secrets, especially about the unfortunate expedition of Garibaldi against Rome in 1867, were immediately confiscated, notwithstanding the vigorous protests of his widow, the Princess De Solms. Even stranger was the case of Baron Ricasoli, who died after having left all the papers in his possession to his devoted friend and collaborator, Celestino Bianchi, whom the Government, knowing to be safe, left in undisturbed possession, ordering the confiscation of the papers only on the death of Bianchi.

From what is known, it seems that Crispi, who had gathered sufficient documents to fill twelve volumes, sorted and reduced them to the bulk of two, destroying all the others, in order to avoid the seizure of some of them after his demise. However, reduced as they are, those among his intimates who have glanced over them assert that they will shed new light on several periods, still obscure, of Italian history both before and after the unity of the Peninsula.

STRIKES AND THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE STRIKERS

FRANK K. FOSTER, *Boston, Mass.*

A notable phase of the industrial history of the United States during the past decade is the number of strikes occurring in this period. Not alone have these conflicts between employers and employees increased in frequency, but they have also grown in scope and intensity. The "sympathetic strike," where men belonging to crafts not directly affected by the original cause of disagreement have left their work for the purpose of assisting those first involved in the difficulty, is almost entirely a modern development, and suggests a future contingency in industrial warfare whose possible gravity it is hard to estimate with any degree of accuracy.

Both the pessimist and the optimist have had their deliverances as to the significance of the strike phenomena. The former apprehends in them a grievous menace to industry, the expression of a spirit hostile to American institutions and of vital danger to the public welfare. The incidents of disorder which occasionally accompany strikes are held to be the logical outcome of the purposes of the strikers, and to be of such a nature as to warrant the exercise of repressive agencies against the labor organizations themselves.

The optimist, on the other hand, while he may take issue with some of the methods adopted by strikers, and even hold that the strike itself is a costly and clumsy way of attempting to bring

an industrial dispute to a conclusion, is, nevertheless, sensible that it is a most fortunate thing for wage-earners that they have the legal right, and possess the power, to refuse, individually and collectively, to sell their labor under what they, at least, esteem to be unfair conditions. In a broader sense, moreover, he recognizes that this power of resistance possessed by the wage-earner in an era of gigantic combinations of capitalists assists in maintaining that equilibrium between contending interests whose destruction would be the severest of blows against industrial freedom. "So long," wrote Herbert Spencer, "as men are constituted to act on one another, either by physical force or force of character, the struggle for supremacy must finally be decided in favor of some one; and the difference once commenced must become ever more marked." It must be evident, therefore, that believers in democracy who are of cheerful vision must find cause for felicitation that the industrial masses possess the capacity to enter into this "struggle for supremacy."

But, to begin at the beginning, what is the economic object of the strike?

Labor is reckoned by the economists as a commodity to be bought and sold in the market as other commodities are bought and sold, and with its price regulated by the law of supply and demand. A surplus of a commodity, under the natural operation of this law, creates a tendency toward a falling market; a scarcity of a commodity creates a tendency toward a rising market.

Even under the orthodox definition of labor, it becomes apparent that within certain limits, there are two classes of interests in the industrial world; the interest of the labor-buyer to purchase the commodity at a low price and the interest of the labor-seller to dispose of the commodity at a high price.

The lines marking this limit are roughly determined by the margin of profit in production. It is evident that if the margin of profit becomes entirely absorbed by the abnormal forcing up of the wage-rate, the labor-seller destroys the market for his commodity. Conversely, if the wage-rate be depressed below the "living wage," the labor-buyer not only decreases the value of

the commodity he buys, but cripples the market for the joint product of labor and capital, which is dependent in no small degree upon the purchasing power of the wage-earner.

It is useless to assert that, within these limits, the interests of the labor-seller and the labor-buyer are identical. In the apt phrase of Col. Carroll D. Wright, Chief of the National Bureau of Labor Statistics, they may be, and often are, reciprocal, but they are never identical.

But in the economic philosophy of the wage-earner there is taken into account an element which the orthodox economist too often entirely ignores. The wage-earner grants that labor is a commodity but a commodity plus the laborer. Labor thus differs from an inanimate commodity by all that marks the distinction between a man and a bale of cotton. The latter commodity has no volition as to the conditions under which it is disposed of. The cotton-seller has to deal with merely the commercial element in the transaction of sale. He may ship his commodity to the other side of the world, receive therefor his bill of exchange, and the business is completed. There is a certain visible supply of cotton in the market, and excepting for the influence of tariffs and trusts and their like, the law of supply and demand works inexorably and decisively.

But the laborer and the commodity he has to dispose of are one. In selling his labor, the labor-seller must, to that degree, sell himself. He must go into the market where his labor goes; he must endure the conditions under which it is disposed of. But—and mark the point—by virtue of his volition he may increase or diminish the amount of his commodity on the market. He may, individually or collectively, modify the normal operation of the law of supply and demand by willing to withhold his labor from an unfavorable market. It is as though a million cases of shoes should refuse to be sold, except under conditions approved of by them.

It is in this differentiation between the commodity of labor and inanimate commodities that the impossibility inheres of instituting a fixed science of political economy. A science demands absolute

quantities. The laborer is not an absolute quantity, but is subject to continual change through the agencies of environment, education, and aspiration. The serf of today becomes the sovereign citizen of tomorrow. The Hungarian miner, content with a crust of black bread for food, wooden shoes, and the coarsest of fabrics for clothing, a miserable shanty for a dwelling, evolves into a member of the Miners' National Union of America, whose stimulated intelligence and awakened wants lead him to demand wages which will procure for him a far larger share of the comforts of life than he formerly required.

The modern trade-union is as distinctively the product of an advancing civilization as is the town-meeting, the daily newspaper, the university, or any other agency which has developed the faculties of men and led them towards higher levels of thought and action. The trade-union is the historic and agreed-upon agency selected by the judgment of the labor-sellers to protect and advance their interests as such. It has evolved from the experience of centuries of back-bending toil and travail as the most available means of securing an equality of bargaining power for the labor-seller in his relations with the labor-buyer. Its potential possibilities are limited by naught save the capacity for cohesion and wise action among the workers of the civilized world.

The trade-union recognizes the strike as a legitimate weapon of offence and defence. It is grossly unfair to style the trade-union, as some ungracious critics are in the habit of doing, a "striking machine." It has countless other functions besides that of precipitating industrial war. In fact, the strike plays but a subordinate part in the history of the great craft organizations of America, and represents but a small part of their expenditure of funds and energy. But the power to strike is of great importance in the consideration of the status of these organizations, upon the same principle that the fighting power of a people, even though it be rarely resorted to, is largely instrumental in determining its status in the family of nations.

"Thank God we have a system of labor where there can be

a strike," said Abraham Lincoln, in a speech delivered in 1860. "Whatever the pressure, there is a point where the working man may stop."

But as the purpose of this article is to examine more particularly into the nature and causes of strikes, the benevolent, educational, and fraternal aspects of the trade-union movement may not properly be entered into in detail. It may be said, however, that a form of organization which has enlisted the active support of over five millions of English speaking people constitutes a working force worthy the most respectful consideration of all students of sociology. In Carlyle's words, "The shadow on the dial advances without pausing. This that they call the organizing of labor, if well understood, is the problem of the whole future for all who will in the future govern mankind."

As has been stated, the trade-union holds the strike to be a legitimate weapon for use in certain contingencies. It is a sound, general principle in law—subject to exceptions—that what one man may lawfully do a thousand other individuals may do. If one labor-seller may refuse to sell his labor, except under certain conditions, a thousand labor-sellers may lawfully do likewise. The business wisdom of the captains of industry and controllers of trade and commerce has sought to eliminate "ruinous competition" among those of their class and kind having like interests. The pool, trust, and combine among capitalists is an object-lesson writ large in view of the laborer, who slowly reads the lesson, and then says, "It shall go hard but I will better the instruction."

The trade-union does, in a measure dependent upon its completeness of organization in a craft, lessen the ruinous competition among laborers. Through its agency, A agrees that if B cannot secure the desired price and conditions for the disposal of B's labor, A will not enter as a rival to "bear" the labor market. As a purely business principle, this protects the interests of both A and B as the labor-sellers, as against the interest of C, the labor-buyer. It gives to B a greater equality of bargaining power than he would otherwise possess, while, if the compact

of agreement in the trade-union embraces D, E, F, and their fellows, it becomes the more effective. If, however, they withhold their coöperation, and stand ready to place B at a disadvantage in his dealings with C, the argument rests not against the strike method, but against its use on the specific occasion. But, moreover, it is not usually necessary for the trade-union agreement to embrace all labor-sellers in order that the object of the strike may be accomplished, but only that it may control a sufficient percentage of them to render it unprofitable for the labor-buyer to continue his disagreement with the labor-seller to the point of open conflict.

The virtue of the strike lies in its application. Of and by itself the strike is neither moral nor immoral. It is an instrument, a weapon, a piece of economic machinery. The surgeon's knife may be used to commit murder, the patriot's sword figure in a highway robbery, yet this detracts nothing from their utility when exercised in their proper functions.

The same logic holds good as to the strike. It has been truly said that the strike is industrial war. But if a war be righteous, if it makes for greater human freedom and the betterment of the race, then is that war justifiable. The lesser evil of the destruction of life and property is rightly held to be subordinate to the greater good of the advancement of the race. Society confers its highest meed of praise upon those who risk their lives in defence of home and country. History places the names of its Washingtons, Hampdens, and Lincolns upon the loftiest pinnacle of fame. In industrial war, then, the question becomes not as to whether the strike in general is moral, but as to whether the particular strike is moral; whether it is warranted by circumstances; whether it is entered upon in a judicial spirit, and as a last resort, and whether it is conducted with judgment and with due respect for the rights of non-combatants. In the words of John Stuart Mill: "A strike is wrong when it is foolish."

In the mythology of our Norse ancestors the legendary tree Ydrasgil sent its roots to the innermost recesses of the under world, while its topmost branches pierced the illimitable heavens.

The myth fitly typifies the sphere of trade-union activity. The underlying cause of strikes extends along the entire range of human passions. The strike may result from the most selfish of human desires, or it may be the expression of the consummate blossom of the highest aspirations of the wage-earners' world.

The Massachusetts Bureau of Labor Statistics has made an accurate compilation of the strikes occurring in that State in the year 1900. This compilation is of especial interest on account of its analysis of the causes which resulted in these disagreements between the labor-buyers and the labor-sellers. The entire number of conflicts tabulated is one hundred and eighty-nine. Of these ten were occasioned by questions relating to hours of labor alone; twenty-eight, hours of labor and wages taken together; ninety related to wages alone, and in the remaining causes are to be found the following: sympathy with foreman who resigned; employment of non-union men; change from day to piece work; obnoxious shop rules; discharge of union men; supplying material for non-union employees; excessive fining; refusal to recognize union; violation of union rules; withholding of wages; sympathy with other crafts on strike; excessive rent for company's tenements.

The same report chronicles eight hundred and ninety-nine acts of Massachusetts trade-unions during the same period, and presents the following interesting analysis of the subjects acted upon:—

| ACTION OF TRADE-UNIONS RELATIVE TO | NUMBER. | PERCENTAGES. |
|------------------------------------|---------|--------------|
| Trade-union movements | 350 | 38.93 |
| Wages and hours of labor | 221 | 24.58 |
| Formation of new unions | 118 | 13.13 |
| Individuals and firms | 50 | 5.56 |
| City and town government | 39 | 4.34 |
| State government | 36 | 4.01 |
| Affiliations | 35 | 3.89 |
| National government | 22 | 2.45 |
| Strike movements | 17 | 1.89 |
| Corporations and trusts | 11 | 1.22 |
| Totals | 899 | 100.00 |

From the official tabulation of 283 strikes entered into by the Cigarmakers' International Union during the period from August, 1896, to July, 1901, we find that forty-seven were for increase of wages, ninety-four against reduction of wages, fifty-eight victimization of members, twenty-eight lock-outs, fourteen against violation of apprentice laws, one against violation of eight-hour law, and forty-one for "other causes," such as "against non-union cigarmakers," "retention of weekly pay," "for strict union shop," "retention of label shop rules," etc., etc.

There are, broadly speaking, four distinct interests involved in nearly all strikes of any magnitude; first, the interest of the strikers; second, the interests of the non-union men; third, the interest of the employers; fourth, the interests of the non-combatants, or general public.

Primarily, the objective point of the striker is to control the market in which his labor is to be sold. If his craft be thoroughly organized, the problem is to that degree simplified, and the question becomes one of a test of strength between "the passionless endurance of the almighty dollar" and the amount of will power and resistance the striker can put forth to gain his end. As a part of this method of resistance, every well-regulated trade-union aims to build up its treasury so that its strike fund may be of sufficient proportions to defray the actual living expenses of its members upon the contingency of their being called upon to withhold their labor in strike periods. To this end, modern trade-unionism insists upon high dues from its membership,—that is, high dues as compared with the system of low dues which obtained in the early period of unionism,—but even the largest amount of dues paid by unionists is relatively insignificant in view of the objects sought to be attained by them. Average trade-union dues run from twenty-five cents a month per capita in the so-called "cheap unions," which do little more financially than defray their routine expenses of hall rent, etc., to as much as fifty cents, or even more, a week.

It must be borne in mind, however, that the high dues unions use their funds for many other purposes than for strikes. The

Cigarmakers' International Union, for instance, which is one of the best examples of modern trade-unionism, has not only accumulated a strike fund of over \$300,000 with a reserve fund of as much more which may be drawn upon in case of necessity, but it also pays sick, death, traveling, and out-of-work benefits, contributes liberally to other unions in need, and spends tens of thousands of dollars every year in advertising its label, which is placed upon the product of union factories. In fact, the amount expended for strikes by this union is but a small fraction of its entire expense account. The knowledge, however, that this organization possesses the power of resistance represented by its disciplined membership and strong treasury acts as a decided deterrent upon the buyer of the labor of cigarmakers, who would otherwise feel inclined to enter into a controversy with the organization. It is worthy of notice, in this connection, that during the recent period of industrial depression, when daily announcements of cutdowns were being made by the press, that in no instance did the union cigarmakers suffer a reduction of wages.

The total benefits paid by the organization during the past twenty-one years amount to \$4,737,550.59. Of this amount \$838,046.44 were paid for strike benefits; \$1,453,050.33 for sick benefits; \$794,074.32 for death benefits; \$735,267.15 for traveling benefits, and \$917,112.35 for out-of-work benefits.

President Perkins, in submitting the report, adds: "The tables furnish the gratifying information that trade disputes or strikes are growing less in number each year, despite the fact that the membership is increasing, and that the statistics show that we have made substantial gains in wages. This bears out the often-repeated assertion that better organization means better trade conditions, and better wages with less strikes."

Among the other organizations with the system of high dues may be mentioned the glass-workers, hatters, web-weavers, boot and shoe workers, and many others, while there is a general tendency in all the older low dues unions to raise the amount of monthly payments and to increase the amount of benefits rendered in return.

Paradoxical as it may seem, there is nothing in the history of trade-unionism to warrant the assumption that the possession of a large strike fund promotes a disposition to enter upon strikes. Responsibility breeds conservatism, and it is notable that the financially strong unions are the most cautious about appealing to the arbitrament of the industrial battlefield, while the more newly organized and less stable unions are apt to precipitate themselves into conflicts for which they are comparatively unprepared.

But the question of finances, or munitions of war, is but one of the problems which confront men who go on strike. There are but comparatively few of the crafts sufficiently organized upon trade-union lines to enable them to control the labor market through control of their own membership. The non-unionist is to be reckoned with, and he is usually the prime source of strategic weakness in the position of organized labor.

There is possibly no one point as to which the methods of trade-unions have been so severely criticised as in their attitude towards the men who take the strikers' places when they quit work. The law itself has found it a knotty problem to decide the exact status of the striker towards his supplanter. The question has developed a fertile field for new decisions limiting the unionists' scope of action, and an ever-growing barrier of injunctions hedges him about.

Waiving for a moment the legal question involved, it may be proper to state concisely the attitude of the unionist towards the man who fills his place when he goes on strike.

The trade-union movement is a *class* movement. The unionist, if he be sincere, has arrived at the deliberate conviction that his duty towards his class demands his association with his fellow-craftsmen for the protection and advancement of his class interest. In the labor decalogue the eighth commandment reads, "Thou shalt not steal thy neighbor's job." The unionist holds, rightly or wrongly, that the workman has an *equity* in his job; that if he relinquishes his position to obtain a betterment of the conditions surrounding it, he by no means surrenders that

equity ; and that a third party has no more moral right to appropriate the job than to take any other property which may be left temporarily unguarded.

The unionist is often confronted with the proposition that "freedom to labor" where he will is the inalienable right of every American citizen. The unionist does not dispute the legal right of the man who takes his temporarily vacated situation to do so, but he does emphatically deny his moral right to do so, upon the same ground that he would challenge the moral right of any citizen to engage in an enterprise which would work harm to a considerable portion of the community. The unionist points out that the law may possibly give to him protection in his property rights against the act of another in, for instance, erecting and maintaining a nuisance in close proximity to his dwelling; but the law takes no cognition of the act of a third party in interfering with the means whereby the unionist gains a livelihood. He holds, therefore, that the man who takes his place when he is on strike is not only recreant to the interest of the class to which he belongs, but that he is also sinning against the general principle of liberty embodied in the proposition that one has freedom to do that which does not interfere with the equal freedom of another to do the same thing.

In the case of a strike, the majority judgment of the wage-earners has decided that work shall not be performed under conditions which are assumed by them to be unfair. The job-purloiner ignores the judgment of his fellow-craftsmen, and sets up his minority judgment in its place. He has, therefore, according to trade-union logic fairly forfeited his claim to the moral respect of his fellow-craftsmen by his gratuitous interference with the original parties in interest.

But no trade-union overlooks for a moment the fact that the non-unionist is within his legal rights in taking a striker's job. Its method of dealing with him must, therefore, be a legal method. The trade-union does not countenance physical coercion or intimidation. It is unfortunately true that over-zealous individuals may fail to grasp the distinction between moral and legal

rights, and may attempt to visit their personal displeasure upon the man who, as they believe, has done them an injury. But these ebullitions of unbalanced proselytizers are common to all militant movements, and may not properly be charged against the real purpose of the organization. It is the absolute and unqualified truth that the trade-union policy is to live within the law and to respect the legal rights of even its bitterest foe, the industrial deserter.

The two channels through which the trade-unions endeavor to influence non-unionists from taking the places vacated by strikers are by persuasion and social pressure. In smaller communities, where there is direct personal acquaintanceship among members of a craft, the social stigma which attaches to the man who takes a striker's place is a weighty deterrent against the act. Among the workers of the civilized world, social ostracism is the universal penalty paid by him who commits this offence against the traditions of his station. Sentimentalists have exploited exceptional cases where this ostracism has worked hardship to individuals, novelists have found here a fruitful mine for pathetic situations, and unfriendly censors have used the harshest terms in condemnation thereof.

But, as in most phases of the social problem, the point of view is all-important in determining the justice of the attitude of men towards one another. If a thousand men honestly believe that ten other men have committed the most grievous of industrial offences toward the larger number, it is quite along the usual lines of human action that they should decline social intercourse with them. The trade-unionist is willing to grant that there are certain contingencies—such as the absolute want of the necessities of life on the part of helpless dependents—under which such an offence may be condoned; but no well-regulated trade-union expects men to accomplish the impossible, and it does not ask men to stay on strike when the starvation period is reached. Industrial war entails privation, but the trade-union doctrine holds that it is sometimes well to suffer privation for a time in order that greater future good may ensue.

Professor Bascom, in his "Social Theory," puts the case fairly as follows: "When a strike is in progress, attended with much suffering, and non-union workmen accept the rejected service, they are taking labor they have not themselves secured, and by so doing are aiding to bring about a reduction. The case is one in which the plea of industrial liberty is brought in a deceptive way against social progress. * * * The individual in a general movement for the public welfare must concede something of his personal liberty. A compulsory organic force gets hold of him and he must respond."

But the main reliance of the trade-unionist on strike in dealing with one who may possibly supersede him is through persuasion, by appealing to the sense of justice of the non-unionist, to his fealty to his craft interest, by every legitimate argument and protest. In order to argue effectively with the non-unionist, it becomes necessary to interview him personally, and out of this necessity has arisen the universal custom of picketing, or patrolling with union committees, the locality where a strike is in progress, in order that men who are brought to take the places of strikers may not do so in ignorance of the fact that trouble exists in the particular establishment concerned.

This practice has engendered much legal controversy, and has been the subject of widely varying decisions by the courts. The trend of these decisions has been decidedly hostile to this practice of organized labor, and many of the injunctions recently granted against union pickets have been dangerously near, even in the opinion of competent attorneys, the verge of interfering with the constitutional right of free speech.

To mark the progress made in this direction, it is only necessary to compare the earlier and present rulings of the judges upon this issue. In the case of *Vegeahn vs. Guntner, et als.*, in the Supreme Court of Massachusetts, six years ago, Judge Holmes says, "I ruled that the patrol, so far as it confined itself to persuasion and giving notice of the strike, was not unlawful, and limited the injunction accordingly." Compare this with the language used by Judge Clark of Cincinnati, in 1901, when

issuing an order against the striking machinists of that city, "I have arrived at the conclusion, beyond all shadow of a doubt, that picketing is unlawful; that it is immoral and wrong. Counsel for the defence must understand plainly that I am opposed to picketing in any form, and that I will promptly make the power of this court felt against it." In the order of Judge Wing of Cleveland, restraining union workmen from talking to the men who had taken their places, he says, "Persuasion itself, long continued, may become a nuisance and unlawful." Judge White of Buffalo enjoined the striking machinists from attempting by argument to influence the men who had supplanted them. Judge Gager of New Haven enjoined one hundred and fifty strikers "from in any manner interfering with any person who may desire to enter the employ of the plaintiff, by way of threats, persuasion, personal violence, intimidation, or other means"; and more than two score of like decisions, during the past twelve months, mark the evident temper of the judiciary towards the custom of picketing as exercised by the trade-unions.

By some of these orders, no union man may speak to a non-unionist, at any time or place, no matter how far removed from the locality of the strike, without incurring the penalty of violating the injunction, even though he use the mildest language, and seeks an interview for no other purpose than to give the information that a strike is in progress.

The broader aspects of this question are not now under discussion, but it is nevertheless true that not trade-unionists alone find matter for grave apprehension in this impingement of the judiciary upon the legislative branch of government, as well as in the serious limitation of the constitutional right of free speech which such decisions carry with them. The two following quotations from lawyers of high standing are but representative of the opinions held by many eminent members of the bar.

In a recent address, Hon. Wm. H. Moody, a Republican congressman, and one of the foremost members of his profession in New England, said, "I believe in recent years the courts of the United States, as well as the courts of our own commonwealth,

have gone to the very verge of danger in applying the writ of injunction in disputes between labor and capital."

Col. J. H. Benton, Jr., an attorney for one of the largest corporations in the country, in an address delivered before a bar association a short while ago, said, "The courts have, in the judgment of many of the most intelligent and thoughtful citizens, and of Congress, exceeded their just powers; they have by the so-called exercise of equity power practically assumed to create and punish offences upon trial by themselves without a jury, and with penalties at their discretion."

The "New York Evening Post," a conservative of conservatives, in speaking editorially of the Gager injunction, says, "An injunction of this order in making that criminal which the people, acting through its legislature, have not made criminal, is setting aside the ordinary safeguard of the citizen, and is causing an innocent act to take on the consequences of a violation of the law from which it may have been carefully guarded. Confusion and tyranny do not often rise higher than this mark. It is an action which thrusts itself directly in the path of social progress."

The "New York Herald" says, "to enjoin men from resorting to moral suasion would seem to be an abuse of the injunction law power as unwarranted by law as by common-sense, and an infringement of the constitutional right of free speech."

So the "Springfield Republican": "The simple right to talk, to argue for any legitimate cause, violence not being used or positive intimidation, is too fundamental to be overthrown at any point in our social system. In thus extending the enjoining power, American courts are in bad business; for they not only violate the people's inherited conception of ordinary rights in the citizens, but cover themselves with suspicion in the minds of the wage-earning classes as being controlled by the power of capital."

The mass of the trade-union membership is made up of industrious and peaceful citizens, men who earn their daily bread by arduous manual labor. These men are not lawbreakers, either by nature or by the teaching of their class organization. They may fairly claim, however, that they should not be unduly ham-

pered in the use of the power of their associated effort by judge-made laws enacted, as it naturally appears to them, in order to force them into the false position of lawbreakers, even when they are proceeding along the lines of moral suasion and legitimate argument.

In direct results, according to data compiled by the national and state bureaus of labor statistics, strikers are successful in rather more than fifty per cent of the controversies into which they enter. But this by no means, in the view of the trade-union, represents even the economic value of the strike. Not alone is the direct gain in wages, hours, and conditions to be considered, but also the check on the tendency to reduce wages inherent in even the strike which results in temporary defeat.

In regard to the assertion that "a day's labor once lost cannot be regained," the trade-unionist points out that while there is idle labor in the country,—a condition which universally exists,—and while the productive capacity of shops and factories so far exceeds the normal demand for the product, the enforced idleness of the strike does not materially diminish the aggregate of the year's labor which will be performed. There is, moreover, the moral effect of the strike to be taken into account, and this, in the judgment of the wage-earner, warrants the conclusion arrived at by John Stuart Mill, when he says, "Strikes, therefore, and the trade society which makes strikes possible, are for these various reasons, not a mischievous, but on the contrary a valuable part of the existing machinery of society."

Civilized warfare is governed by certain established canons which apply to belligerents on both sides of the conflict. In industrial warfare, trade-unions grant the legal right of employers to obtain control of the labor market and to receive full protection for their property and the conduct of their business. In the earlier days of trade-unions, there was ground for just accusation that organized labor did not respect these rights as it should have done, but these conditions no longer exist, especially among American trade-unions.

In the case of labor disputes of magnitude the non-combatant

general public frequently suffers seriously, and may rightly exclaim, "A plague on both your houses!" This is the inevitable consequence of war, for which there seems to be no remedy except through the force of public opinion and the exercise of greater consideration for the public welfare by both parties most directly concerned.

The delegates to the national conventions of the American Federation of Labor have repeatedly pronounced against the endorsement by that body of the principle of compulsory arbitration, holding that the phrase itself is a misnomer. This attitude is mainly due to two reasons: first, the undesirability, if not the impossibility, of erecting a tribunal of appeal endowed with such arbitrary powers over the acts of employees; and, second, a well-grounded distrust of the probable personnel of such a body. The trade-union policy places little faith in the ministrations of holders of political appointments, and prefers to rely in the struggle for "the victory of the best," upon its own organized instrumentalities.

These objections do not hold, however, as to the principles of conciliation and voluntary arbitration, which are quite generally endorsed by associations of wage-earners. By far the majority of trade-unions, when signing an agreement with employers, are ready to incorporate in the contract a stipulation that any differences arising in the interpretation thereof shall be decided upon by a mutually appointed board of adjudication.

With the increasing growth and strength of organized labor will assuredly result a greater willingness on the part of both factors in industry to adopt conciliatory methods of treating with each other. As Abram S. Hewett, himself a large employer of labor, well said, in speaking of the resisting power possessed by the trade-union, "The great result is that capital is ready to discuss. It is not to be denied that until labor presented itself in such an attitude as to compel a hearing, capital was not ready to listen."

The power to strike and the resultant greater equality of bargaining power procures for workmen that consideration which is

a most essential preliminary to conciliation and arbitration. So long as the employer talks dogmatically of "My business," conciliatory methods are barred. When the truth dawns upon him that the workman who expends life and vitality in his employ has a claim in equity upon that employment, a saner ground of mutual relationship is established. "We consider," said James Mundella, the great apostle of arbitration and conciliation in Great Britain, "in buying labor we should treat the labor-seller just as courteously as the seller of coal or cotton." When this stage of progress is reached by labor-buyers, the strenuousness of the industrial relationship will be materially modified and the strike epidemic be abated.

"In dealing with the question of wages," said the gentle and gracious Arnold Toynbee, "I do not hesitate to say that you cannot separate it from the whole question of human life."

What, then, is the final word to be uttered by the optimist after surveying the economic waste and social bitterness generated by the clash of antagonistic human interests on the industrial battlefield? Has the future no greater promise than in the continuance of the rule of material strength; no remedy save in the appeal to the gage of battle; no peace save in armed neutrality?

If this, unhappily, be so, then is the direst foreboding of the pessimist justified by the fact and man—

"No more? A monster, then, a dream,
A discord. Dragons of the prime
That tear each other in the slime
Were mellow music matched with him."

The wisest of pagan monarchs wrote, "Mankind are under one common law; and, if so, they must be fellow citizens, and subject to the same body politic." If the wisdom of the ages teaches aught as final truth, it is that members of the same body may not work injury to each other without sharing in the injury wrought. The slow, evolutionary processes of civilization emphasize this at every point.

The spirit of forbearance and mutual toleration has steadily developed along theological and political lines, and now, though possibly in a lesser degree, is percolating through the strata of the industrial world. Those same qualities which make for righteousness in society at large must be depended upon to work out industrial regeneration.

The labor question is, in its last analysis, a question of the relationship of individuals, and as that relationship becomes more and more tempered with justice and equity, so shall nearer approach that period when—

“The world’s great age begins anew,
The golden days return.”

INDUSTRIAL COMBINATIONS IN EUROPE¹

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It is, perhaps, particularly important at the present time that a somewhat careful study be made of industrial combinations in Europe. During the last three or four years, there seem to have been in the minds of our legislators and of students of industrial phenomena, in general, differences of opinion regarding the nature of industrial combinations. Some have thought that they are merely a passing phase in industrial development, and that they may, with comparative ease, be checked by adverse legislation. Others have been of the opinion that we see in these combinations a necessary step in industrial progress, that there is no possibility of materially checking this movement, and that legislation, while it may possibly serve to change somewhat the manner of development, can nevertheless not stay its progress. Under these circumstances, a comparative study of the industrial situation in different States whose products, methods of work, business associations, and legislation are different, may serve to show to a considerable extent which of these opinions is right.

There can be no question that the principle of industrial combination seems to be a general one, found in all countries in which industry has passed beyond the primitive stages. Up to a certain point, it even seems that one can almost measure the degree of industrial progress by the extent to which the different industries

(1) The material for this article was gathered in preparing a report for the United States Industrial Commission.

have become organized into industrial combinations of some form or other. One should not, of course, insist too strongly upon this view, because differing conditions and differing legislation have doubtless served at times to check or hasten the movement more or less. When one notes, however, that in the United States, in Germany, in England, in Austria, in Belgium, and in France the tendency towards combination is exceedingly strong; that in the three or four countries first named the movement has advanced much farther than in France; and when we consider still further that in Italy, in Spain, and in the Balkan States, we have apparently only the beginnings of this movement, the conclusion is not unnatural that capitalistic combination is a form of industrial organization particularly suited to a developed industry. It would appear, therefore, that by looking into the working of the combinations in the more highly developed countries, we might reach the conclusion that we have to deal with a business condition that is practically permanent, and that we should look forward to action accordingly.

It is probable, too, that by this comparative study we shall be able to understand much more clearly than we could otherwise the real nature of this movement. We can judge better the forces that are at work, both in bringing about combinations and in determining their form,—and in this way, also, we can be the better guided in any legislative action that it may seem wise for us to undertake.

PUBLIC OPINION.

It is interesting to see the positions taken by the people and by the Governments, respectively, of the different countries of Europe regarding this important industrial change. Perhaps no better illustration could be found of the different way in which the Governments look upon industrial questions, in general, and permit themselves to be influenced by popular feeling. In the United States, for example, for some years in the past there has been much bitter feeling on the part of large classes of our voters against the industrial combinations. The result has been, in

many of our States, very drastic laws; and, although these laws in many cases have not been very rigidly enforced, it would be difficult to find many of our public men, especially among those who are office-holders, or, who, properly enough, wish to become office-holders, who have expressed, in public, opinions particularly favorable to the combinations.

In Germany the situation is materially different. In the first place, as we shall see later, the laws are considerably more favorable toward the organization of combinations than our common law has been, inasmuch as contracts made between different business establishments for the purpose of preventing ruinous competition have not been considered illegal contracts in restraint of trade, but have rather been interpreted by the courts as justifiable business measures. This attitude of the courts has perhaps served to check a hostility that would otherwise have become more manifest. More striking still, however, has been the attitude of the Government in the face of outspoken criticism. During the last two years, owing in part, at any rate, to the very great demand which has arisen from the prosperity which has been manifest in all civilized countries, there has been a great scarcity of coal. All of the western coal-fields of Germany are controlled, with very trifling exceptions, by the Rhenish Westphalian Coal Syndicate. Owing to the greatly increased demand the Syndicate has not been able to fill promptly all of its orders, and for the same reason there has been an increase in price. This so-called coal famine, with the consequent increase in price, has naturally affected, to a considerable extent, other industries dependent upon a coal supply, and the Coal Syndicate has, in consequence, often been accused, with much bitterness, of having produced the coal famine by restricting its production, in order that it might increase its prices. This condition of affairs has been the subject of inquiry in meetings of chambers of commerce and in other business associations. Something over a year ago, a special question regarding the matter was made in the Prussian House of Representatives, and the Minister of Commerce and Industry was called upon to make an investigation and

to see if some check could not be placed upon the Syndicate. Last December a similar question was raised in the Imperial Reichstag, and the Ministry was requested to frame a bill that would prevent such abuses. In both cases the Minister replied with great frankness. On the basis of statistics of output and prices, he said, very openly, that he believed that the Syndicate had, on the whole, conducted its operations moderately; and that, although it had raised prices somewhat, it had been very discreet in so doing, and that it had, by its conservative action, in all probability checked a dangerous speculative tendency that would have led to a commercial crisis. Though he was willing to say that the Government should, and would, do what it could to prevent abuses on the part of industrial combinations, he very frankly claimed that this Syndicate, at any rate, and probably many others, were so far from abusing their powers, that they were to be considered rather as industrial blessings. It is extremely doubtful if, in the face of hostile criticism of capital on the part of the poorer consumers and of those representing the manufacturing classes, so frank and favorable an expression would have been given in any popular government whose ministers were likely to have their tenure of office curtailed by popular feeling.

In England, until within the last year or two, there have been comparatively few criticisms of the combinations, but of late there have appeared in the public journals many more unfavorable expressions of opinion. It is, of course, only within the last few years in England that these criticisms have assumed an importance which may be considered almost equal to that of the criticisms in the United States and in Germany. The English Government has not felt called upon to take any action whatever regarding combinations as such, although after some years of preparation, as will be indicated later, there have been some rather conservative amendments to their corporation laws, which will have a tendency to check possible abuses.

In France certain complaints have appeared from time to time in the papers regarding the Sugar Combination, and, somewhat more rarely, manufacturers have complained that the com-

bination among iron producers is very oppressive ; but it cannot be said that there has been any popular feeling that is at all noteworthy. Some of the Radicals in the Chamber of Deputies have been inclined to think that there might be an opportunity to exploit this subject somewhat, but practically nothing of importance has been said or done by the ministers or by the deputies. The Department of Justice, indeed, has apparently rather checked any such aggressive action by deciding that there was no cause for action, in one case where the members of a combination had attempted to have the combination declared illegal, on the ground that it was contrary to the law against coalitions. It had not been shown that prices were raised, and the court was unable to see that the lowering or steadying of prices, even though it might be with the purpose in mind of crushing a rival or of preventing new competition, was in any sense contrary to the public interests.

In Austria, more than elsewhere in Europe, popular feeling has been outspoken against the combinations. The movement toward concentration of business has been very widespread there, although no more so than in Germany. The people, however, have seen prices increasing somewhat in many industries, and the public press has called attention to the power of great syndicates. In Austria public opinion is likely to have considerably more influence on the legislators than in Germany. The courts also have given some ground for the hostile attitude of the public. Under a law of 1870, which was passed in connection with certain labor legislation, and with no reference whatever to the later industrial development, coalitions for the purpose of increasing prices to the detriment of the public were declared illegal. Adopting a somewhat literal interpretation of the law, the Austrian courts have met what seemed to them a possible danger to the country by deciding that the contracts among the different parties to an industrial combination were invalid. Although this has apparently not very greatly checked the growth of the combinations, it has, to a certain extent, put them under the ban of judicial disapproval, and has served to confirm the popular suspicion and hostility.

The Government, too, though partially for financial reasons also, introduced a bill into the Legislature to put under governmental supervision and control the combinations in some of the necessities of life, such as sugar, salt, beer, petroleum, on which there was an internal revenue tax. Still further than that, the Department of Commerce, in its industrial council, has had for some two years a special committee studying the question; and this committee is apparently ready to bring in, during the coming winter, some rather positive recommendations for legislation which will be described later. So far as the reports are available, the legislation, if passed, will not go much farther than to bring all of the combinations under rather rigid governmental control, and to give under some circumstances a great degree of publicity. Even in Austria, however, public opinion does not seem to be nearly so hostile to the combinations as it has been in the United States, although it is apparently more bitter there than in any other country in Europe.

FORMS OF COMBINATIONS.

As capital increases in a country and business becomes more widely developed, manufacturers and merchants find usually that their average rate of profit is falling, and that their prices must be lowered in order to meet the offers of their competitors. It is natural that when this pressure threatens to take their profits entirely away, they should look toward agreements which will prevent such a result. The earlier forms of combination, therefore, are for the most part merely agreements to maintain prices. Inasmuch, however, as the lowering of price comes about usually through the apparent necessity of disposing of a surplus product which has been manufactured, the desire to keep up prices must almost of necessity be gratified through a restriction in the output of some, if not all, of the different establishments. No one manufacturer is likely to feel willing to curtail his output unless his rivals will do the same. If all the manufacturers, or if those producing by far the largest percentage of the output, can come together and discuss the condition of the

market, it is comparatively easy for them to find out what the normal demand of any specific market is at remunerative rates. They can then adapt their supply to that demand. The second step, and the one that must be taken, therefore, provided prices are to be kept up to remunerative rates, is ordinarily an agreement upon the amount of output. Generally speaking, this has been the form of agreement in Europe from the beginning of the modern industrial combination movement until the present.

In Germany, as has been intimated, the courts have held that agreements to prevent undue competition and cutting of prices to an unremunerative rate, were not to be considered illegal as in restraint of trade, but that they could be enforced through the courts. In consequence, most of the industrial combinations in Germany have taken merely the form of contracts, limiting the output, and of agreements regarding prices. Probably the most usual form is the one followed substantially by the greatest German combination, the Rhenish Westphalian Coal Syndicate. In this there has been organized a selling bureau, itself a stock company, in which different mines belonging to the combination take stock. The managers and officers of the Syndicate are chosen by these mine owners. A special committee fixes the percentual quota to be produced by each separate mine. This quota may be increased or decreased under certain special circumstances, such as the discovery of a new vein, or the desire to close down or to lessen the output of some mine; but without special action the quota assigned at the beginning of the agreement remains throughout the period. From time to time, at monthly intervals, or as often as seems desirable, the managers of the Syndicate notify each member how much to produce. The total, of course, is determined by the amount that can be sold at profitable rates.

The business of this central bureau is not merely to regulate the output in this way; but it also takes the entire output of each mine, except in so far as that output is needed for its own individual use, and places it upon the general market, where it becomes thus the central selling bureau for all. The different mines

are permitted to draw upon the bureau for quite a large percentage of the amount received from the coal which they furnish, and then, at regular intervals, the accurate adjustment of accounts among the different mines and the bureau are made, each separate mine receiving any balance that is due it. The deliveries of coal are, of course, adjusted from time to time in substantially the same way; any mine that delivers more than its quota in one period is required to lessen this amount during the succeeding period.

Substantially the same form of combination exists among the iron and steel manufacturers of Germany, among the iron manufacturers of Austria, though probably in this case without the selling bureaus, and in probably the great majority of cases on the Continent, where these industrial combinations exist.

A somewhat different form of combination, one that is in certain ways more complete, though it is closely related to that of the Coal Syndicate, is that found among the sugar producers and refiners in both Austria and Germany. In briefest outline the plan is this,—the sugar refiners of Germany guarantee to the producers of raw sugar a certain minimum price when the market price in the Magdeburg market, which has been taken for the standard, falls below this minimum. This so-called inland normal price has been fixed at 12.75 marks per centner. In Austria the corresponding price is fifteen florins per one hundred kilograms. The combination, therefore, limits itself to an influence upon the inland consumption price. It has nothing whatever to do directly with the world-market price or with the export business. Every month the refiners pay over to their syndicate the difference between the inland normal price named above and the world-market price of raw sugar, as shown in the Magdeburg market plus ten per cent. This entire sum thus collected forms the so-called combination advantage. This amount is paid by the refiners' syndicate to the syndicate of raw sugar producers, and this syndicate, in turn, distributes it among the producers of raw sugar in proportion to the amount produced.

In return for this guaranteed price paid to the raw sugar producers by the refiners, the former agree on their part to produce no

refined sugar for inland consumption and to sell raw sugar and molasses only to the refiners belonging to the combination. The refiners, again, agree to buy only raw sugar which has come from those producers who belong to the combination. But there is a limit to the advantage guaranteed. The compensation (combination advantage) per centner of raw sugar can in no case exceed 3.40 marks. If, therefore, the world-market price goes below 9.35 marks, the combination advantage is not increased further. If, again, the price of raw sugar on the Magdeburg market goes above 12.75 marks, there is no bonus to be paid beyond that sum by the refiners. It will be noted that the combination advantage of the sugar factories increases per centner of production as the world-market price decreases, as the inland consumption increases, and as the total production lessens. The raw sugar factories are naturally interested in having the world-market price high, inasmuch as that result affects favorably their entire production, including export sugar as well as that consumed at home, while the combination advantage paid them by the refiners affects only that part of their product consumed in Germany.

The raw sugar producers, by having a price guaranteed by the refiners high enough to enable them to work at a profit, are able, in turn, to pay to the beet growers a better price for their beets; and thus the entire home industry is favorably affected. It will be noted, of course, that the benefit to the sugar industry throughout has to be paid by the home consumers of sugar. Inasmuch as there is a sufficient duty on sugar to prevent its importation, the refiners are able to fix their price high enough to secure a fair profit. Therefore, in fixing their prices, they regularly allow themselves a margin per centner of four marks (nearly \$1.00) between the price of the raw sugar and that of the finished product. In addition they add fifty pfennigs (about 12 ½ cents) combination advantage for the refiners; and, still further, they are compelled to pay the Government a consumption tax of ten marks per centner. These three items, then, of margin for cost of manufacture, combination advantage, and

consumption tax, are added to the guaranteed price of raw sugar of 12.75 marks, in order to make up the price of refined sugar to the home consumer. This total is normally, it will be seen, 27.25 marks, the price which the consumer must pay.

The intention of this combination is, of course, to bring about greater stability in the condition of the sugar market and to guarantee to the country the security of the industry at reasonable rates of profit throughout. This result has apparently been attained in Austria during a period of some years, where a plan substantially the same is followed. There is reason to believe that the German manufacturers will reach similar results, always, of course it will be remembered, at the expense of the home consumer. This combination includes substantially all of the sugar refiners and producers in Germany; and the Austrian combination likewise includes probably all of them in that country. In both countries the Government seems to look with favoring eyes upon the plan.

In Germany the spirits combination, which includes practically all the distillers of spirits, is organized to a considerable extent upon the same plan, and their syndicate is apparently as complete as that of the sugar refiners. The organizers have, however, followed more nearly the plan of the Coal Syndicate in their combination, having a central selling bureau which takes all of the product of the distiller, sells it, and pays the producer for it. This combination attempts also to control, to a considerable degree, the price that shall be asked for spirits by dealers. It fixes what is to be considered the proper price, and intimates to the dealers that if they sell below that, the combination will thereafter increase the price for their purchases, or in extreme cases, it hints that it may perhaps refuse to sell them at all.

This combination has also been active in influencing the Prussian Government to grant certain special rates of freight on spirits for use in the arts and manufacture, in order to encourage its production, particularly in the more remote rural districts, and in that way to encourage German agriculture.

CORPORATIONS.

The examples given in the preceding section will, perhaps, indicate fully enough the most common form of combinations to be found in Austria, Germany, and France. In special cases, it has been found best in all three of those countries, instead of merely making agreements of the kind indicated above, or of organizing a selling bureau, to bring all of the different establishments together into the absolute possession of some one great corporation, which should buy and own all the plants. In Vienna this plan has been followed by the manufacturers of soda waters, and by the makers of Turkish fezes. In Nuremberg, in Germany, there is a very successful corporation which was effected from a union of the leading manufacturers of brushes of all kinds, from the finest paint brushes for artists' use to the heaviest and coarsest brushes used in painting, and even in sweeping. Their products are known the world over. Likewise the manufacturers of ultra-marine bluing have a combination in the form of a single corporation, which includes practically all of the leading manufacturers in Germany, and which controls a very large percentage of the entire output for the whole civilized world. Both of these establishments have branch houses in many countries, and export a large percentage of their product. In France, in a somewhat similar way, and for like reasons, the paper manufacturers of Central France have come together into a single corporation, which has removed competition and enabled them to make the various economies that come from unified management.

In all three of these countries, it is stated that the combinations would probably have taken this form more frequently, had it not been for the fact that the corporation laws require a large degree of publicity in the formation and organization of companies, as well as in the regular conduct of the business. Moreover, in Germany particularly, the courts have been so favorably inclined toward ordinary agreements on prices and output that this further step, which has seemed necessary in the United States, has not been taken.

In all three of the continental countries, also, taxation is particularly high upon corporations, this being perhaps especially true in Austria, where they pay more than ten per cent of their income. Not merely do corporations pay a higher tax than do ordinary firms engaged in the same line of business, but, what is perhaps of equal consequence, owing to the careful government supervision, there is no possibility of the corporation's evading any part of the tax. Private individuals, on the other hand, or a firm, may in many cases, through the various devices known to taxpayers in all civilized countries, manage to evade a considerable part of the burden that would otherwise be imposed upon them.

In England the combinations seem to have followed the example of the United States, and quite generally to have taken the form of single great corporations. This has been particularly true during the last two or three years. At the present time, especially in the manufacturing districts about Manchester, Birmingham, Bradford, and similar centres, we find great corporations among the calico printers, the dyers, the fine cotton spinners and doublers, the thread manufacturers, the wall-paper manufacturers, the velvet manufacturers, and so on. In all of these cases, a new corporation has been formed which has bought up the various plants entering into the combination, and which owns them in full right. In several of these cases the combinations include a very large proportion, ninety per cent or more, of all the manufacturers who would normally enter into competition one with the other. These combinations are so like in form to those in the United States, differing only as the corporation laws require a difference, that no special comment need be made upon them, beyond a statement of the results which they have had upon prices, wages, methods of management, etc., as will appear below.

ADVANTAGES.

In many directions the form of the combination is immaterial as regards the saving that may be made in the production or sale of the product, but in some particulars the extent of the saving

depends almost entirely upon the form which the combination takes.

The saving that comes to the individual manufacturers from the lessening of the vigor of competition among rivals is the same of course, whether the combination be in the form of an agreement upon the output or prices, or assume the form of a single corporation. If the combination takes the form of a central selling bureau, which has also in hand the division of the output among the different producers, the cost of selling may be lessened almost or quite as much as if the combination were under a single board of directors in a corporation. The number of traveling agents, the number of branch houses, or the number of local agents representing the combination might be substantially equal in all of these cases. In a similar way the saving in advertising might be substantially as great in one case as in the other. It would be entirely possible, also, to supply customers from the nearest plant, thus affecting a material saving in cross freights, a saving often mentioned as the chief advantage from combination when the product is some bulky article like coal or salt, or possibly even some crude manufactured product such as pig iron.

The cost of manufacturing, however, is likely to be lessened much more when the combination takes the most completely unified form of a single corporation. One man, financially interested in several of the Austrian combinations, has said that their form of syndicate agreement compelled them to keep in operation the poorest of their plants, whereas in the United States and England often the chief saving has come from closing the most poorly equipped, or least favorably situated, plants and centering the production in those best equipped and most favorably placed. In his judgment the Austrians and Germans can never hope to enter into competition with the Americans and English on equal terms, until they adopt the same efficient form of combination, which will enable them to close their poorest plants.

The same line of argument holds, of course, with reference

to running plants full time. When the different establishments have each an allotted quota of the entire production of the country, and orders from the central bureau are received every month to lessen or to increase the product by a certain amount, each establishment must be kept running, but in very many cases it must run at less than its maximum capacity and, in consequence, at a greater expense. When the combination is in the form of a single corporation, some of the plants, in times of slack demand, will be shut down, and those kept running will be worked to their full capacity, and, in consequence, at the least cost as regards utilization both of capital and of labor.

It will be noted that the same arguments apply elsewhere, especially in lessening cost of superintendence and in the division of labor and of work among different establishments, so as to render each machine most effective, as well as in various other ways which need not be discussed here in detail.

This last named feature of the most efficient distribution of working capital and of skilled labor is one that is too often overlooked. To take an illustration from our experience in the United States, it will be recalled by many that the former president of the American Steel Hoop Company testified that, whereas before the combination each establishment was expected to fill orders for from fifty to seventy-five different sizes and shapes of bar iron, since the combination, on the contrary, each mill had been giving its whole time to the production of only a comparatively few special sizes and shapes. A large order going to the central management was distributed among the different plants in such a way that each could fill its own part of the order to the best advantage. This distribution of work had so lessened the loss of time caused by changing rolls, and had so increased the efficiency of machines and men by keeping them constantly employed in the same way, that he estimated a saving of at least one dollar per ton on their average product.

Many of the more thoughtful managers of the larger combinations are of the opinion that the chief utility of the combination consists in this more advantageous distribution of skill, talent,

and labor energy ; and this saving, it will be noted, can be made with the best results only when the combinations are unified under one management, so that the poorest plants can be closed and the equipment in different establishments can be adapted to the needs of all. Doubtless, in the natural course of events, even when the agreement is of the less strict type common in Austria and Germany, something of this adaptation will gradually take shape, but it can never be carried out in anything like the same degree of completeness, unless there is one central directing force which has power to order changes made.

PRICES.

Most people in their discussion of any great industrial phenomenon are especially interested in its results upon society as a whole. In the case of industrial combinations these results are most readily seen in effects upon prices. Each person is likely to have a rather definite idea of the amount that he pays for common articles of consumption, and if he has reason to believe that a combination has either increased or lessened prices, he at once takes note of the fact.

In the United States, attention has been very frequently called by managers of combinations to their saving in the cost of manufacture and to their intentions, at any rate, to lower prices to consumers. It is, perhaps, fair to say that these hopes and claims of saving are put forth frequently in England, and that while they are mentioned in Germany, Austria, and France, very much less emphasis is laid upon them in those countries. There are probably two reasons for this difference. The first has already been indicated in showing that there is on the Continent less likelihood of making great saving in production under the continental plan of organization ; and the second is the fact that public opinion is likely to be less openly expressed there, and also to have less effect upon legislation or upon other influences which might affect the business of the combination. Our manufacturers here, for example, hesitate to say openly that the tariff enables them to keep their prices higher, and that they add the

tariff, or a portion of it, to their prices. They might thus encourage hostile legislation. On the other hand, as will be seen later, manufacturers in the protectionist European countries do not hesitate to make such statements, being apparently sure of retaining their tariff system, which they believe to be beneficial.

The question of the effect of combinations upon prices is an extremely difficult one also, because of the trouble in interpreting statistics. If prices have gone up within a year or two after a combination has been formed, the general public is likely to claim that this increase has been due to its formation, even though it may very readily be seen that the cause is the general prosperity of the country, and that prices would have gone up as much without the combination as with it, and perhaps more. It is certainly generally true that manufacturers who stand outside of the combination keep their prices fully as high as are those made by the combination. Again, if prices have fallen after a combination has been organized, it may well enough be that the cause of the decline has not been in the savings effected by the combination, but rather improvements in methods of production, which would have come with equal readiness had the combination not been made.

The probability is that the fairest basis of judgment on this matter is to be found in the margin between the prices of the raw material and those of the finished products, although in this case it is often difficult to make the comparison, because so many raw materials enter, in such differing proportions, into the finished product. In special cases, however, as in the manufacture of sugar, of refined petroleum, and of spirits, the raw material makes up so large a proportion of the cost of the product that the comparison can be readily made. As was shown in the Preliminary Report of the Industrial Commission, and elsewhere, a somewhat careful study of margins between the prices of the raw material and of the finished products of several of the large combinations seems to show that they have been able, pretty generally, to increase this margin, thus increasing their own profits. If the methods of manufacture have been sufficiently improved to do more than equal this increase

in the margin, it may be said that the combination has lowered prices. If, on the other hand, as seems to have been true in most cases, the margin has increased in such a way that it has apparently checked the normal tendency of improvements in methods of production toward lowering the price of the finished product, the effect of the combination has been rather toward increasing than lowering prices to the consumer. It is probable that so far, in the majority of cases, the latter result in the United States is the one that has been reached, and that prices on the whole have been slightly increased, although possibly in certain instances not unduly so, since, in rare cases, before the combination practically all of the competing establishments were running at a loss.

Although the experience in England has been somewhat shorter, the results seem to be to a considerable extent the same. Several of the managers of the more important combinations do not hesitate to say that it has been their purpose, while leveling prices in different grades and in different kinds of products, and steadying them so that dealers might know what to count upon, on the whole somewhat to increase prices to the consumers; and they acknowledge that they have certainly increased their margin of profit. In numerous cases they think this increase in margin is enough for the present, at any rate, to do more than offset the saving from the combination, thus raising absolute prices to the consumer; in other instances they would probably think it was somewhat less than that. In the case of manufactures from cotton or those into which iron enters as a raw material, a large part of the increase in the price of the finished product has naturally come from the increase in that of the raw material; but even here the managers will say, at times, that while they have increased their price with the increase in the price of material, they do not expect to lower the price of their product proportionately when the price of the raw material falls. They believe that they are justified in securing higher profits than they did under the competing system, and, in consequence, they expect permanently to increase their margin.

Manufacturers in France, in Austria, in Germany, quite generally, while calling attention to their savings, state also that the combinations were made to prevent competition which was ruinous, and that they believe they are justified in having fair profits on their capital invested, and fair pay for their time and energy in conducting the business. This, they say, in many cases demands something of an increase in price, and they have been enabled to secure this through the power given them by the combination.

Very generally, they call attention to the steadying effect upon the price of the adaptation of the supply to the demand, and while they will acknowledge somewhat higher prices in certain instances, they are inclined to think that there is much less fluctuation in price, and that it will be found in the long run that prices have been lowered. Probably the most striking case of this kind in either Germany or Austria has been that of the Coal Syndicate, to which reference has been made before. The managing directors of the Syndicate claim, as has been noted, that during the extraordinary demand of the last two years prices would doubtless have increased much more rapidly under a system of free competition than under the substantially complete control exercised by the Syndicate. In this opinion they are supported by the Minister of Commerce of Prussia in his speeches in the Prussian House of Representatives and in the German Reichstag. In these addresses, he cites statistics to show that during the period of greatest demand in the seventies, prices were not merely very much higher than they are at the present time, but that they increased to a much greater extent than they have during the last two years, and then afterwards fell rapidly, producing in reality an industrial crisis. To the charges that they have refused to supply coal, and have restricted the output, in order to increase their profits, the managers of the Syndicate reply, that they have opened new mines and increased their output much more rapidly than have the independent coal producers; that they have endeavored, to their utmost, to meet normal demands for manufacturing purposes, but that they have attempted to prevent the buying up by manufacturers of large quantities of coal for speculative

purposes. They say, also, that, if they were to endeavor to meet all the demands at the present time, it would compel them to open so many new mines and so to increase their working force, that when, as is probable within two or three years, there should come a material lessening of the demand, they would be left with a largely increased investment of unproductive capital, and that they would be compelled to discharge large numbers of working men, an act from which great suffering would ensue. In this opinion, again, they are supported by the German Government, which does not hesitate to say that it believes the effect of the Coal Syndicate has been on the whole beneficial, and that it has tended to prevent a crisis, which without its steadying influence would almost certainly have come.

TARIFF.

Possibly the most interesting phase of European combinations, when studied in connection with those of the United States, is the use that is made by them of the tariff on imports. When, in the United States, there has been a very urgent demand on the part of many that our tariff be lowered, or even be entirely removed in the case of products manufactured by the industrial combinations, the managers of the combinations, as a rule, do not concede that they take advantage of the tariff in order to keep their prices high in the home market. While, in certain instances, they say that they sometimes export their surplus at somewhat lower prices than they ask in the domestic market, they claim that they do this in order to keep their mills running full, and their labor employed. They believe that the effect of this, in the long run, is to keep prices lower to the home consumer, on account of the lessened cost of production, than would otherwise be possible.

Manufacturers in France, Austria, and Germany are not so cautious in their statements. The head of the great iron combination at Longwy, in France, says that if you wish to find the prices of pig iron in his establishment, you should take the London prices, add to them the freight, and add to that result the French tariff. He expects, generally speaking, to make full use

of the tariff, believing that it was wisely granted, and that it is needed for the protection of the industry. A director in the oil combination in Austria says that, owing to their tariff, they are able to keep their domestic prices high enough so that they can be sure of a reasonable profit. This advantage in the home market enables them to enter the markets of Germany with some of their products to so great an advantage that they can compel the representative of the Standard Oil Company to divide the market with them, whereas without the benefit of the tariff, not only could they not compete in foreign markets, but they would probably be driven out even of their home market. Likewise, the managing director of the chief member of the Austrian iron combination says that, with individual exceptions, he fixes the domestic price of his product by taking the price of German iron, and adding to that the freight and the full tariff. He states, also, that if they are to do any export business at all, they must expect to do it at less than domestic rates. He believes, as the American manufacturers state, that it is wise to keep the plants running full, even though, in order to do so, part of their product must be exported at rates lower than those secured at home, and even at rates which would be unremunerative, provided that the entire product had to be sold at that price. In Germany the iron combination has gone so far as to pay a bounty itself to certain of its members to export part of their product, in order to enable them, in this way, to keep the surplus off the home market, and thus prevent a ruinous break in prices. It will be recalled that a good many years ago, before the organization of the Old Whiskey Trust in the United States, one of the earlier whiskey pools adopted the same policy. In the first place, the directors agreed upon the limitation of the output to a certain percentage of their producing capacity, and then assessed each member at a certain rate upon his output, in order to provide a fund to enable them to export their surplus product at a loss, so that they might be enabled thereby to maintain prices in the home market.

Such practices are frequently bitterly criticised abroad as well as in the United States, but the practice seems to be substantially

uniform throughout the leading competing countries of the civilized world, and certainly business men believe that there is a genuine business justification for the practice.

Even as regards the amount of protection that is needed, we find some new and rather interesting opinions in connection with the combinations. A leading Austrian iron manufacturer, for example, says that he believes that the Austrian protective tariff ought not to be limited by the difference between the cost of production in Austria and in the competing countries of Germany, England, and the United States—according to the principle of protection generally laid down by protectionists. He thinks rather that the height of the duty should be measured by the competing power of the rival countries. When, therefore, as he says, the United States by virtue of its great steel combination, working under the influence of the protective tariff, which prevents Austrian or English or German manufactures from entering the American market, is believed to throw its surplus product at low rates into Austria, the Austrian duty should not merely be high enough to offset the difference in the cost of production in the two countries, but there should be added to this enough more to offset the special competing advantages given to the United States manufacturer by his tariff and his combinations. So far, the Austrian Government has made no change in its tariff in accordance with this suggestion, but one can readily see the force of this argument if one grants that it is the duty of a government to protect its industries against foreign manufacturers, and one can readily conceive that a strengthening of the combinations behind tariff barriers, so that international competition becomes more vigorous, might well lead also to an international tariff war which might easily limit, very materially, international trade.

WAGES.

If the industrial combinations are able to make the savings which they claim, and which, in many cases, at any rate, it seems are in reality made, this creates a new fund of the industrial product which has to be distributed in some form. Normally,

it would first go to the employer, but if the laborers are active and well organized and realize the new condition of industry, it would seem not improbable that they might secure a good part of this saving in an increase of wages. While the circumstances of the last two or three years, during which the growth of combinations has been especially rapid, have been abnormally favorable, so that wages would probably have increased, even without the combinations, it is interesting to note that, during this time, in very many, if not in all, of the combinations there has been a real increase in wages. In many cases this has been rather a leveling of wages, some being lowered and others being increased, but the general tendency seems to be both toward absolute increase and toward greater steadiness of employment, with the consequent security for steady wages. The time is as yet too short to reach any positive conclusion as to the effect in the long run, but as wages have gone up here under most of our combinations, so in Germany, in England, and in Austria we find similar conditions prevailing. The managers of the combinations have made the claim so boldly that they have put wages up, that it will be somewhat difficult for them to attempt to put them down again when business conditions become less active. Direct testimony on this point is found in both England and Germany. In both countries there has doubtless been a belief on the part of many manufacturers that by their combinations they would obtain greater power in dealing with recalcitrant workmen; but on the other hand, they do not say that they are unwilling to deal with the trade-unions. They believe, also, that the leaders of the unions are inclined, on the whole, to favor the combinations; but so far as most of the combinations are concerned, it is doubtful to what extent this is the case.

In England, in the Brass Bedstead Combination, and in others that were organized by Mr. E. J. Smith, the principle of the combination itself required that the workmen be organized and that they join with the employers in the combination; for every increase in price or in profit to the manufacturer meant

also a corresponding increase, in the form of a bonus added to the wages of the workmen. In the nature of the case, the workmen, who were benefited by this form of combination, were in favor of it; the only sufferer being the consumer. So far, however, we may say that in spite of an apparent success of some ten years, this form of combination has not as yet shown itself permanent, and on general principles it seems impossible for it to be universal in its application. While the employers and laborers in several industries can permanently increase their profits and wages at the expense of the consumers, if the entire range of industries were so organized, the benefit, of course, would be much less noticeable, because the producers would then substantially come to be the same persons as the consumers, and what they gained in one way they would lose in another. Of course, one must not lose sight of the fact that there are many branches of industry in which, as yet at any rate, combinations are not advantageous, if even possible, and therefore, for a long time to come, this result would not be reached.

SOCIAL EFFECTS.

In the United States, there has been great complaint in many cases, especially on the part of politicians, because they believe that the formation of industrial combinations tends to lessen the number of independent producers, and to force a much larger proportion of our population into the position of hired workmen, weakening in this way, as they declare, the fibre of independent manhood so needed for the perpetuation of our political and social institutions. Beyond doubt, as yet, this fear is scarcely justified by experience, although there may be some ground for it in special instances. The combination movement has not yet progressed sufficiently far to enable us to forecast what the ultimate result is likely to be. Either because the feeling is not warranted, or because the individual development is not so often thought of there, one hears, relatively speaking, little of this sentiment in Europe. It is charged, sometimes, that certain members of the English Parliament are under the influence of the combinations, inasmuch as they are

holders of directorships or are large stockholders. So, at times, in France and in other countries, there are intimations that members of the Government have personal financial interests in connection with some of the larger corporations, which perhaps influence their opinions regarding the economic effects of industrial centralization; but on the whole the belief, common in the United States, that the combinations divide society into hostile classes, and weaken the power of initiative on the part of business men, and some other like complaints are rarely, if ever, met with.

LEGISLATION.

There has been so far practically no direct legislation in Europe regarding the industrial combinations. In France the Penal Code has for many years forbidden coalitions for the purpose of raising prices, especially by fraudulent means. There was, however, at the time of the passage of the law no thought of the modern syndicate or trust. This law, however, was invoked at the time of the Copper Syndicate and M. Secrétan suffered the penalty. This result has beyond any question tended to make the organizers and managers of industrial combinations in France much more cautious than they would otherwise have been. Doubtless very many of the agreements limiting output, and directly or indirectly establishing prices, are kept much more secret than they would be, were it not for this article of the Penal Code. In fact, the Sugar Syndicate, which beyond doubt does fix the amount of output for each of the leading refineries in France, is simply an informal verbal agreement reached at meetings held from time to time. While this agreement, through determining the output, indirectly fixes prices, according to the statement of a leading member of the combination, the subject of prices is never touched upon in their meetings, in order that they may be sure not to violate this provision of the Code.

The great iron combination at Longwy is thought by many to be illegal, but its managers believe that since it is chiefly an independent selling bureau, it is entirely within the limits of the law. Efforts have been made by the members of the combination

for the manufacture of ceramics to break the combination under the law, but the Department of Justice has decided that there is no cause for action, inasmuch as it has not been shown that prices have been increased, but rather that they have been lowered to the detriment, perhaps, of certain members, but not, as the Department of Justice thinks, of the general public.

In England, Parliament has confined itself solely to revisions of the corporation law, enforcing a greater degree of publicity regarding promotion and the regular work of the corporation. Under the common law, of course, monopolies and agreements in restraint of trade are illegal or invalid, but one or two of the decisions of the English courts seem to interpret the common law more liberally in this regard than have the American courts. In the case of the *Mogul Steamship Company vs. McGregor, Gow & Co.*, for example, it was held that an agreement upon freight rates to prevent loss on the part of the steamship companies was valid, even though it did injure the business of rivals.

In Germany, as has already been intimated, the Government and the courts are inclined to look not unfavorably upon industrial combinations. In a case brought, in 1897, the final court took the position that agreements regulating output and raising prices to a reasonable degree, so as to prevent ruin of the business, were not to be considered violations of the general principle of freedom of contract, but were rather normal measures taken to insure a reasonable success. Instead of being detrimental to the public, it was thought that such measures were rather in the interests of the public. The following words from the decision are certainly very striking and materially different from decisions of the courts in the United States. "It is * * * in the interest of the community that improperly low prices should not exist in a certain branch of industry for a long time. * * * It cannot be simply and generally considered as contrary to the interests of the community when entrepreneurs, interested in a certain branch of industry, unite with the object of preventing or moderating mutual underselling, and as a result the fall of prices of their products. On the contrary, when prices are for

a long time actually so low that financial ruin threatens the entrepreneurs, their combination appears to be not merely a legitimate means of self-preservation, but also a measure serving the interests of the community. The formation of syndicates and cartels of the kind here discussed is also on many sides considered to be a means particularly suited to render great service toward the adequate progress of the whole economic life of society, in so far as it prevents uneconomical working at a loss, overproduction, and the catastrophes connected with it."¹

Attention has already been called to the fact that the Prussian Minister of Commerce, in replying to complaints in the House of Representatives and in the Imperial Reichstag, defended the Coal Syndicate as on the whole beneficial to the public. He said that he would himself welcome any legal regulation to prevent abuses; and in the Department various investigations have been undertaken in the way of collecting the best literary material and reports, in order that the subject may in due time be properly considered, if any legislation should prove necessary.

The situation in Austria seems to be somewhat further advanced than in any other European country. Popular opinion, together with the apparent danger threatening the revenue, led the Ministry of Finance, in 1897, to introduce a bill providing for a great degree of publicity and for a full inspection and, in case of necessity, for a certain regulation of the business of combinations engaged in manufacturing beer, petroleum, sugar, salt, and articles subject to the regular consumption tax. It was feared that these combinations, by raising the prices of their products, might so lessen the consumption that the revenue would fall off very materially. Hence this bill was introduced chiefly as a financial measure. Owing to the disturbed political condition in Austria, and possibly also to the lack of a strong popular demand, the bill did not pass, although it was afterward introduced a second time by the Government. The Ministry of Trade and Commerce, however, took the subject up for investi-

(1) *Civil Senate Report*, vi., 307-96.

gation and appointed a special committee to consider the advisability of legislation on the general subject. That committee, after having studied the subject for considerably more than a year, has finally made a report. This report expresses the opinion that industrial combinations are in the nature of permanent business organizations suited to the conditions of the present day, and that, therefore, no attempt ought to be made to abolish them, but rather that there should be given them legal recognition and regulation. The recommendations, summed up briefly, are as follows:—

1. The combinations to be recognized as legal organizations and accordingly to be brought into legal form.

2. Every combination to be obliged to announce its organization to a bureau which is to be recognized as a judicial body and which is to undertake the registration of the combinations.

3. This combination bureau, or court, to act also as a court of first instance for the settlement of all disputes in the field of private law which arise from the existence and activity of the combinations.

4. For the checking of the monopolistic tendencies arising from the limitation or destruction of free competition, measures should be taken in the field of legislation on import duties, and in connection with the rates of freights on government railroads, as well as by the encouragement of associations (presumably trade organizations of various kinds) to oppose combinations.

5. For the purpose of considering and deciding upon the administrative measures mentioned, there should be created a monopoly and combination council, which should be a consultative organ of the Ministry of Commerce.

6. The Government is formally urged to work out a bill in accordance with the principles suggested by the committee on combinations, and to present this to the committee for consideration.

It will be seen that the Austrian Government has thus taken a step of much importance with reference to the legal regulation of industrial combinations. It is noteworthy that this committee,

which perhaps has made a more complete study of this subject than any other body in Europe, or than any other in any country, with the exception of the United States Industrial Commission, is very moderate in its recommendations. It believes apparently that the final solution of the difficulty is to come rather through publicity, through a thorough study of the development of this industrial phenomenon, and through minor regulating measures, affecting probably the corporation law in part, and in part the tariff and tax laws, than through any drastic measures of a destructive nature.

There is little to be said with reference to industrial combinations in the rest of Europe. In Belgium there are several, which in the main follow the form of those in Germany, and which are conducted with much the same degree of success. In Russia the Government itself (as indeed has been the case also in Prussia, in the potash industry) has taken part in the combinations, where it has had manufacturing establishments along industrial lines. In Denmark, in Italy, and in Switzerland we see the beginning of the industrial combination movement. There can be no doubt that in all these countries mentioned, and in the others that are possibly more backward in industrial development, the appearance and development of the industrial combination waits merely upon the growth of the manufacturing industry.

THE FUTURE OF THE GOLD SUPPLY

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In the swift readjustment of the economic conditions of its production, which the development of mechanism and processes is bringing about, there is evidently danger that the value of gold, the measure of all other values, may be greatly changed. There is, indeed, among the larger-minded financiers already much anxiety on this account, though as yet the matter has not been the subject of any public discussion. As the question is at foundation one for the geologist, I propose to consider it from that point of view.

A glance at the history of the use to which metals have been put as the basis of exchange, shows us that, beginning with universal barter, in which there are no fixed standards of value, the development of commerce quickly and inevitably leads to the adoption of some group of objects, natural or artificial, that may serve as measures of relative worth. These may be shells gathered on the shore, as in Africa and elsewhere, stone discs cut from coral rock, as in some of the islands of the Pacific, bundles of tobacco, or coon skins, as in the pioneer conditions of Kentucky or in Tennessee. Commonly the metals, iron, copper, tin, silver, or gold, are well-adapted for this need; they are shaped in masses of convenient size, and serve as gages of value better than the other products of industry, for the reason that they are practically imperishable, and are produced at something like a uniform rate of cost in terms of labor.

At an early stage in the development of civilization, the use of metals for the purposes of exchange was reduced to the three most precious in the eyes of men,—copper, silver, and gold. The others appear to have been excluded because of their relative bulk. In time copper followed in the exclusion or sunk to the position of a token coin; and as the last in the series of events, silver is sharing the same fate. All these steps in determining a basis of exchange, except the last, have not been taken with any definite purpose or with any distinct plan, but in a half-instinctive way, as has been the case with all the great advances of human relations—by the accumulation of many separate judgments. The result of this long series of events has been to give gold a singular position as the immediate measure of value,—that by which, among nearly all civilized peoples, every commercial contract that involves money is satisfied.

It would be interesting to consider the reasons why gold came to be chosen as the index of value in the civilized world; but these reasons are manifold, and only a few of them concern our inquiry. Those that are pertinent are as follows. In the first place, this metal, though mechanically the least useful of all that are familiar, is decidedly the most ornamental, that which lends itself the most to decorative effects of any with which man has had to do. The color of gold especially commends itself to favor, for its shades of yellow varying to red belong to the group of hues which, as is shown by the sexually selected coloration of animals, and by that of flowers, is very pleasing to the minds of animals as well as of men. Moreover, gold, as is well known, tarnishes less than any other familiar metal, and is most easily restored to its pristine beauty. It is also to be noted that gold is the most unmistakable of metals. Its several evident qualities, aspect, weight, softness, ductility, make it recognizable as are few other things in the mineral realm. Until lead came to be known, at a relatively late period in the growth of the arts, gold was the heavy metal that suggested value by a weight such as belonged to no other substance. Furthermore, gold is easily melted, and loses little of its apparent substance in the way of dross. In its normal state

it is very ductile. These qualities lent themselves to its use for ornament, and permitted the reshaping of decorative objects composed of the metal.

Being practically the only metal that is found in its metallic state by primitive men,—native copper being rare, and platinum yet rarer,—gold was probably the first of this group of substances to be possessed by man. Among many ancient peoples of the stone age, and some of modern times, such as the Peruvians, who had not risen above that stage of the arts, gold was gathered in considerable quantities from alluvial deposits and wrought into ornaments. Thus, the concept as to the value of this substance was formed early in the history of man, and was particularly well impressed on the minds of those peoples from whom we obtained our concept of money. The people of Mesopotamia, where civilization, as we know it, appears to have originated, or at least to have had about its earliest seat, and those of the Mediterranean area, where its further development was accomplished, knew gold many thousand years ago. Their knowledge of silver must have come to them at a much later date, for that metal could not have been discovered until the smelting-furnace had been invented, at a relatively late stage in the development of the arts. Such, in a word, are the conditions that led to this early estimation of gold and the confirmation of this esteem in the minds of all men.

The use of gold as a commercial measure appears to have been unconsciously determined, in part by the value set upon it, in part by the ease with which it may be cut into bits and stamped with a clear imprint, but principally by the fact that experience showed that it was to be had with a great uniformity of production, and with a singularly definite relation to the amount of labor devoted to its winning. Of all the mineral products man has ever sought for, gold has given the most uniform returns, as measured in terms of labor. Moreover, as regards the conditions of its occurrence, it is the most widely diffused and accessible of the metals. Never occurring in very great quantities, as do copper, iron, lead, and even silver, it is found in quantities large enough to repay exploitation over a wider field

than any of these grosser metals. Moreover, the fact that it can be won by the simplest methods, those requiring no more than mere labor, and a certain easily acquired craft in working the detritus in which it occurs, made its production easy. Thus, while silver, which is only less beautiful than gold, has also been prized, it has never had the same high place in human esteem. Although silver has been more extensively coined, this is because the supply of the more precious material, so long as that supply depended upon the primitive methods of working gravels, was insufficient to furnish, at one and the same time, what was demanded for ornament and what was needed for coinage. If the only source of gold had continued to be that obtained by the ancient processes from alluvial deposits, gold would, in modern times, probably have been restored to the category of gems, and have been used for decorative purposes only. But the development of the art of mining has constantly, though intermittently, increased the rate of supply, so that, century by century, there has been an increasing share that could be used for coinage. Several of these movements have been so sudden and extensive as evidently to affect the exchange rate of the metal. It is as to the conditions of the latest of these, which is now in progress, that we have to inquire, with a view to finding its probable economic consequences.

It has already been noted that gold is a widely diffused metal. In small quantities it exists in most rocks; and even in sea-water, as tricksters have learned, it is found in determinable amounts, probably less than four cents to the cubic yard, and in a condition that makes it commercially of no possible account. It has been reckoned that in the deposit of clay on which the city of Philadelphia stands there is enough of the metal to gild the fronts of all the buildings in the place. Here, again, the amount is so small that it has no more prospective value than that contained in the sea-water. Thus, while it may be said that wherever a person may be on the surface of the earth, or on the ocean, there is likely to be enough gold within a mile of his feet to make him a millionaire, the places where gold can conceivably be won at a

profit are relatively few. In general, those situations may be classed as follows :—

First, in order of history, though not of economic importance, are the lodes or veins in which gold has been deposited, commonly in association with other metals; the work being done by the action of heated waters that bear the material upward from the deep-buried rocks, where it was taken into solution by those waters. *Second*, and most important for our present inquiry, are the accumulations of detritus arising from the decay of rocks containing gold, in the slow process of wearing down of the lands, a process that lowers their level to the amount, on the average, of one foot in something like five thousand years. In the course of this action, the gold is left in a more or less concentrated state, for the reason that being heavy it is not easily borne away to the sea, and being relatively very insoluble, it is not carried away in solution, as are the other constituents of the rock. *Third*, are the deposits containing gold, formed as last described, which have by chance been brought beneath the sea, deeply covered by strata, and have thus been subjected to influences that have greatly changed their character, though the concentrated gold has remained in them. In certain cases this deep burial may be effected on the land by volcanic materials. We will now consider the probable future of the supply from these groups of sources.

As to the vein deposits containing gold, analysis shows us that most veins contain the metal in some small proportion, and that in a large number of instances it is held in other ores, like those of copper, lead, silver, etc., in such quantity, that while taken alone, it could not be profitably mined, it is profitable to separate it in the treatment of the materials. There is, in this way, a constant increase in the supply of gold which comes as a by-product in the exploitation of other metals. The most important increase that is to be looked for in vein mining arises, however, from the rapid improvement in the modes of applying power to such work. The gain in this regard, in the last half century, through the invention of power drills, more effective explosives, better hoist-

ing systems, and more efficient methods of treating the ores, is such that, on the average, in terms of labor, it probably does not, at present, cost one third as much to win and treat a given amount of ore from underground mines as it did in 1850. A still further cheapening is now being brought about by the application of electricity produced by water powers to the work of mining.

The most important result of these improvements in mining is the vastly greater field that can be profitably exploited. For one ton of such ore as could be regarded of economic value in the ancient practice, containing, say, ten dollars per ton of saveable gold, there is probably ten times as much that would now be rated as minable, at a yield of one fourth that amount. Almost as important as the mechanical improvements are those of a chemical nature, particularly that known as the cyanide process. Of old, the miner had to expect that after he had worked a gold-bearing vein to a certain depth, usually but a few hundred feet below the surface, the gold would cease to be "free," and because of the lack of those changes due to the penetration of water from the surface, would become "base," that is, locked up in union with iron pyrite and other materials, so that it would not amalgamate with quicksilver or yield to other methods that could be economically employed. The modern process applied to many of these refractory ores has made them profitable to work, when under no other conditions could they be exploited. Thus, in the mines of the Weitswatersrand of South Africa, commonly known as "the Rand," the deposits could not have had any considerable commercial importance but for this method of winning the gold from its association with pyrite—so that the thousands of millions of dollars that have been, or are to be, obtained from those deposits are, in large measure, to be accredited to this invention.

Making no allowance for future improvements in mining, though the progress of the art is one of an exceeding rapidity, we may evidently expect a very great and rapid increase in the annual supply of this precious metal from the betterments already effected. As to the extent of this gain, there is no basis

for a trustworthy reckoning; but those who have some idea of the amount of gold-bearing veins which can, with skilful mining, be made to yield a profit at the present rates of interest, will probably be disposed to agree with me in the opinion that, at anything like the present prices of labor, the yield from this group of deposits is likely, within twenty years, to exceed five hundred million dollars per annum, and to be maintained at this, or an even greater rate, for many decades.

It is not, however, from the underground mines that there is the most to fear in the way of an excessive gold supply during the next decades, but rather from the second group of deposits, those of an alluvial character. The nature of this class of mines is eminently peculiar—unlike, indeed, that of any other sources of mineral value. In the ancient method of seeking gold from detritus, the beds of the lesser streams, those in which there was so little water that it could be turned aside, were resorted to. The gravel was washed by hand in pans, and the crevices of the bed-rock cleared of the metal that had lodged there. This work was necessarily limited to the torrents, which were followed downward until they grew to be rivers so large that the water put a stop to further work, as was necessarily the case when the stream became considerable. Because the total area of accessible stream-beds in any gold-bearing fields was limited, and the quantity of gravel rich enough to yield a profitable return to hand labor restricted, this source of supply was soon, in large part, exhausted, with the result that, at the time of the discovery of America, the area which had hitherto furnished gold to the civilized world had apparently ceased to yield enough to do more than replace the incidental waste of the world's store. In succession, the Peruvian, the Brazilian, the Californian, and other fields afforded fitful enlargements of the supply; but each, in turn, was quickly exhausted or reduced in production to small amounts. So that, about twenty years ago, a survey of the field indicated that the chance of important discoveries of alluvial gold, as well as a great increase of the amount won from deep mines, was small. This I stated in a government report on the question of

bimetallism. As if to show the danger of all judgments that assume a limit to the resources of this marvelous earth, the situation at once began to change; the nascent inventions that tended to cheapen deep mining, as above noted, became rapidly effective, and a new method of approaching low grade alluvial gravels was soon afterwards developed.

In working the rich placers of torrent beds, and in the temporary and locally used method of washing down the deposits of gravel lying above those beds, by the so-called hydraulic process, miners had learned that, besides the highly profitable but very limited deposits of the small streams, there were very extensive accumulations of a like nature, though far less rich in gold, in the beds of the main rivers and in the alluvial plains on either side of them, especially near the mouths of the tributaries which had afforded rich "washings."

The amount of gold in a cubic yard of these alluviums was too small to repay hand labor, especially as the excavations could not be drained by any method of ditching. Many efforts were made in this country to devise dredges and a method of working them which would obviate the difficulties, but they all proved to be failures. When American invention fails, it is generally safe to assume that the obstacle it attacks cannot be overcome. Not so in this case, for in far away New Zealand a dredge for working alluvial gravels has been contrived, and has proved so successful that a great industry has been founded on its use. These machines differ but little in form or method of working from those long in use in deepening ship channels. Their success is due to a skilful adjustment of details and to the development of the art of operating them. This success is such that with labor at the rate of two dollars and a half per diem, and a cost of power measured by good firewood at the same price per cord, it is claimed that a cubic yard of gravel can, under ordinary conditions, be lifted from the bed of the pool in which the dredge floats, washed, and returned to the bottom behind the dredge-boat, at an average cost of two and a half cents. This estimate, like most estimates in mining, is excessively low, but there is no reason to doubt that under favorable

conditions the work can be done for somewhat less than twice that sum, and that by far the greater amount of such gravels in the world can be treated at a cost that will not exceed, when the work is done on a large scale, and carefully, an average of six cents per cubic yard.

To realize what influences the New Zealand dredge and the variations of the type now coming into use in North America and elsewhere may have on the supply of gold, we must now consider, somewhat in detail, the way in which the deposits of alluvial gold are formed. It has already been noted that gold is never found in massive deposits such as contain other common metals. Because of that same relative insolubility which causes it so to resist decay, the processes that bring it into concentration never import large quantities into one vein; but the conditions which limit the accumulation do not prevent the formation of a very great number of small veinlets, none of workable size. Such veinlets and branches containing gold, often almost microscopic, are characteristic of districts in which gold is found. As the rocks of such a field fall to pieces in the process of decay, all their common minerals, because they are relatively light, are easily carried away to the sea or, because they are soluble, go even more readily on that journey. The gold being about four times as heavy as the ordinary substances, and remarkably insoluble in waters on the surface of the earth, tends to abide when the materials with which it was associated have disappeared. Yet there is a measure of movement given by the streams to the particles in proportion to their size; the smaller journeying farther in proportion to their smallness, as is the fact with all materials that are moved by water. Moreover, gold because it is quite soft, is easily rubbed when it is held between large stones, which slip over one another in the torrents, so that it smears, or as the phrase is, *streaks* on the stones. This smeared gold, which may by close observation be detected in any placer, is removed; in the further wearing of the pebbles, it becomes a fine powder, such as the torrent may readily bear down to the main river.

The result of the above-described process is that when the

region has worn down to the extent of several thousand feet, as has been the case in the placer districts of the Rocky Mountains, while nearly all the broken-up rock has gone to the ocean, a relatively large part of the gold remains in the *débris* contained in the valleys of the area. But little of this concentrated gold stays in the narrow torrent-swept gorges, where the first placers were found, though in them the richest deposits occurred; by far the greater part of the precious metal has been urged beyond the torrent channels, and mingled with gravel and sand has come to a temporary rest in the beds and in the alluvial plains of the rivers. There is no basis for estimating the quantity of the gold in ordinary placers and that in the river beds and their alluvial plains, but there can be no doubt that it is much more considerable in the latter group of deposits than in the former. There is, however, this important consideration to be taken into account; since the *débris* containing gold passes from the torrents, where it is found in some abundance, to the larger valleys, it is pretty certain to be mixed with that of other streams that have none of the metal, or so little as to be of no importance. In this way, the lower lying deposits of sand and gravel may become so far diluted with unprofitable stuff that they may not be workable. As yet the body of knowledge on this point is too limited to give a basis for any reckoning; still, the results obtained by extensive dredging work in New Zealand, California, Montana, and elsewhere clearly indicate that the aggregate area in the world where alluvial gravels occur which may be exploited by the dredge, is very extensive; it probably amounts to several thousand square miles, even if we reckon only those fields where the amount of the metal exceeds ten cents to the cubic yard, which, for the present, may be taken as the profitable limit.

There are certain other conditions which serve to restrict the possibilities of winning gold from low lying placers. Thus, the field must be so placed that there is near at hand some cheap source of power, fuel or electrical energy obtained from streams. The gravel must not contain overlarge boulders nor be cemented, else it is difficult to excavate it and to wash the gold from it; more-

over, the gold must not be too finely divided, or it cannot be saved. Yet, when all these limitations are taken into account, it remains tolerably clear that the use of the dredge is likely to bring about a sudden and very great increase in the supply of that substance. This increment is apt to be rapid for the reason that, while a mine or a vein has to be slowly developed by shafts and drifts, with no certainty as to the richness of the material until it is penetrated, a placer, which may be likened to a vein laid upon its side, with one of its walls removed, can be promptly explored by pits or drill holes, and at once attacked at as many points as may seem desirable. It is this readiness and the relative simplicity of the process of developing the new type of placer mines which are likely to make their product come suddenly into the market in a manner to disturb values. The work will be done under other conditions than vein mining, in which the unforeseeable always enters into an honest reckoning. It will be done with a degree of certainty not attainable in ordinary mining operations, and will, therefore, not demand the large premium on success which is properly required for capital that is ventured in the old way, in searching for the precious metal.

As for the districts in which dredge mining is likely to be extensively developed, it is too soon to form any but a very general opinion. The following statement, however, may indicate certain points of importance. An auriferous region, to afford the required conditions, must have been the seat of a long-continued decay, so that a great thickness of gold-bearing rock has been worn away. In this process there must have been no considerable glacial action, for the ice would have swept away the concentrates, mingling them with the *débris* of the rock which it broke up. The regions where these conditions may be fairly assumed to exist, include the greater part of the many detached areas known to contain gold-bearing veins of considerable richness, in the cordilleras of North and South America, from the permanently frozen ground of Alaska to Patagonia. It is not impossible that considerable fields will be found in the Northern part of South America, as well as in Guiana and Brazil. In the East-

ern half of North America, there is a chance that dredges may be successful on certain of the rivers and their plains in the Carolinas, Georgia, and Alabama. To the northward, as in the gold-bearing area of Nova Scotia, the glacial sheet appears to have removed almost entirely the anciently formed concentrates. Since then there has been insufficient time for these to be reproduced.

Probably the most extensive deposits of gold-bearing gravels, as yet known, occur in European and Asiatic Russia,—in the Ural district and Siberia. In this region there are a number of auriferous areas where the process of rock decay has gone on for geological ages, and where there has been an absence of glacial action. Moreover, the rate of descent of the rivers is prevailingly rather slight, so that less of the gold has been borne away to the sea than is the case in other lands. The result is that, so far as is now known, the extent of alluvial plains containing gold appears to be greater in this part of the Old World than in any other of the continents.

There is reason to believe that the conditions which favor the formation of extensive alluvial placers exist in several parts of Africa, especially on the Guinea coast, and in the gold-bearing districts of the Southern part of the continent. It is to be noted, however, that there are no certain reports as yet of such deposits in the Transvaal area, where we should expect to find them. At several points in Australia, there is evidently reason to believe that gravels such as may possibly be dredged occur. From general considerations, it may be expected that like deposits will be found in India and in several districts in China. Limiting ourselves, however, to the fields already known to contain extensive deposits of gold-bearing gravels which can be worked by the method of dredging, and noting that this store can be swiftly won, and with little risk of loss, we have good reason to anticipate a sudden and great, though it may be temporary, increase in the supply from this source. It is, indeed, not improbable that, in twenty years from the present time, the annual production from this source may exceed that which is now contributed from all the

existing mines. This, be it said, is but an opinion, and is of no value as an estimate.

A third group of gold deposits includes the alluvial materials containing metal which were formed in earlier geological periods and have been subjected to burial beneath later accumulations of debris, and more or less changed in the conditions of the under-earth. We have long known of the existence of deposits of this nature in the shape of ancient torrent and river channels filled with gold-bearing gravels, covered by lava-flows, and now left, by the wearing down of the country, often at great heights above the existing stream-beds. Some of these in California have been opened by tunnels and have proved eminently profitable. We are now learning that, in some instances, gold-bearing sands may be carried into lakes or the sea, and there built into sandstones, which, when deeply buried beneath other strata, are likely to be much altered, the gold being dissolved and redeposited. It is not unlikely that this has been the history of the Rand deposits of South Africa. Owing to the fact that such deposits may have a horizontal extent vastly greater than that of any vein, their possible importance as sources of supply becomes evident. That of the Rand, if such it be, is fairly reckoned as certain to yield more than two billion dollars. As nature repeats itself, with what seems to be a love of so doing, we may fairly assume that the discovery of other like deposits will reward those keen-eyed, intelligent, and indefatigable searchers for the treasures of the under-earth who are now afoot in all lands.

In reviewing, with some brief additions, the foregoing account of the probable future of the gold supply, we see that we are evidently at the beginning of an increase due to an advance in mechanical and chemical inventions which, in terms of labor, has greatly cheapened the cost of its production. These innovations have vastly extended the areas from which the metal may be profitably won. At the same time, the opening of the world to the enterprise of miners and capitalists has served to bring into the field of production many extensive regions which a generation ago were inaccessible. Moreover, the lowering of

the rate of interest on money has had its effect in directing attention to investments of this nature. The result of this combination cannot fail to lead to a very great increase in the supply of this measure of values.

In looking forward to the effect of an augmentation in the production of gold, such as we have seen reason to anticipate, we may safely reckon that the first result would be an increase in the price of anything for which money is paid, including labor. This would at once, by increasing the cost of mining gold, tend to lessen the profits of such operations. Thus, at some point in this movement, a balance would be attained which would check the further increment of the supply. It is clear, however, that much disturbance of values would be brought about before this automatic brake could operate. All debts, though their face value would be unchanged, would be as effectively scaled down as though a despot had for his profit debased the coinage of the civilized world.

The question as to the remedy, if indeed there be such, for this apparent danger cannot be considered in this writing. Something, how much it is difficult to judge, might be done by extending the use of gold in countries where it does not now serve as a medium of exchange; something, also, by the complete displacement of silver by the as yet more precious metal; but the movement would probably be so strong that these resources could not be safely trusted to arrest it. It might lead to a very important change in our financial system, one that might be revolutionary in its effects.

CHRISTIAN AND INFIDEL IN THE HOLY LAND¹

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The term crusade, when pronounced, arouses in our minds the thought of a holy war. We picture the crusaders as devout warriors, full of fanaticism, waging incessant strife against the infidels. The latter we think of as equally fanatical, engaged in a Jihad, a holy war of extermination, against the Christians. These ideas are derived originally from the works of the contemporary chroniclers, both Frankish and Mohammedan. The crusaders who wrote the chronicles were usually members of the clergy and were interested chiefly in depicting the victories and defeats of the soldiers of the cross. They represented the kings as indefatigable warriors. They regarded the slaughter of the Mussulmans as a pious duty. The Moslem chroniclers foster the same idea, for, in speaking of the Franks, they repeat constantly, "May Allah curse them!" Thus has been formed the belief in the fanaticism of both Christians and infidels, which we find reflected in the pages of Wilken, Michaud, and most of the earlier writers on the crusades.

But when we extend our study to the laws of the Kingdom of Jerusalem, to the legal documents which were the result of their daily activity, to the coins which were struck by the Christian and Muslim princes, to the accounts of the travelers who visited the Holy Land while under the Frankish rule, to the books written by the Armenian and Greek contemporaries, we obtain an entirely different picture. We find but slight indications of a

(1) Since the writing of this essay, several views here expressed have been corroborated by Professors Röhricht and Luchaire in their recent works upon the subject of the Crusades.—[EDITOR.]

fanatical spirit on either side. We see the Christians and infidels in constant and friendly intercourse. We learn that each respected the other, that each was ready to learn and to copy such customs as seemed advantageous, and, finally, that they trusted one another.

On re-reading the chronicles, with this additional knowledge and with greater care, the second view is confirmed. Military achievements, it is true, form the main substance of the narrative, but whole years are passed over without a comment, because the author found no congenial material to record. And although he wrote mainly of warfare, frequently it was a strife not against the infidel, but against the co-religionist. Furthermore, in many instances Christian and Mussulman fought side by side against either Christians or Mussulmans, as the interests of the moment determined. Involuntary expressions of admiration for the enemy occur frequently, especially in the Arabic historians. Gradually the impression is formed that their constantly recurring "May Allah curse them!" is merely a stylistic phrase, and has but little meaning. Müller was right when he wrote, "The whole of the Christians, as of the Mohammedans, were really in earnest only twice; the former in 1099, the latter in 1187. On the first occasion, the Franks took Jerusalem from the Mohammedans; on the second, the Mohammedans recaptured it from the Franks; and with this the history of the religious wars, properly speaking, was ended."

We are apt also to mistake the motives of the Christians. In discussing the causes of the crusades, almost all historians, until recently, have laid the main stress upon the religious characteristics of the age. We have been taught that the men in the West, especially at the beginning of the movement, were inspired by a feeling of fanaticism, by a spirit of asceticism, which led hundreds of thousands to offer themselves eagerly for service in the cause of Christ. Undoubtedly, religious enthusiasm was one of the causes. No great movement in the Middle Ages can be fully explained without an understanding of the part which religion played in the lives of the people. But, lately, specialists have felt

that this explanation was inadequate. There has been a more or less conscious tendency to return to the standpoint of Heeren, who explained the crusades as primarily a colonizing movement. He argued that they were very similar to the migrations of the Normans which resulted in building up colonies and states in Southern Italy. Kugler stated the case even more strongly. His words were, "Among specialists in mediæval history, it is an accepted fact that the crusades were to a great extent the result of economic causes, and that they belong to the general history of colonization."

This point of view receives additional confirmation when we study the preliminaries of the first crusades. Pope Urban II., in his speech at the Council of Clermont, used every argument which he thought would attract men to undertake a crusade. In particular, according to Robert the Monk, he dwelt upon the advantages to be secured by the conquest of Jerusalem. "This land which you inhabit," he said, "is too small for your large population; it does not abound in wealth; and it furnishes scarcely food enough for its cultivators. * * * Enter upon the road to the Holy Sepulchre; wrest that land from the wicked race and subject it to yourselves. That land, as the Scripture says, 'floweth with milk and honey!' * * * The land is fruitful above all others, like another paradise of delights." It is to be noted that Urban took it for granted that the Holy Land would be held by the conquerors.

Several of the leaders of the first crusade had decided, before leaving their homes, to remain in the land which they expected to conquer. Bohemond, son of Robert Guiscard, had failed to secure his father's principality in Southern Italy, and used the crusade as an opportunity to obtain a new dominion for himself. He was acquainted, to some extent, with the conditions in the East, and he determined to make Antioch, the wealthiest city in Syria, his capital. Count Raymond of Toulouse, in spite of his great possessions, is said to have taken an oath before his departure that he would never return. He was termed by a contemporary "as land-greedy as a Norman"; from the very beginning, his great desire was to secure a new principality, and to the end of his life

he worked steadily to accomplish this object. Godfrey of Bouillon pledged all his important possessions to secure the money necessary for the journey, and left Lothringen with the intention of remaining in the East. Baldwin, the brother of Godfrey, took his wife with him and practically severed his connection with the West.

Alexius, the Greek Emperor, who had appealed to the Pope for aid against the Seljukian Turks, was alarmed at the attitude of the crusaders. He feared, only too justly, that, instead of regaining by their aid the ancient possessions of the Roman Empire in Asia Minor and Syria, he would see these occupied by his hereditary foe, Bohemond, and other Christians hostile to the Greeks. Consequently, he was unwilling that the armies of crusaders should continue their march until they had made some agreement with him. The difficulties which arose between him and the leaders of the crusade were due to his determination to profit by their conquest, and to their unwillingness to have him do so.

The regulations which were made upon entering the enemy's country show the purpose of the chiefs. Each one was to possess any city in which he was the first to plant his banner. As Raymond of Agiles complained, "Each one wished only the greatest possible advantage for himself and thought not at all of the common good." Baldwin and Tancred, as soon as they reached Cilicia, endeavored to make conquests for their own profit. When the former was offered the opportunity of ruling in Edessa, he abandoned promptly all farther participation in the expedition against Jerusalem. On the death of his wife, he married almost immediately an Armenian princess, in order to make his position as ruler of Edessa more secure. The progress of the main army was impeded constantly by the quarrels which arose concerning the ownership of individual cities which had been conquered. After the capture of Antioch, for instance, farther advance was delayed for a long time by the quarrels which arose about the possession of this and other cities. In fact, the leaders showed such an evident desire to neglect the conquest of Jeru-

salem, in order to obtain possessions in the more wealthy Syria, that the common people rebelled and forced the nobles to continue the march. Before Jerusalem was conquered the leaders attempted to decide to whom it should be given.

After the great victory over the Egyptians near Ascalon, in 1099, the city itself was lost to the Christians, because Count Raymond was determined he would have it or else no one should. Duke Godfrey demanded it as a part of his possessions. In consequence of their strife, Ascalon, which had been on the point of surrendering, was not captured. A little later, the mutual hostility of Raymond and Godfrey had the same result in the case of Arsuf, which Raymond had almost succeeded in capturing. In the following years, whenever any one secured a foothold anywhere, he attempted immediately to extend his possessions. Aid was obtained from the Genoese and Venetians by grants of quarters in cities to be captured in the future. Repeatedly, lands not yet conquered were given to the Church. Baldwin in the early years of his reign styled himself "King of Asia and Babylon," a title which is indicative of a purpose to make further conquests.

In the pursuance of this policy of conquest, the coast cities were captured, much of the interior country was covered with the castles of the crusaders, and the natives were reduced to subjection. Then the most important problem which confronted the Franks was the maintenance of their rule over an alien, mixed population far more numerous than themselves, which was separated from them by the barriers of religion, language, and customs. To any one who has been accustomed to think of men in the Middle Ages as narrow, intolerant, and bigoted, their conduct is very instructive. They realized that if they wished to be successful, they must secure the good will of the natives. They were intent mainly on extending their colonies and increasing their commerce. They were forced by their position to depend, to a great extent, upon the services of the natives, Christian and infidel; and, consequently, in spite of the objections of the fanatical, most of the leaders endeavored to conciliate the inhabitants of all races and creeds.

In order to understand the position of the two, we must consider the physical characteristics of the country and the different nations who inhabited it. Mukadassi, an Arab geographer, who was a native of Jerusalem, described the former very well:—

“Syria is very pleasantly situated. The country, physically, may be divided into four zones. The first zone is that on the border of the Mediterranean Sea. It is the plain country, the sandy tracts following one another, and alternating with the cultivated land. * * * The second zone is the mountain country, well-wooded, and possessing many springs, with frequent villages and cultivated fields. * * * The third zone is that of the valleys of the (Jordan) Ghaur, wherein are found many villages and streams, also palm-trees, well-cultivated fields, and indigo plantations. * * * The fourth zone is that bordering on the Desert. * * * The mountains here are high and bleak, and the climate resembles that of the Waste ; but it has many villages, with springs of water and forest trees.”¹

Of these four zones the Christians gradually conquered three, and even some outposts in the fourth, but they were never lords of Damascus, Emesa, or Aleppo. For a long time they held only scattered positions and were surrounded on all sides by the Mohammedan princes. At the time when the Frankish possessions were greatest, the extreme length north and south was about 525 miles, the breadth was fifty miles or less, except in the extreme North. Consequently they were always in close touch along the whole frontier with their Mohammedan neighbors. Border raids were common occurrences.

It was necessary for them to draw most of their subsistence from the country. Fortunately Syria was then exceptionally fertile. Mukadassi, writing a century before the beginning of the crusades, said :—

“Now Syria is a land of blessing, a country of cheapness, abounding in fruits, and peopled by holy men. The upper province, which is near the dominions of the Greeks, is rich in streams and crops, and the climate of it is cold. And the lower province is even more excellent, and pleasanter by reason of the lusciousness of its fruits, and in the great number of its palm-trees. But in the whole country of Syria there is no river carrying boats,

(1) Translation taken from Le Strange, *Palestine Under the Moslems*.

except only for the ferry. * * * And further, know that within the province of Palestine may be found gathered together six-and-thirty products that are not found thus united in any other land. Of these the first seven are found in Palestine alone ; the following seven are very rare in other countries ; and the remaining two-and-twenty, though found thus gathered together only in this province, are, for the most part, found one and another, singly, in other lands." :

It was veritably, " a land flowing with milk and honey " until the later Turkish misrule brought it to its present desolate condition. Its great agricultural resources furnished a large portion of the income which the Franks received. In order to profit by the fertility farmers were necessary. The Franks were never sufficiently numerous to supply a body of agricultural laborers, and consequently had to depend upon the natives, Christian and Moslem, to till the fields and harvest the crops.

The inhabitants whom they found in the Holy Land were of various races and creeds. The largest element in the population was composed of the Syrians,—Christians who spoke Arabic and used the Greek liturgy, but who were nominally subject to the Roman Church. They were for the most part agricultural laborers or artisans. Closely connected with the Syrians were the Maronites, who were renowned for their skill as archers, and who formed one of the most useful portions of the Frankish infantry. The Jacobites and Nestorians appear to have been the most civilized of the native Christians. They had excellent schools and were well-versed in the knowledge then common in the Orient. The Armenians were especially numerous in the North and were renowned for their bravery. They had welcomed the crusaders, " who," as Matthew of Edessa wrote, " came to break the chains of the Christians, to free from the yoke of the infidels the holy city of Jerusalem, and to tear from the hands of the Mussulmans the consecrated tomb which received a God." They joined eagerly in fighting the Mussulmans and were the most important allies of the Franks. The Greeks or Griffons formed a considerable part

of the population, especially in the North. Finally there were a few Georgians or Iberians.

Of the non-Christian natives the Arabs and the Turks were the most prominent. The civilization of the former was far superior to that of the Franks. The Turks were not very numerous. They had but recently obtained possession of the land and were for the most part soldiers; they were of little or no importance for cultivating the land or in commerce. Besides the orthodox Mohammedan there were Druses, Nosairis, or Ansarians, Bathenians, or Ismaelians, and Beduins.

Of Jews and Samaritans, Benjamin of Tudela, who was in the Holy Land about 1165, enumerated 2,500 or more in the account of his travels, and it is probable that he was speaking only of the heads of the families. They were employed mainly in dyeing and glass-making.

The Europeans in the Holy Land were styled collectively Franks, but under this designation were included Frenchmen, Normans, Italians, Lothringians, and Provençals, not to mention the other nations which were less numerously represented. In the early decades of the twelfth century, the men from the North,—the Lothringians at Jerusalem, the Normans at Antioch,—were the most numerous, and under their leadership the conquests were made. Later the Provençals and Italians became the dominant party; they were more interested in trade, and did not care to make any conquests which would not be profitable. The Southern nations mixed more readily with the native populations, and, as their offspring, we find a large number of half-breeds, the so-called Pullani.

From this brief enumeration the great diversity of peoples and creeds is evident. This very diversity caused all to become less narrow-minded, more tolerant. Furthermore, when differences arose between the representatives of two nations, the Germans and Frenchmen, for example, each party sought allies on all sides, regardless of race or creed. In this way national differences were becoming constantly less important; a cosmopolitan feeling, if we may be allowed to use a much abused phrase, arose. As is

indicated by the existence of the class of Pullani, the Franks became intimately associated with the native Christians; and we have already spoken of the aid furnished by the Maronites, Armenians, and Turcoples in warfare. But it was not merely with the Christian natives that they were associated; they entered into fully as close an intimacy with the Saracens.

In reading the chronicles, the impression received is that all the natives were despised by the Franks. For the Syrians as a whole, Jacques de Vitry's account is the one usually quoted, although he was writing especially of the Pullani. The quotation of a part of this account will show the origin of many of our ideas relative to the depraved conditions of the inhabitants in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem. He began by speaking of the Pullani:—

“Scarcely one in a thousand could be found who had kept his marriage vow sacredly; for violation of the marriage sacrament they did not consider a deadly sin. They were brought up weakly from their youth, and were given over entirely to the lusts of the flesh. As a rule they never listened to the word of God, but despised it. In addition, I found foreigners who, on account of various and heinous crimes, had fled from their homes as accursed, who without any fear of God, by their shameless conduct and impious example, were ruining the whole city (Jerusalem). Finally, I found one especially vicious and blind class of men who surpassed all the others in corruption, Scribes and Pharisees, who took only milk and wool from their sheep, caring not at all for their souls, but by word and example leading the laity astray; these alone, when others repented and turned to the Lord, withstood His command and everything good, so that the word of the Scriptures was fulfilled: the publicans and harlots shall enter into the Kingdom of God sooner than they! * * *

“* * * Open and secret murders happened almost every day and every night. By night the men strangled their wives when the latter no longer pleased them; while the women, as in ancient times, killed their husbands by poisons and deadly potions in order to be able to marry others. For there were in the city people who sold poison and deadly prescriptions, so that scarcely any one trusted another, and the members of a man's household were his enemies. A man confessed to us that a certain woman kept animals in her house out of whose excrements she prepared such artful potions that, if any one wished to kill his enemy, according to his desire, he found the means of destroying him, so that the enemy might live a year, or

only a month, or if he wished to make haste, death might occur at the end of one day. The city was full of harlots everywhere; for, because they paid higher rents than other people, not merely laymen, but even the clerical rulers rented their dwellings throughout the whole city to harlots. Who could recount the crimes of this second Babylon, in which Christians refused baptism to Saracens, although the latter begged for it with tears and weeping? Those, their masters, (may my soul not come into companionship with such men!) said, 'If they became Christians, we could not torture them as we wish to do.' "

Röhricht rightly characterizes this account as grossly exaggerated; but we have somewhat similar passages from others, especially William of Tyre and the author of "*Itinerarium Peregrinorum*."

It is probable that such accounts are partly true, but greatly exaggerated. It was undoubtedly, in many respects, a degenerate and vicious society; and much of the degeneracy and vice arose from association with the crusaders and the pilgrims. The Western men in their Eastern home, freed from social restraints, subjected to a different climate, in contact with an alien civilization, and ruling over a subject race, degenerated in morals. This has been the result in every such conquest. Furthermore, many of the crusaders were men of bad character who had been obliged to leave their homes, and who had changed their country but not their character. Still it is evident that the authors mentioned are using rhetorical exaggerations. That the society as a whole could not have been as bad as they depicted it, will be shown in the following pages.

The first intercourse between the Christians and the infidels was in battle. This was probably advantageous to their cordial relations later. For the crusaders had left their homes with a strong feeling of contempt for their opponents. They had been taught that the Mohammedans were cowards. The following quotation is indicative of their ideas: "For the Turk never ventures upon close fight; * * * and as he has poisoned arrows, venom, and not valor, inflicts death on the man he strikes. Whatever he effects, then, I attribute to fortune, not to courage,

because he wars by flight and by poison. It is apparent, too, that every race, born in that region, being scorched with the intense heat of the sun, abounds more in reflection than in blood; and, therefore, they avoid coming to close quarters, because they are aware how little blood they possess.”¹ When they met in battle, this feeling of contempt was dispelled. The crusaders realized that they had met with worthy antagonists. This change of attitude is shown clearly in the “*Gesta Francorum*,” which is one of the comparatively few chronicles of the early period written by a layman. The author speaks in the highest terms of the bravery of their foes. “They say that they are Franks by origin and that no man ought naturally to be a soldier except the Franks and themselves. * * * Certainly if they had always stood firm in the faith of Christ, and in the holy Christianity, and had been willing to confess one God in the Trinity * * * no one could find more powerful or braver or more talented warriors than they.” The Moslems, too, admired the valor of their opponents. Nur ed-din declared that “the Franks are the bravest among mortals.” Kamel-ed-din in his history constantly praises the bravery of the Christians. Ousâma at the close of his long life, much of which had been spent in fighting against the crusaders, gives as his opinion that “the Franks are (may Allah curse them!) the most prudent warriors in the world.” And he meant by this the highest possible praise. This recognition of their mutual valor caused the disappearance of much of the prejudice on both sides. Frequently Christians sought Musulmans as allies against other Christians. In 1108, Joscelin of Courtenay obtained aid from the Arabs in his contest with Tancred. Baldwin I. entered into a compact with the Muslim rulers of Damascus and Aleppo. Later such alliances became very frequent. The Moslem princes were at strife among themselves and eagerly sought help from the Christian rulers. The Templars entered into an alliance with the Assassins. When Frederick Barbarossa was preparing to go on

(1) Translation from *William of Malmesbury* in the Bohn Library.

his crusade, he made an ally of the Sultan of Iconium, and the Greek Emperor in his turn allied himself with Saladin. There are many such alliances recorded, and these paved the way for friendly relations in times of peace.

Before leaving the military movements, we may pause to note one minor result. The ruins of fortresses which the Franks constructed bear witness to the rapid progress which was made by the crusaders when they came into contact with the Byzantine and Arab engineers. The Templars especially copied the Oriental castles, and their fortifications are far better constructed than the contemporary ones in the West.

But the intercourse was not wholly, or even generally, of a hostile character. The Franks were brought into constant and friendly relations with the Muslims in the pursuits of peace. All of their lands had to be cultivated by the native farmers, and many of these were Mohammedans. Frequently, the Christian lord was surrounded almost exclusively by the Muslim population. As the latter understood farming much better than the Franks, the crusaders soon learned to depend upon them. Through the commerce the Christians and infidels were brought into close connection. The Genoese, Pisans, Venetians, and others had taken part in the crusade chiefly for the purpose of advancing their trade. All of the Franks were compelled to depend upon the Mohammedans for some of the necessities of life. Syria had enjoyed a very extensive commerce before the crusades, and many of the cities carried on a very considerable caravan trade. Consequently, friendly relations were established, from the very beginning, with the most important Moslem centres of commerce. In 1099, almost as soon as Jerusalem had been conquered, a firm peace was established with Ascalon, which controlled the commerce between Egypt and Syria, and with Damascus, which was important for the overland caravan trade.

The necessity of protection for individuals when traveling also led to much friendly intercourse. It was a common practice for a leader on either side to request a safe conduct from his

adversary for any one who wished to travel either for business or for pleasure. This was seldom violated. Ousâma's autobiography furnishes several instances of such safe conducts and of the ease with which they were granted. Ousâma obtained one from Baldwin III. when he wished his wives and children to travel through the Christian territories. In this instance, Ousâma charged Baldwin with having caused the wrecking of the vessel on which his family had taken passage, in order to obtain the booty; but he stated, also, that Baldwin at once sent on his wives and children in safety and gave to them five hundred pieces of gold for their journey. On another occasion, a Christian knight visited Ousâma's father, simply out of curiosity, in order to see the man who had struck a memorable blow. Tancred, indefatigable warrior as he was, exchanged safe conducts with his foes, and made use of their hospitality for his followers.

The Franks frequently found it necessary to seek the aid of the natives in the arts and industries. Their houses were built after Oriental models. Their palaces and churches were decorated by the Greek and Arab artists. The dyeing and glass-making, as has been already noted, were in the hands of the Jews. In their dress they copied the Oriental forms, because they found them better suited to the country. At their feasts and festivities the Muslim dancing girls were in great demand, in spite of the opposition of the Church.

The Franks preferred the Eastern doctors, Syrian, Jewish, or Mohammedan. The last, especially, were noted for their ability, and were summoned for all important cases which baffled the skill of the Christians. When Amalric I. found that his son, later Baldwin IV., called the Leper, was suffering from some disease which the Christian doctors could not cure, he sent, as a last resort, for the most renowned physicians from Damascus. Passing in this way from one party to the other, the doctors furnished a ready means of communication between the two, and were often employed in confidential missions, sometimes even as diplomatic agents. In addition, Franks and Arabs willingly exchanged medical prescriptions, and each one increased his own

medical and surgical knowledge from the experience of the other. It is needless to add that the Franks were the great gainers by this interchange of ideas. A striking picture of the difference in the methods of the two races is given in the anecdotes of Ousâma. His uncle had been asked to send a doctor to the Franks, who had several urgent cases. The doctor returned in ten days and said : —

“They brought to me a knight with an abscess in his leg, and a woman troubled with fever. I applied to the knight a little cataplasm ; his abscess opened and took a favorable turn. As for the woman, I forbade her to eat certain foods, and I lowered her temperature. I was there when a Frankish doctor arrived, who said, ‘This man can’t cure them !’ Then, addressing the knight, he asked, ‘Which do you prefer, to live with a single leg, or to die with both of your legs ?’ ‘I prefer,’ replied the knight, ‘to live with a single leg.’ ‘Then bring,’ said the doctor, ‘a strong knight with a sharp axe.’ The knight and axe were not slow in coming. I was present. The doctor stretched the leg of the patient on a block of wood, and then said to the knight, ‘Cut off his leg with the axe, detach it with a single blow.’ Under my eyes, the knight gave a violent blow, but it did not cut the leg off. He gave the unfortunate man a second blow, which caused the marrow to flow from the bone, and the knight died immediately.

“As for the woman, the doctor examined her and said, ‘She is a woman with a devil in her head, by which she is possessed. Shave her hair.’ They did so, and she began to eat again, like her compatriots, garlic and mustard. Her fever grew worse. The doctor then said, ‘The devil has gone into her head.’ Seizing a razor he cut into her head in the form of a cross and excoriated the skin in the middle so deeply that the bones were uncovered. * * * Then he rubbed her head with salt. The woman, in her turn, expired immediately. After asking them if my services were still needed, and after receiving a negative answer, I returned, having learned from their medicine matters of which I had previously been ignorant.”

Ousâma, on the other hand, is careful to record a remedy for scrofula which he had learned from a Frank, and which he said was always efficacious.

The superior knowledge of medicine and of the natural sciences possessed by the Arabs caused some of the Franks to distrust them greatly. The crusaders frequently attributed any sudden death to poison. They believed, as in the account

quoted from Jacques de Vitry, that the Arabs had the ability to administer poison that did not affect the system at first, but that would work after a given time, which might be a week, a month, or a year. The death of Godfrey, of Tancred, and of other knights was imputed by some to poison administered by the infidel. Ousâma ridicules a Frank who tried to collect the value of a horse from the Arab of whom he had bought it more than a year before, because the horse had suddenly died. The Frank thought it must have been poisoned before the sale had been made.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

GUSTAVE FLAUBERT¹

EDOUARD ROD, *Paris*.

Gustave Flaubert, who lived at a time when the interest taken in works and ideas still surpassed that felt for the personality of writers, always endeavored to maintain the privacy of his life, and partly succeeded in doing so. He died twenty-one years ago, yet we have scarcely any biography of him; M. Emile Faguet, in his excellent little work, found that sixteen pages were sufficient for his purpose. It would be barely possible to develop each of the divisions he has indicated with the assistance of Flaubert's "Letters," which are assuredly very incomplete, of Maxime du Camp's "Souvenirs," of the "Journal" of the Goncourts, and of a few other sources. Nor do I intend to attempt the task here; I shall be satisfied with pointing out some of the probable results of such an endeavor.

We know little or nothing of the childhood and early years of

Flaubert's Works :—*Madame Bovary*, 1857; *Salammbô*, 1862; *L'Education sentimentale*, 1869; *La Tentation de Saint-Antoine*, 1874; *Le Candidat*, 1874; *Trois Contes*, 1877.

Posthumous Works :—*Bouvard et Pécuchet*; *Par les Champs et par les Grèves* (*On Fields and Shores*); *Lettres à George Sand*, with an introduction by Guy de Maupassant; *Letters*, in four volumes, to the first of which are prefixed the *Souvenirs intimes of Mme. G. Commanville*.

Cf. Emile Faguet, *Flaubert*, in the *Grands Ecrivains Français*, 1899; J. de Gaultier, *le Bovarysme*, paper, 8vo., Paris, 1892; and the studies by Brunetière, Lemaitre, Emile Zola, Montégut, Bourget, etc.

(1) Translated by Professor F. C. de Sumichrast of Harvard University.

Flaubert; we do know the date of his birth, December 12, 1821; we have a few bare facts about his family: his father was a Norman physician, and his mother came from Champagne; we possess a few memoranda, almost surreptitious, and anecdotes of no importance that are to be found either in the "Souvenirs" above mentioned or in the "Letters" of the earlier years. If we were to put together the traits thus obtained, we should have but a sketch of Flaubert,—a tall, athletic-looking young fellow, of independent mind, enamored, with absolute disinterestedness, of literature and art, good as gold, methodically laborious, and caring little for external things. He would have enjoyed a happy youth but for the atrocious nervous disease, the attacks of which he felt early in life. This disease, and especially his resolve not to allow the secret of it to become known, explain in great measure his cloistered life, wholly devoted to work, and apart, up to a certain point, from ordinary existence. He did not wish any one to know that he was a sick man,¹ but scarcely were his eyes closed in death before one of his few confidants, Maxime du Camp, hastened to inform the world of the nature of the malady.

He was twenty-five years old when he met the one woman who played a somewhat important sentimental part in his life, Mme. Lucien Colet. She was very handsome and wrote verse and novels. Flaubert's "Letters" give us but imperfect information concerning their intimacy, which lasted, with stormy interludes, some eight years, from 1856 to 1864, and left behind it but unpleasant memories. In 1872, when they had long been mere strangers to each other, the preface written by Flaubert for the "Dernières Chansons" of his friend Louis Bouilhet, offended Mme. Colet, who sent him an anonymous letter in verse, full of

(1) "I meet Flaubert, who is on his way to claim exemption from military service for his servant; he says to me: 'For myself, I had rather be a soldier than suffer from an infirmity * * * rather, even, than be the one and only person aware of my suffering from it. * * * Yes, I had rather serve for seven years than be conscious that I have one.' " Goncourt, *Journal*, 1866.

invective. Flaubert paid no attention to it. Nor did her death cause him much greater emotion, though it awoke old memories. "You have correctly guessed the full effect produced upon me by the death of the poor Muse," he wrote on this occasion to Mme. Roger des Genettes.¹ "The remembrance of her thus awakened made me go back over my life. But during the past year your friend has become more stoical. I have had to trample upon so many things in order to keep alive! In a word, after spending a whole afternoon in the days long vanished, I *willed* not to think any more of them and set to work again. And so an end to another remembrance!"

It is pretty clear that this was the one sentimental episode in his history. "He was wont to say," Zola tells us, "that he had borne the few liaisons in the course of his life as if they were burdens. * * * He confessed to me that he cared always far more for his male friends, and that his pleasantest remembrances were of the nights he had spent in smoking and chatting with Bouilhet."² George Sand, whom he called "dear master," was but a comrade to him, and if he admired her a little too much, perhaps, it was the single concession he made, in her favor, to the sex.

Apart from this episode, a trip to the East, and the trial he had to stand on account of the publication of "*Madame Bovary*," his biography contains but the story of his labors, that of his books, and, if the reader pleases, the very restricted share he allowed to his literary friendships.

For him labor was a passion, a worship, a priesthood, and a torment. He loved it for its own sake and for the work which it brought forth; in nowise for the positive results—honor, glory, or profit—which might flow from it. He was equally distant from the dilettantism made fashionable by Renan's followers, and from the mere love of success, or the making of a career, introduced into letters in consequence of the growing exigencies of modern

(1) *Letters*, iv., 223.

(2) *Les Romanciers naturalistes*, p. 183.

life. In the exercise of his talent, he sought neither pleasure nor delight; he wrote with the utmost difficulty two or three pages in the course of a week; he lived in "the death clutch of style"; his letters are full of cries of despair drawn from him by efforts that never satisfy him. "The 'Bovary' is not getting along very fast," he writes to Mme. Colet in 1853, "two pages in one week! It is enough, at times, to make me smash my mouth with despair, if I may so express myself."¹ And he writes to George Sand, in 1868, "I have just finished a description of the forest of Fontainebleau which makes me want to hang myself on one of its trees."² And it was ever thus. It is to be noted that he restricts himself to "subjects" that he dislikes; his taste led him in the direction of wild Romanticist outbursts, but he obstinately confined himself to depicting the "bourgeois," whom he held in abomination, because he was determined to repress his preferences for the sake of Art, the absolute and almighty master. It is to be noted, further, that his preparatory work constantly grows. It was Alexander Dumas the younger, if I am not mistaken, who used to say of him, "He cuts down a forest to make a box." He counted no fatigue too great in order to make his "box" perfect. Every one who came in contact with him was impressed by his painful application, which caused him at times to break out into imprecations, and at other times left him patient and resigned. Zola tells us that "when he sat down at his desk, with a page or his first draught, he took his head in his two hands and looked at the page for a long time, as if he had hypnotized it. He let fall his pen, said not a word, remained absorbed in thought, seeking a word that escaped him or a form the turn of which proved elusive. Tourgueneff, who had seen him under these conditions, affirmed that it was pathetic."³

When he had once finished the work that called for such resolute and prolonged labor, he asked nothing of it, looked for no returns

(1) *Letters*, ii., 186.

(2) *Letters to George Sand*, p. 61.

(3) *Les Romanciers naturalistes*, p. 213.

from it, disdained the advice of his more practical friends, and refused to sacrifice a single line to the caprice of the reviews or to the habits of the reading public. Most interesting, in this connection, were his relations with Maxime du Camp and Laurent Pichat, who published "*Madame Bovary*" in the "*Revue de Paris*." Du Camp and Pichat were men of letters of a very ordinary type; they took it for granted that a man writes for the sake of success, and that as one can succeed only through obtaining the favor of the public, it is necessary to seek to win that favor and to make use of the means best fitted for the purpose.

Flaubert tried to explain to them that his view was a different one, but they could not follow him, and demanded the mutilation of the work. They came very near quarreling, and as a matter of fact, Flaubert never fully forgave du Camp the amazing lack of sense the latter displayed. Nor are Flaubert's admirers today far from sharing his resentment; the remarks of Maxime du Camp astound almost as much as M. Pinard's indictment in the trial that followed the publication of the novel.

None of the works that succeeded "*Madame Bovary*" created such a sensation. Yet Gustave Flaubert was hailed as a master by the rising generation of men of letters. He had lost the friends of his youth; he was surrounded by the admiration and respect of new men. During his latter years, he became a sort of patriarch, a centre towards which minds tended that differed widely from one another. His most intimate friends went on a pilgrimage, from time to time, in groups to Croisset, where they found themselves welcomed to his country home in the most cordial and kindly fashion. He received there Daudet, Goncourt, Tourgueneff, Taine, Maupassant, Claudius Popelin, MM. J. M. de Hérédia, Bergerat, Huysmans, Hennique, Alexis Toudouze, and many others. I borrow from Maupassant, one of his most assiduous guests, the description of these reunions:—

"* * * The small drawing-room is full to overflowing. Some of the guests pass into the dining-room.

"Then was the time to see Gustave Flaubert.

"With great gestures, as if he were taking flight, he went from one to the

other, traversing the apartment at a stride, his long dressing-gown ballooning out behind him like the brown sail of a fishing boat, as he abruptly started, full of excitement, of indignation, of burning ardor, of sonorous eloquence, amusing in his bursts of passion, charming in his kindliness, often amazing us by his prodigious erudition served by a marvelous memory, closing a discussion by a luminous, profound remark, traversing the age at one spring in order to bring together two analogous facts, two men of the same race, two lessons of the same sort, making light flash from them as when two stones of the same kind are struck against each other."¹

I have often been told of these Sunday reunions by some of those who frequented them. They seem to have recalled the "Cénacle" of the Romanticists and the Arsenal evenings, but with more kindliness and simplicity. Flaubert was no "pontiff"; he preached no doctrine, upheld no theory, and did not pose as the "Master"; but his ascendancy was none the less strongly felt. So when he died, on May 8, 1880, a great void made itself felt. Once he was gone, the various elements which his kindly authority had held together were speedily scattered. Edmond de Goncourt endeavored to reunite them again in his Auteuil "attic," but it was no longer the same thing, say those who were in a position to make the comparison, and who are unanimous in agreeing that the heroic age was past.

II.

While we are still ignorant of the doubtless uninteresting details of Flaubert's biography, we do know, on the other hand, something of his character and his ideas.² Thanks to his reserve, he did succeed in concealing the material facts of a portion of his life, but he could not conceal his personality. Indeed, it must always be so with famous writers; in spite of the efforts they put forth to remain "objective," they manifest themselves in their works, which are soon further illumined by published extracts from their letters, and the memoirs in which their contemporaries lay bare the confessions they have made.

(1) Notice prefixed to *Letters to George Sand*.

(2) Cf. Emile Faguet, *Flaubert*, pp. 17-41.

Flaubert strikes me as being above all an "artist," in the somewhat restricted meaning in which the word has been taken at periods peculiarly devoted to art. He possesses both the artist's very noble pride and, perhaps unconsciously, the artist's somewhat artless vanity. He belongs to the second generation of Romanticists; his conception of the artist, of his functions, and of his reason for existing, is very nearly that professed by Baudelaire and by Théophile Gautier. Writing from Constantinople to his mother, in 1850, in answer to her projects of marriage for him, he indites the following lines, in which may be found, at one and the same time, the complete programme of his work and the exact definition of his inner self:—

"If one takes part in life, one cannot judge it correctly, for both suffering and joy are too deeply felt. In my view, the artist is a monstrosity, outside the pale of nature, and all the misfortunes which Providence showers upon him are due to his obstinately denying the truth of this axiom; he suffers in consequence and makes others suffer."¹

He frequently recurred to this theme, with variants, insisting upon it in accordance with his outspoken preference, or developing it in the line of his avowed antipathies. He admires Hugo and Chateaubriand, he is carried away when he reads their works, he breaks a lance with his friends in their favor. On the other hand, he detests Musset, Béranger, Augier, Feuillet, Lamartine. He yields to Balzac, whose imperfect style he nevertheless deplors. Above all things, it is the question of form that preoccupies him; in his opinion, a beautifully turned sentence is always sufficient unto itself. He said to Théophile Gautier, one day, "The idea springs from the form."² Gautier seized with delight upon this formula, and transformed it into a programme for himself. Flaubert often returned to that thought.

But this idolater of Art, who professed a hatred of the "bourgeois" and spent years in describing them in all their repulsiveness, was no Bohemian. In his work he was exceed-

(1) *Letters*, ii., p. 19.

(2) *Goncourt, Journal*, 1857.

ingly orderly and methodical; in his way of life often fastidious. When he is not engaged in thundering against the "bourgeois," he proclaims himself one of them.¹ As a matter of fact, he is on his guard against their defects, but he possesses their good qualities. He has all the laboriousness of the ant, though he does not seek to fill his granaries. He cares neither for honors nor for wealth. He would never consent to be a candidate for election to the Academy, though often pressed to do so. He did become a member of the Legion of Honor, but a later appointment having displeased him, he became exceedingly angry, threw his red ribbon into his coffee cup, and never wore it again.²

He was an honest man in everything, and in the strict and delicate sense in which this word was formerly taken. His letters are full of charming traits which prove that he was always careful never to do or say aught that might lower him, in the slightest degree, in his own estimation. He was as sincere towards others as towards himself; it angered him to be suspected of having said behind a man's back things he would not have said to his face. His truthfulness was traversed only by the warmth of his friendship, which at times caused him to contradict his own doctrines. So I find it somewhat difficult to understand how he reconciles his respect for perfect form with his admiration for George Sand; how, so severe with regard to Octave Feuillet's novels, he is indulgent to Feydeau's, and so on. The truth is that though he sincerely desires to remain an artist, fortunately for us, he remains a man. His feelings get in the way of his ideas, and it is this fact that makes him complete and prevents his falling into the mandarin-like notions which so many writers of our times have mistaken for a priesthood. Most interesting, in this respect, are his last letters. He is surrounded by young men who testify the greatest respect for him, who treat him as a master, and who claim to apply his principles. He is touched by their good will as well as by their fine qualities. Therefore he endeavors to

(1) Zola, *Les Romanciers naturalistes*, p. 185.

(2) *Ibid.*, p. 220.

acknowledge their talent, which startles him, and to admire them, although they offend him. "I think," he writes to Maupassant, in 1878, "that no one loves Art better than I do, Art in itself. But where are the men who enjoy and delight in a well turned sentence? This aristocratic voluptuousness has become archæological."¹ Yet, at the same time, he tries hard to enjoy "The Sin of Father Mouret," to understand "Fille Elisa," and to think well of "A Page of Love." The most astonishing thing is that he succeeds in admiring "Nana": "If I were to attempt to note down all its rare and strong features, I should have to write a commentary on every page. The characters are wonderful in their truthfulness! Essentially exact expressions ("mots 'nature'") abound, and the closing remark of Nana is worthy of Michael Angelo!"²

It is to be noticed that in whatever way Flaubert is looked at, one always comes ultimately upon literary judgments, literary opinions, in a word, literature. The reason is that he was thus constituted and that all his powers lay in this direction. When we have said of him that he was the very type of loyalty, an excellent, most faithful, most reliable friend, that he aimed high and was absolutely disinterested, that he was far kinder than his vocal outbursts would have led one to believe at the outset; when we have noted his most characteristic preferences and have pointed out some of his contradictions, when we have followed him in his relentless work, in his letters to his family, to the women he loved, or to his friends,—we find ourselves still in that literary domain in which he deliberately determined to abide. We are very slightly informed as to his tastes, habits, ideas in the other phases of his existence, though we perceive very clearly that but little of any special moment ever happened to him. If he may be believed, he was on the point, one day, of killing Mme. Colet, at the time when his love for her was still in its stormy phase. But he had a sort of "hallucination of his trial," and he

(1) *Letters*, iv., p. 292.

(2) *Ibid.*, p. 365.

exclaimed: "Yes, indeed, I felt the seat in the dock creaking under me."¹ He was satisfied with having intended to slay her, and it would be interesting to know how large was the share of literature in his wrath.

From that moment he put love aside in order to have more time for his books; the war itself scarcely interrupted his labors; he began "The Temptation of Saint Anthony" as the first shots were being fired;² he became, without, however, quite giving up his work on the book, a lieutenant in a company of the National Guard; but he returned to his manuscript as soon as possible. So, if he does take note of historical events, he does not care to mingle in them. There are many authors whose deeds interest us as much as their writings; we greatly enjoy rummaging in the concealed portions of their lives, in idling through the recesses of their minds, in seeking the harmony or the discord between their acts, their works, and their feelings. This is the case, for instance, with Goethe, Chateaubriand, Byron, Rousseau,—every one of whom is more romantic than the heroes of his works, while their personal adventures are far more piquant than those of Werther, Lara, Saint-Preux, or the Last of the Abencerrages. But Flaubert is utterly different: his personality is quickly disposed of and there remains nothing before us but his books. Our curiosity is disappointed, but what a triumph it is for him! He has attained the end he desired! For the matter of that, I cannot myself conceive of a greater glory for a writer than living in after years in his work alone. It consecrates him and places him outside the bounds of discussion. The great men whose names I quoted a moment ago are tossed hither and thither at the caprice of admiring or hostile critics at every find of a scrap of paper that concerns them: but no one discusses Flaubert, no one rummages in his drawers; his works are re-read, and that is the end of it. With every re-reading, one perceives more clearly that there is no story in his life, that his work also is of no one

(1) Goncourt, *Journal*, 1862.

(2) *Letters*, iv., pp. 27, 38, 48.

year, that it is of yesterday and today and tomorrow. That is what he desired; he has obtained what he aimed at, he has realized his own ideal of glory. Are there many writers, many artists of whom as much may be said?

III.

Though it has been stated, over and over again, it must be repeated nevertheless that his work is one half that of a Romanticist and one half that of a Realist; for these two tendencies were united in Flaubert, without mingling one with the other, and without his becoming attached to the one rather than to the other, at any period of his evolution. It is well known that Goethe was a Classicist during his first years of study at Leipzig, that he then became, under the influence of Herder, a Romanticist, and that he again became a Classicist after his trip to Italy. Flaubert was a Romanticist and a Realist simultaneously; while busy writing "*Madame Bovary*" he was thinking of "*The Temptation of Saint Anthony*," and when the "*Revue de Paris*" began to publish his first novel, he wrote to Laurent Pichat:—

"Do you suppose that the ignoble reality, the depicting of which sickens you, has not a precisely similar effect upon me? If you knew me better, you would be aware that I abhor ordinary life. Personally, I have always kept as far away from it as I have been able to do; but æsthetically, I wished to dig into it thoroughly for this once, but only for this once. That is why I have gone about it in heroic fashion, which means in minute fashion, accepting every part of it, stating everything, depicting everything,—which is an ambitious expression."¹

It is impossible to doubt that Flaubert was impregnated with Romanticism. Born at the moment when the movement first made itself felt, he grew up in the worship of the poets who were conquering France at the time he was learning to read. "How we hated all platitudes!" he exclaims in his preface to Louis Bouilhet's "*Dernières Chansons*," in which he recalls his school

(1) *Letters*, ii., p. 59.

life. "What flights towards grandeur we indulged in! How we respected the masters and admired Victor Hugo!"¹ Old fragments, dated at this time, and since found among his papers, such as "The Song of Death," and "Smarh," are, in fact, thoroughly Romanticist; the characters in them are drawn from the usual gallery (Satan, Death, Nero, etc.), the symbolism is extremely general, the fancy is resolutely disorderly, and the tone is in harmony with it. His favorite work, "The Temptation of Saint Anthony," first suggested to him by a picture by Breughel, goes back to 1845,² though it was not published before 1874. That strange book, in which he endeavored to concentrate all his belief and all his knowledge, still belongs to Romanticism, if not as far as the style is concerned, at least in its conception. "Salammbô" is also Romanticist, as every historical novel must necessarily be, and in spite of the well-nigh desperate striving after accuracy in details which is evident throughout the work. Finally, the "Three Tales," "The Legend of Saint Julian Hospitaller," and "Herodias" are also Romanticist. Now these are the works which Flaubert wrote for his own delectation, those in which he delighted in handling picturesque and brilliant elements, which he loved for their coloring, and because they removed him from modern reality and bore him away to worlds where his imagination had free play. He undoubtedly took greater pleasure in the description of the banquet of the Carthaginian mercenaries than in that of the county fair; he prefers Mâthô to Jacques Arnoux, the Queen of Sheba to the Vatnaz woman, and perhaps African landscapes to those of his native Normandy. Yet his admirers, even the most determined, would find it somewhat difficult to agree with his conclusions. Assuredly "The Temptation of Saint Anthony" is a suggestive book in which one comes across very great beauties; "Salammbô" is the most perfect of historical novels; "Herodias" seduces one like a gem-studded painting by Gustave Moreau; "Saint Julian Hospitaller"

(1) *Par les Champs et par les Grèves*, p. 8.

(2) Letter to Mlle. Leroyer de Chantepie, June 5, 1872.

is a model of color and rendering, but let us suppose that Flaubert had written no other works than these—in that case he would not be, as he is, an active influence and a living mind. The fault of Romanticism was the admission of a certain element of “gimcrackery,” for which it is deserving of blame; and while Flaubert’s Romanticism is freer from this than that of any other author, he could not quite get rid of it altogether, and that is his weak point. A certain popularity even now enjoyed by “Salammbô” is due to M. Reyer having turned it into an opera; otherwise it would not be read any more than is Théophile Gautier’s “Romance of a Mummy,” and very much less than Victor Hugo’s “Notre-Dame de Paris” or Dumas’ “Three Musketeers.” It is just because there is nothing durable, nothing eternal, save simple truth, that Flaubert’s realism still survives.

There was nothing whatever of the “doctrinaire” about him; he was simply, as M. Faguet has so admirably expressed it, honest, and even “heroically honest.”¹ But it never occurred to Flaubert to codify his probity. Amusing, indeed, is his amazement when he beholds nascent Naturalism claiming to spring from him. “My friend Zola,” he writes in 1878, “wants to found a school. He is intoxicated with his success, for true it is that good fortune is less easily borne than evil fortune. Zola’s self-assurance in matters of criticism is due to his astounding ignorance.”² And a little later, to Maupassant: “Yes, I have read Zola’s pamphlet. It is appalling. When he has defined Naturalism for me, I may perhaps turn Naturalist, but until he does, I fail to understand. And to think that Hennique lectured, at the Capucines, on Naturalism! Oh! Oh! Heavens! Heavens!”³ Meanwhile Zola goes on writing definitions and manifestoes; young writers group themselves around him; they dream of glorious literary frays as in the days of “Hernani”; and Flaubert finds himself, whether he will or not, classified among “Naturalistic

(1) *Gustave Flaubert*, p. 65.

(2) *Letters*, iii., p. 292.

(3) *Ibid.*, p. 312.

novelists,"—he who was a deep-dyed Romanticist. He would protest in vain; those who surround him are right, and the label placed upon his name, in spite of him, is accurate, for Naturalism, as any one may plainly see, flows from Realism. Now Flaubert is unmistakably a Realist, since he wrote "*Madame Bovary*," "*A Sentimental Education*," and "*Simple Hearted*," and was busy at that very moment with "*Bouvard and Pécuchet*." Unmistakably a Realist, since these works, which he wrote with curses upon his models, with complaints and roarings, are his very best, represent his most personal contribution to literature, and establish his reputation.

He did not expend more effort or more talent on these than on his other works, but it may be that fiction can give out all it contains only on the condition that the subjects and the models shall be selected from the immediate surroundings of the writer, and in the circle in which his power of direct observation may be turned to account. In a novel, especially, what is most likely to prove of durable interest, is not a piece of patient research which, after all, can result in nothing more than an incomplete and doubtful restoration, but a view of society or of a bit of the world which has appeared to the writer without an intermediary, and which he renders with the greatest possible sincerity. Then his work becomes doubly interesting, from the point of view of art and history, for it is at once documentary evidence at first hand of the things seen and the wholly spontaneous manifestation of a personality. We are much more sure that *Emma* is true than that *Salammbô* is, and *M. Homais* belongs much more completely to Flaubert than does *Spendius*, the slave. This is so true that there have been scholars who have challenged the accuracy of Flaubert's Carthaginian "documentation," while no one dreams of questioning the absolute accuracy of his Norman customs and bills of fare. Thus, popular wisdom, which is very frequently right in the choices it makes, has taken upon itself to pronounce final judgment on his works. In its eyes Flaubert is the author of "*Madame Bovary*," and that he will remain for posterity, in spite of his own preferences.

Indeed, it is impossible to re-read Flaubert without ratifying that selection. Out of the small number of his books, as out of the prodigious mass of novels produced in our days, "Madame Bovary" stands out with incomparable brilliancy. "Simple Hearted," that humble story of a servant, the subject of which might have been borrowed from a report on the award of prizes for virtuous actions, may be a purer and rarer gem; "A Sentimental Education," with its numerous varied characters, all of them so thoroughly representative, may present a fuller picture of French life during a determinate and interesting period; and it may be that there is still deeper observation concealed under the bitter humor of "Bouvard and Pécuchet"; but even if all this be granted, it is "Madame Bovary" that remains the masterpiece. No other French novel has so closely reproduced life; no other has ever included, in so complete and final a manner, the variety of incidents, the growth of souls, the changes of character which occur, in the course of a few years, in persons whom fate has united or drawn near to one another. There is no invention or fiction in the action itself; it is not forcibly drawn aside from its natural course by an eager or artistic hand replacing the logic of events. It might be summed up in a few words, for it tells in simple fashion the evil done in a family by a romantic disposition, adultery, and weakness of character. The events are drawn from the daily plodding of a provincial existence, the minutest details of which are described; the characters themselves belong to the most ordinary class: they are peasants, a country physician, a druggist, an innkeeper, a lawyer's clerk, a country gentleman, and so on; nothing happens to them but what may happen to any individual in their station. And all this taken together constitutes a masterpiece, due wholly to the strict conscientiousness of the creator, who seeks no other effects than those due to truthfulness. Who knows whether his congenital Romanticism did not stand him in good stead in this? It may be that it is because he felt the need of holding it in check that he was enabled to avoid falling into conventionality and compromising with untruth.

Here, it will be seen, a problem is presented with which

many have wrestled. How is it that an artist so passionately fond of art succeeded in reproducing life with such wonderful accuracy? or, in other words, "What was the innate force that compelled this lover of form to write such books as the 'Madame Bovary,' 'A Sentimental Education,' and 'Bouvard and Pécuchet,' which overflow with the fulness of human truth?"¹ M. Jules de Gaultier, having thus stated the question, thinks he has answered it when he declares that "his passion for work, the need of writing," sufficed for it; and, in further developing his thought, he says: "Whether Flaubert willed it or not, he was endowed with a temperament of incredible sensibility and receptivity; forms and colors, as they flashed across his gaze, imprinted upon his brain ineffaceable images. Then the whole moral world besieges him; the opinions, the ideas, the feelings, the sensations, the modes of thought of the people he has jostled against in the crowd, invade his soul, clash in his brain with brusque and unexpected contact. * * * It is the devouring need of being a stylist that made him take up the pen * * * so that the love of the artist for the technical and purely formal part of his work is a guarantee of the truth of the relation that exists between the seer and the reality."

This explanation, sound as it is, is yet insufficient; for others, before Flaubert's time, were devoured by the passion for style, yet it revealed nothing to them beyond technical skill and effects like those produced by good pianists. After Flaubert, the numbers of maniacal lovers of art increased still more; many of them have boasted, and in all sincerity, it may be, of having broken the bonds that connect art and life, of having left humanity to one side and of having shut themselves up, so that their fellow men should find them inaccessible, in "an ivory tower" which they fitted up with their disdains. There are others who have proclaimed themselves impassible; others indifferent; some, indeed, have boasted of hating or despising mankind, of loving isolation, of abhorring success and popularity. But every one of them professed, on the other hand, respect for form, love of rhetoric,

(1) J. de Gaultier, *Le Bovarysme*, pp. 8-10.

worship of the color of words and the harmony of sentences, so that the "passion for style" sometimes seems to be one of the intellectual diseases that mark the close of the nineteenth century.

How was it, then, that Flaubert, who was impregnated to the very marrow with the "passion for style," did not fall a victim to it? Simply, I believe, because, with his clear, upright mind, he never confounded art and artifice. It was the love of truth, far more than the need of writing, that saved him from the refinements in which other writers lost themselves. Unlike his contemporaries, the epigoni of Romanticism, he understood that true art does not admit of any deception, that words must have a meaning if they are to have any real beauty, that the very fountain head of all rhetoric is a thought, since rhetoric by itself is but the cap and bells of the jester. It may be that it was the certainty of his taste that preserved him from errors of taste; this much, at least, do the contradictions between his works and his correspondence seem to establish. At all events, he did not yield to the temptation that certainly assailed him to indulge in art for art's sake, and to practice style for style's sake. It is very easy to ascertain this for one's self. It is sufficient to take, almost at random, a description, a sentence, a fragment from "*Madame Bovary*" or "*A Sentimental Education*," and to calculate all it contains of what had till then been unexpressed, or, in other words, to sum up the ideas, images, sensations, observations, and comparisons which form its invisible armature. Pray read this:—

"Emma was becoming wilful and capricious. She would order special dishes for herself, and then would not touch them. One day she would drink nothing but fresh milk; the next she would swallow cups of tea by the dozen. Often she obstinately refused to go out; then she suffocated, opened the windows, and put on a light dress. After having scolded her maid harshly, she would make presents to her or send her to visit her neighbors, just as she would occasionally throw the change in her purse to the poor, although she was by no means tender-hearted, nor easily accessible to the feelings of others, as is the case with most country-born people, whose souls ever retain something of the callosity of the paternal hands."¹

(1) *Madame Bovary*, p. 72.

Every one can note for himself what there is in these few lines, ascertain what the artist has eliminated, guess at what remains in the invisible parts. No doubt the sentence in itself is a fine one, but its beauty, rich, complete, and real, is due at least as much to the framework as to the vestment; it is a solid beauty, the essential elements of which are drawn neither from grammar nor from the vocabulary. Now, in Romanticist works, the method is wholly different: the description abounds in detail, explanations are multiplied, the author feels the need of saying all he knows, and all we need to know, in order that we may understand; but in vain does he add uncommon or brilliant words and impart a cadence to cleverly turned phrases—the splendid vestment hangs upon an emaciated body, and there is no relation between the purpose of his art and his effort. Let the reader judge for himself:—

“* * * He pulled off his tiara, the mark of his rank,—a tiara with eight mystic rows, with an emerald shell in the centre,—and taking it in both hands, he hurled it to the ground with all his might. The golden circlets rebounded as they broke, and the pearls rattled on the stone pavement. Then was seen on his white forehead a long cicatrice that wriggled like a serpent between his eyebrows. He trembled in every limb. He ascended the lateral steps leading to the top of the altar, and stepped upon it! This meant that he devoted himself to the god and offered himself as a sacrifice. The waving folds of his mantle made the flames of the candelabrum quiver below his sandals, while the fine dust, stirred by his steps, formed a cloud around him up to his waist * * *.”¹

Undoubtedly the words sparkle more and the sentences are more majestic in their development; but, instead of the massive gold of the other extract, we have here plate that grows thinner as it is drawn the more. In this case Flaubert is artistic merely; in the former, he is truthful. Was he not abundantly right, therefore, for his own sake, for ours, for the sake of his own reputation, for the sake of the lesson he was to teach us, in forcing himself to note, to grasp, to reproduce that reality which filled him with disgust? How very much less great he would be had

(1) *Salammbô*, p. 136.

he yielded to the suggestions of his fancy! Had he done so, he would already be out of date, instead of having preserved the bloom of his talent and instead of stirring us as though he were one of our own contemporaries. Yes, I am willing to grant that the execution of *Mâthô* is a fine piece of work, but how much finer is the description of the last days of Charles Bovary!

For it is as a Realist, it is as a Realist only, that Gustave Flaubert had, and has still, so much influence upon our literature. Balzac, his great predecessor, never succeeded in acquiring that beauty of expression which he conceived, dreamt of, and sought after; and at a time when Champfleury was about the only writer who upheld Realistic theories, Flaubert was the first in his age to demonstrate practically that a man may observe accurately and write well, that all the secrets of style are not the apanage of foreign countries exclusively, and that fancy has not a monopoly of art. "His example," says M. Bourget at the close of his study of Flaubert, in his "*Essays in Contemporary Psychology*," "will prove to have postponed for many years the triumph of the barbarism which today threatens to invade the French tongue. It will be seen that he has impressed on writers a sense of carefulness in style which will not speedily disappear, and men of letters owe him a debt of undying gratitude for having postponed, with all his power, the degeneration of the art of French prose, our splendid inheritance from the great Roman civilization."

Flaubert has done yet more, and in his work is contained another lesson which it behooves us yet more to mark and inwardly digest, and that novelists will find it more difficult to apply: he has shown that absolute sincerity in observation is the true secret of art, its one law, and its ultimate doctrine. Now, in our existing state of culture, and with our modern intellectual habits, there is nothing so difficult of attainment as sincerity. We are full of prejudices that intervene between life and ourselves, like so many cut or colored glasses that deform our vision as we look through them. We scarcely ever observe without having first determined the manner of our observation; at times, even, without having first settled upon the results we are to obtain. We

color with the tints of our inner self the sights that unfold before us; according as we happen to be optimists or pessimists, the world appears to us rosy or sombre, and we frequently bestow upon it, even special shades of our own. Thus it was that, during a prolonged period, save for some noble and evident exceptions, the quarrel between the Idealists and the Realists resolved itself into a battle between two set opinions, each as false and as blamable as the other; the former perverting facts for the sake of presenting people and things in a pleasant and worldly light, the latter insisting on blackening evil and rendering ugliness still more hideous. Each school claimed to possess the truth, but neither took the trouble to seek for it. Conclusions were reached before the study was undertaken, and writers thought, judged, painted, according to the label they bore. Vastly different is Flaubert's method; it is so free, so genuine, so persevering, that it has led him, in most cases, to the attainment of an end quite the reverse of that which he apparently sought. Setting out toward a certain point, he reached a different one, without even being aware of it, so sure was he of being on the right road. Thus it is that having begun with a hatred for reality, contempt for the "bourgeois," the desire to exhibit the hideousness of the world as it actually is, and to inspire disgust for people as they actually are, he became attached, little by little, to his characters, as he discovered in them unexpected bright places, a kindliness that he had not suspected, and even touching weaknesses. If we are to believe him, he hated or despised nearly all of them at the outset,—the Bovarys, the Arnoux, the Moreaus, the Bouvards, and the Pécuchets. But does he make us hate them? Does he inspire us with contempt for them? By no means. We see quite plainly that Emma Bovary is not wholly perverse, and that, besides, she is too unhappy; that Charles, her husband, though a bit of a fool, is a worthy fellow; that Frederic Moreau was young and enthusiastic once, though he did not know how to turn youth and enthusiasm to account; that even Bouvard and Pécuchet rise much above their initial grotesqueness through their desire to learn, their patience, and their willingness. As he thus

approaches truth, the writer throws off his set convictions, his unjust hatreds, his violent wrath, and instead of presenting us with the picture he had ordered from himself, he gives us another. And we are far from being the losers, for instead of the lesson in contempt he had promised us, we have a lesson in humanity. We see clearly that men, when observed with singleness and disinterestedness, are in nowise like the set reproductions turned out by writers with a system. We learn that they are never either wholly ridiculous or even wholly bad; we note in them germs that make us pity them in spite of their faults and their mistakes; above all, we feel that we ourselves are made out of the same clay, and the consciousness of solidarity thrills us. This is not what Flaubert intended to teach, when, at the age of eighteen, he made his first attempts at writing, in which we read these words, "Life is a biscuit stained with wine; an orgy in which every man gets drunk, sings, and is sick; it is a broken glass, a barrel of bitter wine, and the man that stirs it up too violently often finds much dregs and mud in it."¹ But what he did find at the bottom of this barrel that holds so many diverse things, was truth.

So,—by way of summing up his contribution,—we owe to him a feeling for form applied to descriptions of real life, a taste for disinterested truth freed from set and preconceived opinions, and mayhap, also, a certain esteem for our condition as men, since the analysis of grotesque or average natures has not lowered them. Is not this sufficient to justify the conclusion that his best books are, also, good books? I certainly do not mean that they ought to be considered as suitable treatises on education for the young, whom it is important to train in the way of self-government, but I do consider them as excellent works for perusal by mature men, who must learn to esteem truth above all things, to despise preconceived, set opinions, to understand their fellow men, and to judge life.

(1) *Par les Champs et par les Grèves*, p. 293.

CHRISTIAN AND INFIDEL IN THE HOLY LAND

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In their amusements Christians and infidels mingled very readily. During the truces, the two frequently engaged in jousts and proved one another's skill in horsemanship, in the use of the lance, in the wielding of the sword, and in the hurling of the spear. All, even the knights of the religious orders, entered with zest into these friendly rivalries. Both Christian and infidel were extremely fond of hunting and falconry. A long section in the Assizes is devoted to the laws concerning the latter subject. Ousâma, in his autobiography, devoted many pages to accounts of hunting experiences and to the art of falconry. The crusading leaders took their hunting dogs and falcons with them as a matter of course when they set out on the holy war. As the close proximity of the enemy exposed both parties to constant attack, hunting agreements were made by which each might hunt in security on disputed territory. Gifts of dogs and hawks were interchanged, and friendships were sometimes formed because of the mutual interest in breeding hunting animals.

Children on either side were often given as hostages and thus obtained a knowledge of both civilizations. Sometimes they were sent to the castle of a noble who professed the opposite faith, simply to be educated, just as the sons of knights in the West were sent to serve as pages. Ousâma told of such an offer made to him by one of his Christian friends, who said :

"Oh, my brother! I am going home and I should like, with your consent, to take your son with me (the boy was then fourteen years old). He will see our knights, he will then learn wisdom and chivalry. When he comes back, he will be an intelligent man." Ousâma was much hurt at the implied slur upon his own countrymen, but courteously veiled his resentment, and alleged as a reason for his refusal, that the boy's grandmother was too fond of him to part with him. The Frank then desisted from his request, saying that he had no desire to cause sorrow to the grandmother.

As shown by the letter of Fulk of Chartres, quoted later, intermarriages between the members of the two religious faiths were not unknown. In addition, Christian women taken as slaves by the Muslims frequently became the mothers of future warriors, who were generally well disposed towards the Christians. The Franks, with natural egotism, thought that Nur ed-din derived his ability and valor from a Christian mother. Many romantic tales concerning the fortunes of Christian maidens and their children were current in the crusading States, and were interwoven into the popular songs of the day.

Another means of bringing about intercommunication between Christian and infidel was the possession of common places of worship. Jerusalem, as is well known, was a holy city to both. The Muslims made pilgrimages to the so-called Temple, which they believed to be the place from which Mohammed had started on his famous night-journey. They had learned from their Christian neighbors to honor certain images. One statue of the Virgin in a small village near Damascus was revered by both Moslem and Christian, who visited it in order to be healed of their diseases. In Egypt the fig-tree which had offered its fruit to the Virgin, and the spring in which she had washed the clothes of the infant Jesus were honored by the followers of both religions.

These associations and the points of similarity between the two religions caused many a debate. As the Mohammedans were often more learned and better skilled in dialectics than their Christian opponents, the latter sometimes found themselves

silenced, if not convinced. Not infrequently Christians became renegades and passed over to the Moslem faith, especially in times of disaster and danger, when it seemed as if Islam had proved itself the superior and, consequently, the true religion. Less frequently the reverse happened. But after the victory at Ascalon, in 1099, some of the Mohammedans adopted the faith of the conquerors, and there were converts on many other occasions. At the siege of Acre, in the third crusade, when the inhabitants feared that the city might be taken at any moment, many begged for baptism. The author of the "Itinerarium" states that he feared that it was terror, not divine grace, which led to this change of heart, but concludes charitably that the ways of salvation are many.

In order to understand the attitude of the crusaders towards the Mohammedans who lived under their rule, it is necessary to consider their feelings towards the natives in general. For they made little real distinction between heretical Christians, such as the Syrians, Armenians, and Greeks, and the non-Christian population. Leading members of the clergy, like William of Tyre, regarded the Syrians with an extreme feeling of contempt, accused them of an entire lack of morality and of being effeminate and weak. The author of the "*Tractatus de locis Terrae Sanctae*" stated that they were useless as soldiers. The injustice of this last statement is evident, when we consider that one portion of them, the Maronites, were employed constantly as most useful allies in the crusading armies. These, and similar accusations, are due to their abhorrence of heresy. This was the great crime in the eyes of the Churchmen, and men guilty of it might be justly suspected and accused, they thought, of any lesser crimes. As most of the chronicles were written by the members of the clergy, their general tone of contempt towards the natives can be easily understood.

But in the laws we find the Syrians, in particular, regarded differently. Of all the indigenous peoples they were the ones best treated and most highly regarded by the legislators. It was important to the Franks to win the favor of a class of inhabitants

who were devoted to agriculture and commerce, and who were very numerous. According to the few statistics given by William of Tyre and Raymond of Agiles, there were 100,000 Syrians in Lebanon and the district about Tripolis alone. From the history of Jerusalem proper a few examples will serve as illustrations. Godfrey was renowned for governing equally well Syrians, Greeks, and Franks. Baldwin I. summoned native Christians to repopulate Jerusalem, and granted important commercial privileges in the city to Syrians, Armenians, Greeks, and even Saracens. The Syrians were especially favored by the Franks at all times. They were protected in the ownership of property, they were admitted to all the rights which the citizens possessed, they were allowed to maintain their own courts, and in the Frankish courts they were allowed to testify against the Franks.

This same regard for the feelings of the natives is shown very clearly in the coins struck by the Christian princes. Baldwin I. at Edessa, that is, in 1099 or 1100, coined money representing himself with a cross in his right hand and a Greek emblem, "Baldwin, servant of the cross." All of the Frankish rulers in the North used Greek legends. This was a device to make their money circulate more readily among the natives, who were accustomed to use the Greek language. Tancred went one step farther when he was prince of Antioch. He not only used a Greek legend, but was represented as wearing a turban. One of his coins is very interesting. On one side Christ is represented with a nimbus, on the reverse the legend in Greek is "the Grand Emir Tancred." In the Kingdom of Jerusalem the Venetians soon obtained the privilege of minting the money, on condition of paying a tax of fifteen per cent to the King. The coins which they struck were the so-called "besans saracénats," that is, the Saracenic besants. These had Arabic inscriptions, usually a text from the Koran, and were an almost exact imitation of the common Arabic coins. In fact, in all the European collections of coins they were for a long time classed as Mohammedan coins. It was formerly one of the great problems in numismatics to explain the non-existence of any coins of the Latin Kingdom

of Jerusalem. Many coins struck by Christians in the Holy Land are still erroneously supposed to be Arab coins. In the thirteenth century, some Christians were wounded in their conscience by the minting of such coins with the Muslim religious texts. Pope Innocent IV. forbade it under penalty of excommunication. Saint Louis forced a modification, so that a Christian legend replaced the Muslim text, and a minute cross was inserted in an inconspicuous place. But the Arab letters were still retained for the legend, in order not to shock the feelings of the natives with whom they wished to carry on commerce.

It is also very interesting to note that some of the Mohammedan rulers adopted a similar device in order to further trade with the Christians. "On coins of the Urtukis, for example, a petty dynasty of some crusading fame that ruled a few fortresses in Mesopotamia, we meet with not only the figures of Byzantine Emperors, but those of Christ and the Virgin, with mangled inscriptions of Christian import. Figures of a similar character also appear on the coinage of the Ayyubis (Saladin's Kurdish house), and that of the Beny Zengy of Môsul and Syria, together with the earliest known representation of the two-headed eagle, which has since obtained high favor in Europe."

The agricultural laborers were well treated. As lords of the land the Franks seldom dispossessed the native farmers. They needed their services and allowed them to remain, using them very much as they had been in the habit of treating the villains on their former estates in the West. Undoubtedly, in the beginning there was oppression and cruelty, but, as time passed, the conditions of the Mohammedans improved. Ibn Djobair, who traveled through Syria, in 1184, recognized that his fellow Muslims were well treated by the Franks: —

"Between Telnin (Toron) and Tyre we saw many villages, wholly inhabited by Mussulmans who live in great comfort under the Franks. The terms which are imposed upon them are the surrender of half the crop, at the time of the harvest, and the payment of a poll-tax of one 'dinar' and five 'kirats.' The Franks demand nothing more except a light tax upon

the fruits; but the Mussulmans are masters of their dwellings and govern themselves as they wish. This is the case in all the territory occupied by the Franks upon the littoral of Syria, that is, of all the villages inhabited by the Mussulmans. The hearts of most Mussulmans are filled with the temptations of settling there, when they see the condition of their brethren in the districts governed by the Mussulmans, because the state of the latter is the reverse of comfortable.

“One of the misfortunes which afflict Mussulmans is that they have always reason for complaint, under their own government, of the injustice of their chiefs, and that they have cause only to praise the conduct of the Franks, and the justice on which one can always depend.”

Undoubtedly, the Muslims were more contented, too, because the Franks sometimes employed Muslim superintendents. This same Arab traveler and William, Archbishop of Tyre, both record the fact that the herds of the Franks and of the Muslims were pastured in the same places, and that no wrong was done by either party.

The merchants were well treated in the Christian cities, the customs duties, and other taxes were not heavy; every facility was offered them. There were special quarters where they and their wares were in perfect safety; in the custom-houses they found clerks who spoke Arabic. Even in time of warfare, the merchants of either religion went and came between the hostile armies with comparative security. But because of the attempts to conquer Egypt, in the second half of the twelfth century, one of their most important sources of commerce was closed to them. From the lament of William of Tyre we obtain a glimpse of the importance of the trade and of the way in which he regarded the situation. “Boundless greed,” he complains, “has forced us violently out of the most enjoyable comfort and into a troubled and dangerous position! The treasures of Egypt and all its boundless wealth were at our service, our kingdom was secure on that side, and from the West we had no one to fear. When we wished to traverse the seas, no danger threatened us; our men could without fear and under good conditions carry on their trade with Egypt; and the Egyptians brought to us foreign riches and wholly unknown wares. Their coming always brought

to us advantages and honor. In addition, the immeasurable tribute, which they paid yearly, increased both the royal treasury and also the property of individuals. But now all has turned out to our loss; the position is different and our joy has changed into grief. Wherever I turn, danger threatens us on all sides. We can no longer cross the sea in safety, every neighboring land about us belongs to the enemy, and the kingdoms which bound ours are preparing for our destruction."

The travelers among the Mohammedans had to pay what the Arabs considered a very moderate toll on entering the Christian territories. But this was not levied upon merchants, because they paid on their wares. In the period just before the capture of Jerusalem, in 1187, the most important merchant in Syria was an Arab who had his agents in all of the Christian cities. Almost all of the great industries remained in the hands of the Syrians or Jews, while the Mediterranean commerce was in the hands of the Italians and Provençals. This again caused very intimate relations between the Christians, infidels, and Jews. How close the relations were and how early they were formed is shown by the enthusiastic words of Fulk of Chartres, who took part in this first crusade, and afterwards became a native of the Holy Land. "We men of the West have become Orientals. He who was a Roman or a Frank is now a Galilean or Palestinian. He who was from Rheims or Chartres is now a Tyrian or Antiochian. We have already forgotten the places of our birth; to most they are either unknown or unheeded. Some possess already their own houses and servants as if they had inherited them from ancestors; others have already married, and not, indeed, a woman of their own country, but a Syrian or an Armenian, sometimes even a baptized Saracen." Continuing, he says that they had acquired property so that the poor man had grown wealthy and the landless knight had become the lord of a city. The different languages were used in common by invaders and natives, and each trusted the other. He who had been a foreigner was now a native. Daily their relatives and parents were deserting all their former possessions and were

following them to the Holy Land. Why should any one who had met with such good fortune in the East return to the West? God wished to make them all wealthy.

An equal toleration was shown in the matters of religion. In the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, the Greek priests, although they were regarded as heretics, were allowed to officiate in the services with the Latin priests. The biblical lessons were read and explained first in Latin and then in Greek. In the Norman principality of Antioch a similar policy was followed. The Greek patriarch was allowed to retain his position, and only after his death was a Latin patriarch elected. A Jacobite patriarch, although he was a heretic, was ordained by the Latin bishops. Throughout the possessions of the Franks, the Mohammedans were allowed to have mosques in Christian cities and to worship publicly.

From another source, some of the Syrians and men of other nations, especially the Jews, gained great advantage. Each Italian colony of merchants in the Frankish cities formed a Commune whose territory and members were inviolable and independent. Each administered its own affairs and used its own laws. Because of the advantages which could be gained by the employment of the natives, the consuls, who were the heads of the Communes, admitted some of them to a participation in its privileges. In this way they escaped much of the taxation and were judged by their own laws.

That the rule of the Franks, when they were firmly established, was, on the whole, just and beneficial, is attested by the Mohammedan writers. And their statements are the more worthy of credence because they testified unwillingly. In one passage they said, "May Allah curse them!"—in another they related the justice of the Franks. Ousâma told of the decision of a lawsuit by the Christians in his favor, and against their own countrymen. His autobiography is rich in examples of the friendly relations which existed between Christian and infidel, and of the way in which the two regarded each other. Ibn Djobair also praised the justice and convenience with which all

matters pertaining to commerce were administered in the Christian seaports.

The Armenians, too, lend their testimony to the excellence of the Frankish rule. When Edessa, after having been in the power of the Franks for half a century, was conquered by the Mussulmans, the lamentations of the Armenians were sincere and heartfelt. When Jerusalem was captured by Saladin, the Armenian patriarch wrote an elegy, in which he said, "God delivered Jerusalem to a pitiless enemy because of *our* sins." An even more striking proof of their attitude is furnished by the eagerness with which the Armenians in Cilicia adopted and copied the customs of the Franks. The two peoples were natural allies, as they were companions in arms against the Turks. In addition, they were both animated by a spirit of hostility towards the Greek Empire and the Greek Church. As time went by, they came nearer together; intermarriages became frequent. To notice only those which had a diplomatic significance: Arda, the granddaughter of Rhupen I., married, in 1100, Baldwin of Burg, Count of Edessa. It is evident that the Rhupenian family was not only moved by a desire for alliance with a leading member of the Frankish nobility, but also that it may have dreamed of a descendant of Rhupen ruling over ancient Armenia. Leo I. of Armenia married a sister of Baldwin of Burg. Rhupen III., brother of Leo II., married Isabella, daughter of Humphrey, Lord of Thoron and Krak. Leo II., the first King of the new Kingdom, gave his niece in marriage to Raymond, Count of Tripolis, the eldest son of Bohemond, Prince of Antioch, and himself married Isabella, a princess of the same house. Later, he married as a second wife Sibylla, daughter of Amaury of Lusignan, King of Cyprus, and of Isabella Plantagenet, Queen of Jerusalem.

In order to assimilate his court and society more completely to the Frankish civilization, Leo borrowed many of the Western usages and customs. He introduced feudal institutions, formed a military nobility, organized his court and all the judicial and administrative services after the model of the Kingdom of Jerusa-

lem. It was easier for him to introduce the feudal usages, because the nobles were already accustomed to similar institutions. They were bound to the chief by personal ties similar in many respects to the relations existing between a vassal and his lord in the West, and the Armenian nobles had received castles and lands to defend for their chief. The real change that was introduced was the transformation of the personal bond into a service due from the land which the noble held. How far the changes had gone is indicated in a striking manner by the letter of exhortation which St. Nerses wrote to Leo. The king wished Nerses to discard the Latin customs and to follow those of Persia, but the king himself had discarded the native costume and now wore the dress of the Franks. He had adopted the saddle and bridle of the Franks for his horse. The terms sire, constable, marshal, knight, and liege, were used as marks of honor at the king's court. Nerses said, "Reestablish at your court the etiquette of former days and then we will change our customs." His majesty would find it repugnant to him to abandon the excellent and refined usages of the Latins, that is to say, of the Franks, and to return to the rude customs of the ancient Armenians. The king no longer let his beard grow, but shaved like a Frank. The king no longer wore the flowing garments of the Armenians, but was dressed like a Frank. "So, too," Nerses said, "we have adopted the sacerdotal ornaments of the Franks. We now pray at the third, sixth, and ninth hours as the Franks do; we now have services seven times a day as the Latin Church does; we have taken up the Latin custom in the consecration of the monks. We have seen what an excellent thing the charity of the Latin Church is, and we have adopted it; we now feed two or three hundred daily, and if your majesty will aid us we will increase the amount of our almsgiving. As we have seen that it is the custom among the Latin monasteries to have only one meal a day during half the year, we have adopted that too." Because of these details, this whole letter gives us a vivid glimpse of the manner in which the Frankish customs were being introduced and of the opposition to them.

From the native Christians in Syria, other than the Armenians, we have so few contemporary accounts that we are compelled to judge of their feelings almost wholly by negative evidence. But, in 1181, the Maronite Christians united with the Latin Church, and as a whole we have very few indications that many of the Syrians were dissatisfied under the Frankish rule. Finally, the Jewish traveler, Benjamin of Tudela, who has been mentioned already, told of the prosperous condition of his co-religionists there, and gave no hint that they were suffering any persecution, such as he recorded of the Jews in the Greek Empire. A careful weighing of the testimony extant leads us to believe that the natives were well treated and well satisfied under the rule of the crusaders in the decades preceding the capture of Jerusalem by Saladin.

From the comments of Arab writers, we obtain a vivid glimpse of the constant associations between the different peoples, the feelings of the different classes, and some of the customs observed in their intercourse. Ibn Djobair, for example, speaks of the excellent police control on the Frankish side of the boundary which separated the possessions of the two. On the side of the Muslims robberies and plundering were common, on the Christian territory there was absolute security.

His description of Acre is as follows:—

“That night we stopped at one of the farmsteads, about a league distant from 'Akkah. The head man there—who was the inspector of the affairs thereof for the Muslim landlord, and on behalf of the Franks, also, for whatever the farmers did there in the matter of cultivation—invited us as guests, lodging us in a broad gallery in his house and setting food before us. We remained there that night and the next day entered 'Akkah. And they brought us to the Diwân (dogana, custom-house), which is a Khân prepared as the halting place of caravans. Before the gate is a carpeted platform on which sit the secretaries of the Diwân, on the part of the Christians, before desks of ebony ornamented with gold work. These write in Arabic, and talk the language also, and their head is the Sâhib ad Diwân (Chief of the Customs), and they take note of all that passes before them. * * * 'Akkah is the meeting place of Muslim and Christian merchants of all lands. The place is full of pigs and crosses. * * * In the eastern part of the town is the spring called 'Ain al Bakar (the Spring of

the Ox), it being that from which Allah caused the ox to come forth for Adam—peace be on him! The descent to the spring is by polished steps ; and over it stands a Mosque, the Mihrâb of which remains in good condition. To the east of it the Franks have built a Mihrâb (or oratory) for themselves, and Moslems and infidels assemble together to make their prayers. But the place is in the hands of the Christians, and by them is much honored.”

He found the city of Tyre cleaner. There, fortunately, he witnessed a marriage fête of which he gave a minute description:—

“All the Christian men and women present at the fête were drawn up in two lines before the bride’s door. Trumpets, flutes, and all kinds of musical instruments resounded. They awaited thus the bride’s departure. She appeared at length, conducted by two men who supported her on either side, who appeared to be her kinsmen. She was splendidly attired, according to their usual mode of dressing, and wore a magnificent silk robe embroidered with golden thread, whose long train swept the ground. Upon her forehead rested a diadem of gold, covered with a fillet of cloth of gold, and her bosom was adorned in the same manner. Thus clad, she advanced trippingly, with measured steps, like a turtle dove, or the dust moved by a gentle breeze. (May God preserve us from the temptations which such spectacles excite !) She was preceded by Christian magnates and followed by Christian women, who advanced mincingly, with their most beautiful ornaments trailing behind them. The procession started, the orchestra at the head ; while the simple spectators, Mussulmans and Christians, ranged themselves in two rows to be present in the march. The cortège proceeded to the house of the bridegroom, which the bride entered, and the whole company spent the day in feasting. Such was the magnificent spectacle at which chance permitted me to be present.”

He says that Mohammed was cursed by the lower classes, evidently contrasting their attitude with that of the better educated, and tells of the trials from which a Moslem suffered in a Christian city. He also records the fact that Mohammedans were kept apart from Christians on board of vessels. And this leads us to observe that, although we have had so much evidence of the kindly feeling which existed between the Christians and infidels, there is a reverse side. This was voiced by Ousâma when he wrote, “Whoever has become acquainted with the Franks can do nothing but glorify and praise Allah, the all-powerful ; for he has

seen in them beasts who are superior in courage and in fighting but in nothing else, just as animals are superior in strength and ferocity." Yet throughout his book, this same Ousâma praised the Franks in many passages, and recorded the friendship which bound him to individual Christians. Probably such a declamatory passage as the above has little more real significance than the constantly recurring "May Allah curse them!" Nevertheless a great difference in the ideas and customs separated the two peoples and was only gradually overcome. A reflection by one of the Muslims illustrates this: "The Franks do not know the sentiment of honor, that is, jealousy. If one of them is walking with his wife and meets another man, the latter takes the wife's hand and goes aside to talk with her, while the husband waits. If the woman prolongs the interview, the husband leaves them alone and goes away."

Naturally the Christians learned to feel a greater admiration for the Mussulmans than the latter ever felt for the Christians. And it was the most intelligent of the Christians who were most moved by this admiration for the Mohammedan civilization. William of Tyre wrote a Mohammedan history from Moslem sources as a companion volume to his history of the crusades. He frequently praised some individual among the Mussulmans and spoke in the highest terms of their valor, justice, and mercy. The enthusiasm of Frederick II. for the Muslim civilization is well-known. He adopted many of its customs, welcomed its votaries as friends, and delighted in surrounding himself with Muslim scholars. The Mohammedans were very willing to be friendly. They were so divided politically that they harbored little resentment on account of the conquests of the Christians. In fact, a Christian victory was often a cause of joy to some Muslim princes, who saw a hated foe vanquished. As a consequence many friendships were formed between individuals. Besides the examples given above, we may note that Baldwin I. had many friends among the Arab nobles; that Humphrey of Toron and one of the emirs of Nur ed-din were intimate companions. Raymond III. of Tripoli and Saladin had formed such

a close friendship that the latter aided Raymond against the King of Jerusalem.

When all of the Christian knights were summoned to repel the forces of Saladin, just before the battle of Hattin, Raymond was distrusted by many because they feared that his friendship with Saladin would lead him to betray the cause of the Christians. Even his noble conduct did not wholly dispel this suspicion. Count Joscelin restored all the booty which he had captured from a caravan, when he found that it belonged to Arabs with whom he had formerly been on friendly relations. The friendship of Richard the Lion-Hearted and Saladin, which has been depicted in romantic form by Sir Walter Scott, caused many to believe Richard unfaithful to the Christian cause.

The absence of hatred in the minds of the more intelligent is shown by the praises which the authors of both faiths bestow upon the most dreaded leaders of the opponents. William of Tyre says of Saladin that he was a man prudent in council, valiant in arms, exceedingly generous. Of Nur ed-din, he says, "He was the greatest persecutor of the Christian name and faith, but nevertheless a just prince, resourceful and prudent." Of the Mohammedans, in general, the medieval monk, Ricolus, says, at a later period, "Who is not astounded if he considers diligently the very great zeal of the Saracens for study, their devotion in prayer, their mercy to the poor, their reverence for the name of God and of the prophet and for the holy places, their uprightness in morals, their affability to foreigners, their harmony and love among themselves?" Similar passages in praise of Count Raymond of Agiles, King Fulk, Bohemond I., and other leaders of the Christians might be quoted from Arabic sources.

Many courtesies were interchanged between the two. This was especially true of the time of the third crusade. "Messengers were continually going back and forth bringing little gifts from Saladin to King Richard." Saladin sent to Richard the Lion-Hearted and Philip Augustus horses, ice, and fruits from the gardens of Damascus, especially during the illness of the English

king. They, in turn, sent to him costly jewels, hunting dogs, and falcons. Saladin excelled all others in his mercy, toleration, and courtesy. At the conquest of Jerusalem he spared the citizens. After the conquest he allowed churches to be retained by the Christians, and priests to officiate. He sent Muslim singers to Richard. In the midst of battle he found time to restore a baby of three months to its Christian mother from whom it had been stolen. Even after the slaughter of the Saracens at Acre by Richard, Saladin refused to take vengeance on the pilgrims who came into his power. Instead he protected them, gave them presents, and conversed affably with them about the affairs in England. The Templars became especially intimate with the Mohammedans and allowed the latter to pray in the chapels attached to the strongholds which they occupied. Frederick II., in the following century, was distinguished for the courteous treatment which he accorded to all Mussulmans.

During several periods, it seemed probable that the Christians and infidels might attain a position in which it was possible for them to live side by side in peace. Even Innocent III., in writing to Saphadin proposed, in 1214, that both parties should release their captives and live in peace.

In conclusion, it is necessary to indicate briefly the causes of the check given in 1187, and of the final destruction of the promising Christian colonies. The great and ever present obstacle which prevented the success of the crusaders as colonists, and a cordial association between the two peoples, was the fanaticism of the war-party among the Franks, and especially of the newcomers. For there were always two parties in the Latin Kingdom; one wished to wage incessant war against the infidel, the other desired to maintain peace with the Mussulmans and to live on terms of friendship with the natives. The latter was generally more powerful, as has been indicated above, but at any time it was possible that some rash act of an adventurer might precipitate a general war. Such was the fatal attack upon the Saracen caravan made by Reginald of Châtillon, which aroused Saladin to vengeance, which caused the capture of Jerusalem, which led to the third crusade.

For a few years both crusaders and Mussulmans were thoroughly aroused. Cruel and bloody deeds, such as the slaughter of the Muslim captives at Acre, embittered the minds of the contestants. But even these had little or no lasting effect. After the departure of Richard the Lion-Hearted from the Holy Land, and after the death of Saladin, religious enthusiasm died out on both sides and the position of the Christians improved. The latter gradually regained many of their former possessions. Cordial relations were reëstablished. It seemed probable that the Frankish colonies would again prosper and that the fusion of the various races would continue. By the diplomatic crusade of Frederick II., the holy city itself was restored to the Christians, and the Mohammedans were closely associated with them in many mutual interests. In spite of the opposition which his conduct aroused on the part of the patriarch and clergy, most of the Franks acquiesced in his arrangements, because they realized that friendly relations with the Muslim princes were essential to their prosperity.

But, in 1244, one of the great inundations of a barbarous race from the interior of Asia swept over Palestine and Syria. Everywhere it wrought ruin and destruction. For a time, the Franks were able to hold the walled cities, especially those on the sea-coast, but gradually their position became untenable, and they were compelled to withdraw from the Holy Land. After an existence of nearly two centuries the last of the Frankish colonies was destroyed.

THE TARIFF AND THE TRUSTS

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The history of our tariff is coextensive with the history of the country. While we were yet colonies, our mother country took stringent measures to prevent our fathers from engaging in manufacturing. Agriculture and trade were deemed the appropriate occupations for the denizens of these Western possessions. Even the furs of the animals caught along our streams and in our forests had to be sent to England to be converted into the head-gear of the hunters and trappers who had taken them. This was required under pain of heavy penalties. Our people were indeed hewers of wood and drawers of water for their cousins across the sea.

Our political independence was declared a century and a quarter ago, and finally accomplished after a seven years' war. Our commercial and industrial independence was declared at the same time, and is hardly yet achieved, after one hundred and twenty-five years of conflict.

The most potent causes which led up to the formation of the Union out of the several colonies and to the adoption of the Constitution grew out of the questions of revenue and industrial protection. The industries and manufactures of the country were fostered and protected during the War of the Revolution by means of the embargo and blockade which the exigency of war put upon our ports. When the war ceased, many of our industries were vigorous and healthy infants. That they needed

further nursing and protection the result soon demonstrated. Deprived of our market during the period of war, at its close the storehouses and factories of our kinsmen were full to overcrowding with manufactured goods. The English manufacturers had attained better methods and greater skill than had our own people, whom they could easily undersell in their own market. To our manufacturers the prices at which this surplus stock was offered were ruinous. Our lusty infant industries were soon put to sleep, to wait long for an awakening.

Not only did the invaders take our market, but they overstocked it. The spirit of speculation set in. Our people purchased upon credit beyond the limit of reason. The state of the continental currency, irredeemable and unlimited in volume, contributed to the inflation and to the resulting confusion. In addition to this, colonial credit was a thing that did not exist except in name. National credit there was none, because we were not a nation. The thirteen sovereign and independent States would not contribute to the federal treasury *pro rata* or on any fair basis. The colonial treasury became bankrupt, and so did the individual citizen. This condition was not confined to the manufacturers or to the tradespeople. Agriculturists felt it none the less; their crops, their stock, and even their farms, were sold by the officers of the law to meet the annual taxes.

Then each State that possessed manufacturing and commercial interests sought to stem the tide and to discover a remedy in legislation. Tariff laws were enacted by some of the States, both upon foreign importation and that from sister States. Tariff wars followed between the several States, and the confusion became universal. It seemed almost that the liberties of the people, won so gloriously in the war, were well-nigh lost in the chaos that followed the declaration of peace. The Constitutional Convention was forced upon the reluctant States, one by one, by the exigencies of the hour. There was no central power to levy taxes and to provide for the common defence or general welfare. Out of these necessities was born the immortal thought of a more perfect Union of the States. The result was our Constitution, so

wonderfully adapted to meet the exigencies of the times and the various problems that have since arisen.

It is not surprising that the first step under this Constitution was the enactment by Congress of a tariff to encourage manufacture, as well as to provide revenue. The statesmen of that day would have failed signally in the eyes of their constituents had they postponed that important measure, or lost sight of the necessary element of protection.

From these events sprang the American idea of a protective tariff, which was so universally accepted in 1790, and which has probably never failed since to command the assent of a majority of our people. Obscured by other issues, it may have seemed at times to lack popular approval, but, during nearly the whole period, it has held a place on our statute books, in positive and potent laws that reveal the clear purpose of protection to American industry.

The fundamental reasons in favor of the protective policy have not changed during the century. These are found in the abundance of our natural resources and in the capabilities of our people, as well as in their demand for better things. Providence has dealt most bountifully with us. Our forests and our mines are rich, abundant, and well-nigh inexhaustible. Our forests yield us timber in every variety, and fuel for manufacture, while our mines of iron, copper, and lead are unsurpassed. Their products are not only unlimited in quantity, but easily accessible, with quality unequalled. Cotton is the staple product of more than one fourth of our States, which furnish two thirds of the raw cotton of the world, and wool can be produced successfully in every part of our country. Hides and pelts are found in abundance. In fact, there are but few of the staple manufactures for which the raw materials are not found here.

Nowhere else is there such an abundance of power. Here are rivers and streams that sweep with resistless force toward the sea, and that wait only to be harnessed by the hand of man. Today this force is doing the work of millions of toilers, while the undeveloped forces now wasting are equal to the work of many millions more. This power is supplemented by the cheapest and most

abundant fuel. Our coal mines develop new wonders every year. We have the only anthracite coal, and we have bituminous coal of the best quality scattered in rich profusion over our vast territory. In addition to this, we have opened up nature's storehouses, where for centuries there has been accumulating a never-failing supply of the richest petroleum in the world. As if nature had not done enough, she has in recent years revealed to the enterprise of our people untold supplies of natural gas. For developing heat and power our resources rival the world. It were the sheerest folly for a people so well-equipped to confine its energies to the peaceful and alluring pursuits of agriculture. If it is our mission to feed the world, we are doing our part of it; but we are slow to believe that this is all Providence designed for us to do.

Then we have the men. They are stimulated by our bracing climate. Even a foreign born citizen does not escape its influence. His step is quickened; the "get-there" principle takes hold of him. The clear and bracing ozone stimulates both mind and body. The result is that a vigorous and healthy brain drives a sound body. Confront such a man with any problem, and every faculty is alert to solve it.

Then there is ever present, hope, with its rich possibilities and promise. Two men are laboring side by side today; in ten years one is likely to become superintendent or proprietor. A large percentage of our successful manufacturers are workmen who learned the business by hard and successive steps from the bottom up. The real magnates of the steel trust came up from the ranks. It is these lessons of hope that lighten many a weary burden, and often render irksome toil a pleasure. Hope is the mainspring of unceasing endeavor. Nearly one half of the American people own the homes they occupy, as the reward of their labor. The remaining half hope some day to own their homes also.

But something more is needed than a bracing climate and a hopeful man. Our people must have opportunity. The man and his work must be brought together. He must come face to

face with the job he is to perform. And this is just what a protective tariff undertakes to do. From the beginning we had a growing market here. Our farmers had to have clothes, implements, and the increasing necessities of life. We had the men and the raw material; but it required further, skill and experience, which we did not have. To obtain this years of effort and training were demanded. Meanwhile our friendly neighbors across the water were using their skill and training, already attained, to supply the wants of our people. Of course they could do this more cheaply than we, because they had learned the trade, and we had not. A tariff was imposed with the idea that it would add at first to the price of the commodity to the consumer, and thereby protect our labor in the educational period, the "infant" period of the industry. The tariff acted like a charm. It gave our people the opportunity, it confronted the workman with the problem to be solved. He applied himself to the task of making things to supply the wants of our people. But the American workman, native or imported, labors with his brain as well as with his brawn. He prefers head work to hand work. He is constantly seeking some way by which to improve his surroundings. He is not satisfied with the old methods until after he has tried in vain for better. He is not content to go in the old rut made by his ancestors. He is ever on the alert to discover some force in nature which will do the manual part of the work for him, while he quietly sits by and "bosses the job." And so he becomes the inventor. Every branch of our industry protected by the tariff has been perfected by the inventive genius of the American mechanic. But when we came to impose the protective tariff, we found that it did not always, or even usually, advance the price. We soon learned that our kind friends across the water had been profiting by our ignorance. The capitalist over there had been making money by getting exorbitant prices, while he controlled our markets. Afterwards, he frequently divided the tariff with our importers, and so competed with our new manufacturers at the old price. We found that we needed the tariff to prevent the dumping of foreign goods on our markets at

ruinous prices, with the intention of breaking up our industries, thus destroying the limited capital and credit of our manufacturer. After our industries were established, home competition entered and with the advantage of our improved machinery and great natural resources, the price invariably became lower than it was before the tariff was imposed. Could we have kept our improved machinery and methods in this country, we should have long since undersold the world. But our foreign rivals continued to watch us, and were not slow in importing our improvements and adapting them as their own. This kept alive the competition and continued the necessity of protection by way of a tariff.

Our workmen did not confine their mental activities to the invention of new machinery and new methods. They were keenly alive to their own wants and interests. They rightly claimed their share of the fruit of their skill and toil. Each man looked forward to a home of his own. And when this was obtained, it was but right that he should have the comforts of a home. The daily living must be better. Good food, and plenty of it, is a necessity for brain work, as well as for skilled handicraft. Greater and increased wages were demanded. These could not be paid unless the profits of manufacturing justified it; otherwise bankruptcy would follow. There must be a fair division between employer and employee, between capital and labor. Here came the conflict, generally settled by mutual agreement, too frequently by strikes, disastrous for the time being. But, in the end, we have seen a constantly advancing wage-scale, which has made our mechanics the most prosperous class of wage-earners in the world. And yet with our wage-rates often even more than fifty per cent higher than those of our rivals, we are able, in some branches of manufacture, to meet them in competition in the markets of the world.

This high wage-rate has contributed wonderfully to the comfort and advancement of our people. It has not only elevated the condition of the laborer and educated his children, but has added untold benefits to the general prosperity of the country. How many a large factory is now owned by one of these men,

founded on the savings of his ample earnings, and built up by his skill and industry ! The added wants of himself and of his family have largely created a market nowhere equaled in the world.

The watch industry well illustrates the history of the benefits of a protective tariff. Not many years ago no watches were made in the United States. We imported nearly all of them from Switzerland. Since watches were a luxury, we imposed a duty of ten per cent upon them, a mere revenue duty. One day Congress increased this duty to twenty-five per cent *ad valorem*. Then it was that American enterprise took the matter up. A factory was built, a few foreign watchmakers were imported as teachers and the boys from the neighboring farms and villages were called in to learn the mysterious and delicate handicraft of watchmaking. The American boys were quick to learn, and, as often happens, were not satisfied until they knew more about the subject than their teachers. Then followed the weary tension of muscle and the ever present desire to employ the brain in the daily task. Gradually the thought was worked out, and in turn it developed delicate machinery, with muscles of iron and nerves of steel, capable of making the fine mechanism of the watch. The machine proved more delicate than the human hand, and moved with such eternal precision that it seemed almost imbued with human thought. The result was that the delicate parts of a watch were produced, with each part fitting every other part, and when these were assembled together, they formed a better watch than the hand of man had ever before fashioned. The machines multiplied. The price of watches went down almost to a song. The new watch found its way into the house of the American farmer and artisan ; it crossed the sea, even to Switzerland. In the cradle of the watch industry of the world, Geneva, the American tourist will see placards in the windows, "American watches sold here," and if he interviews the shopkeeper, and can disguise his nationality, he will learn from him that the "American watch is the best in the world."

Perhaps no better illustration of the advantage of a protective tariff can be afforded than that of the tin plate industry. Prior

to 1890, we received all our tin plates from Wales. By reason of a combination there, the prices exacted in our market were greatly in excess of the prices demanded in any other export country. Indeed, the price exacted was high enough to warrant the establishment of the industry. This had been undertaken on two separate occasions prior to 1890; but immediately the prices were cut by the Welsh manufacturers to a point below the cost of production here, and our new industry was completely destroyed. The McKinley Act placed an adequate duty upon tinplate, and now we are manufacturing substantially all the plates that are used in America. Our only importations are in turn reexported, after being manufactured into packages, with a rebate of ninety-nine per cent of the duty paid. This industry gives employment to 22,000 of our citizens. The price here, though temporarily increased by the strike, is now lower than that exacted twelve years ago, and the article itself is vastly improved in quality.

This tendency to lower prices is the effect of competition. Our country is so vast that nowhere has a complete monopoly been maintained in any product except petroleum. Hence it is that the establishment of an industry on a profitable basis leads to competition and the desire to dump a surplus of manufactures upon the market at lower prices. We have in our own country the greatest area of free trade in all the world, with a population that consumes from a quarter to a third of the world's manufactured products. Competition is nowhere else so active and the usual margin of profit nowhere else so small.

The tendency of manufacturers everywhere is to seek new markets after the natural home market has paid all the non-productive expenses of the establishment, such as office and sales expenses. They can afford to cut their profits and enter the new market with a lower price. The foreign manufacturers desire our magnificent market as a dumping ground for their surplus stock. They even pay the entire tariff at times to get in, with a net loss as a result.

Shall we let them in on a free-trade basis? In times of

depression they would undoubtedly lower our prices and cripple our industries. In prosperous times, with good markets and good prices, they would naturally be occupied with their own home trade. In other words, they would cripple our market when it needed support, and would not injure it when it was in a position to bear the injury. In times of depression they would force the closing of our shops, and would drive our people to lower wages or idleness. This, in turn, would destroy our own home markets, and no one except the foreigner would be the gainer thereby. A stable protective tariff on a fair basis results in a stable market, continued employment, and general prosperity.

It is now claimed in some quarters, that a protective tariff is responsible for what are known as trusts and combinations. In my judgment, the only connection between trusts and the tariff is this,—the tariff has enabled us to build up countless prosperous industries. Before there can be a trust, there must be an industry on which to base it. The tariff has produced these industries. In no other way is it responsible for trusts.

But let us first consider the history of trusts in the United States. It was found that after an industry was established and capital was ready to enter upon the same line of business, competition sprang up that soon became strong and active. Each manufacturer was ready to enter upon his neighbor's territory. He offered his goods at lower prices. This cut was always promptly met, and soon the margin was too small to make a fair return upon the capital invested. Then the manufacturers would get together and resolve to end the war of prices, which was ruining their industries. They would agree to divide the territory and to maintain fixed prices. But the agreements were like ropes of sand. Some party would make a confidential price below the rate agreed upon, and soon the agreement would fall to pieces. Then trusts were invented. They originated here, precisely as they originated, and as they exist, in Germany and in the United Kingdom.

Perhaps as good an example as we can find of the earlier form of a trust is in "The Sugar Refineries Company," which was

formed in 1887. The facts in respect to this company have been pretty thoroughly investigated in an action brought by the people of the State of New York against the North River Sugar Refining Company, which was one of the original parties to the deed of trust. This case is reported in full, in 121 New York Reports, page 582. There were seventeen sugar refining companies which entered into this combination. Some of these companies were copartnerships, others were incorporated. Under the original agreement, all the copartnerships were to be speedily incorporated and to issue stock. All this stock was transferred to a board consisting of eleven members, named in a deed of trust, and in lieu of it the trustees issued their certificates, showing that the holder was entitled to so many shares of the Sugar Refineries Company. The capital stock of this combination was fixed at fifty million dollars, fifteen per cent of which was issued to the trustees and the balance divided among the several parties to the combination, to be distributed by the several directors to the various shareholders. Ample provision was also made for issuing additional capital stock and for the raising of money by mortgage or otherwise upon the various properties for the purpose of buying up other sugar refineries in the United States. The aim seemed to be a combination of all engaged in the sugar refining business. The stock of the North River Sugar Refining Company was transferred to a member of the board of trustees for the sum of \$325,000, the value fixed by the vendors themselves. Of course they did not undervalue it. But the board issued for this \$700,000 of capital stock, thereby more than doubling the valuation; or in other words, more than one half of the capital stock issued for the property of this corporation was "water." Although it does not appear in the report of the case, it is not likely that the other members of this combination fared any worse than did the North River Sugar Refining Company. The deed by which the transfer was made of all the properties states that "the objects of this agreement are : (1.) To promote economy of administration and to reduce the cost of refining, and thus to keep the price of sugar as low

as is consistent with reasonable profit. (2.) To give to each refinery the benefit of all appliances and processes known or used by the others, and of a character to improve the quality and diminish the cost of refined sugar. (3.) To furnish protection against unlawful combinations of labor. (4.) To protect against inducements to lower the standard of refined sugars. (5.) Generally to promote the interests of the parties hereto in all lawful and suitable ways."

Of course, if the objects stated above in 1, 2, and 4 had been faithfully carried out by the board, the general public would have had no reason to complain of this branch of the business. Economy of administration, benefit of all appliances and processes, known or used, that are of a kind to improve the quality and diminish the cost of refined sugar, and to protect against inducements to lower the standard, with the intention of thus keeping the price of sugar as low as would prove consistent with reasonable profit,—all this would have inured to the benefit of the general public, and would have rendered this combination a popular one, if faithfully carried out. It was hardly necessary, however, to organize this great aggregation of capital in order to protect the business against *unlawful* combinations of labor. The laws and the courts of the country could be as readily invoked by each individual corporation against unlawful combinations. If, however, the object was to protect against lawful combinations of labor, then, perhaps, the efforts of the combined forces would be more effective than those of individual companies.

Here, then, was a trust, pure and absolute, formed by these seventeen companies. Each put its property, and endeavored to place its franchise, under the control of a board which was to hold the property as joint tenants and as trustees, but had the power of absolute control. It was a trust pure and simple. It was to organizations like this that the term "trust" was originally applied and seemed to have force and meaning. The word has been amplified since and applied to every great combination of capital whether in the form of a trust, a corporation, or even a copartnership. It is well to remember this distinction, because

the Sherman Law, passed by Congress in 1890, was aimed at trusts pure and simple. Under this law the Federal Courts aided by the State Courts, invoking the State statutes, have wiped out every form of trust organized on the basis of the Sugar Refineries Company as detailed above. Most of such trusts, however, have found refuge under the laws of some State, as has the American Sugar Refining Company, an incorporated company which has succeeded the old sugar trust.

The board of trustees, formed as we have seen, forgot to carry out the original intention of the deed of trust. They did endeavor "generally to promote the interests of the parties hereto" with a vengeance, but they evidently did not keep the price of sugar as low as was consistent with reasonable profit. Notwithstanding the enormous watering of stock, dividends unheard of before were declared and paid upon the certificates issued by this board of trustees. As the product of this combination was a necessary of life required by every class of people, the excessive profits demanded soon called the attention of the people to the existence of this monopoly. Nobody objected to refining sugar in this country. Indeed, there was every reason why this business should be carried on exclusively in the United States in order to supply our markets. The object in forming the sugar schedule of the tariff, in 1890, and again in 1897, was to learn, as nearly as possible, the exact cost of refining sugar, and then to adjust the tariff so as to protect the labor interests, and no more. Investigation into this subject proved very irksome and troublesome. It was impossible to get at the exact facts, as the experts were not inclined to reveal the secrets of their business to the Committee on Ways and Means. Different statements were made as to the cost of refining by different refineries, and then the best that could be done was a compromise rate for the differential duty between raw and refined sugar.

It has been claimed, and it is probably true, that by reason of this great aggregation of capital with a large reserve, this company has been able to buy raw sugar in the markets of the world at a lower price than its competitors. If it had given a reason-

able proportion of this saving to its customers, as well as the saving which came to it from the employment of the best processes in refining, the combination might have resulted in advantage to the consumers of sugar. On the contrary, enormous profits and extravagant dividends forced from the people for a common necessary of life, have richly earned for this particular trust wide-spread and just condemnation.

The Standard Oil Trust was formed on similar lines for the purpose of controlling the products of petroleum. Early in its history, it owned a large proportion of the oil fields of the United States and controlled transportation, and especially the pipe lines that were established. In fact, all trusts existing in the United States, prior to 1890, were formed in a similar manner.

In 1890 Congress enacted a law which has been known as the "Sherman Anti-Trust Law," "to protect trade and commerce against unlawful restraints and monopolies." This law declared every contract, combination in the form of trust or otherwise, or conspiracy in restraint of trade or commerce among the several States or with foreign nations, illegal, and adjudged every person who made such contract guilty of a misdemeanor punishable by fine and imprisonment. It made it the duty of the Attorney-General and the district attorneys in their respective districts to institute proceedings in equity to prevent and restrain such violations. It also forfeited to the United States all property owned under such a contract that was in the course of transportation from one State to another or to a foreign country. It also allowed threefold damages to any person who was injured in his business or property by reason of such a combination. It is not too much to say that this act of Congress, together with the actions of the courts in some of the States, utterly destroyed the combinations then existing and known as trusts.

But since that time the old combinations have assumed new forms, and are organized on a different basis. Taking advantage of the manufacturing laws of the several States, capitalists who now desire to form a combination become incorporated under the general laws, with sufficient capital to purchase the property

of all the interests affected. This giant corporation buys up the property of all minor corporations which are to come into the combination, and finds ample protection for its business, under the laws of the State in which it is incorporated. It is a misnomer to call such a corporation a trust, and yet, as such corporations succeeded the trusts and performed all the functions for which the trusts were organized, the word "trust" has been popularly applied to them, and has acquired a distinct meaning when so applied.

The tendency of business in modern times has been toward large capitalization. Competition has become so great and close that the percentage of profits is very small. There are some legitimate considerations which induce manufacturers and others to enter into large combinations. In the first place, the office expenses are smaller in proportion to the output of the establishment, and as the office expenses belong to a class that is non-productive, this reduction makes directly for an increase of profit. Then, materials used in manufacturing are purchased more cheaply in proportion to the amount required, and in this respect the larger corporation has the advantage. In addition to this, the more nearly competition is done away with, the greater reduction there is in the cost of advertising and selling the products of the factory. These are legitimate considerations, and where these savings are fairly divided with the consumer, such combinations do not become unpopular.

The temptation, however, is to increase the price instead of to reduce it. In buying up the various smaller concerns an exorbitant price is often asked. This difficulty is met by issuing stock greatly in excess of the amount of the actual value. Thus the stock of the new concern becomes "watered," and sometimes represents twice, and often three times, the amount of the value of the properties. On this dividends must be paid to maintain the price of the stock. This fact, added to the incentive of greed, is a powerful factor in determining the price. And herein is the evil which arises from this method of combination. Too often it results in injustice, in an oppression of the people.

The American Sugar Refining Company and the Standard Oil Company have both become incorporated, and are organized under the method last described. Some months ago the president of the American Sugar Refining Company is reported to have stated that the tariff was "the mother of trusts." But he is also reported to have added that the tariff had no connection with the American Sugar Refining Trust. This incongruous statement only proves that the matter had not been thoroughly considered by him before he made the statement.

Partially because it furnishes a large portion of our revenue, which is easily collected, and also for the protection of the beet sugar industry, which is most promising in the United States, a full protective tariff is levied upon sugar, and has been so exacted upon refined sugar for three quarters of a century. If the tariff has any connection with trusts, certainly the American Sugar Refining Company is the chief beneficiary.

But the history of trusts, especially in Great Britain, would seem to demonstrate that a protective tariff is in no sense responsible for a trust. In only one other country in the world have trusts so flourished as in Great Britain. And yet every article controlled by a trust in Great Britain is imported free of duty. In that country, at least, trusts exist and flourish in spite of free trade and without any aid from a tariff.

The greatest monopoly in the United States, and the most powerful trust, is the Standard Oil. And yet this monopoly and combination grew up, and has become more flourishing than any other in the world, while every product of petroleum was on the free list. It conclusively proves that a trust does exist and flourish without the aid of a protective tariff. These examples and others that might be brought forward, seem to demonstrate that the tariff is not the mother of trusts.

This much is true, however, a protective tariff is the mother of our industries. It has given the American mechanic the opportunity which he needed to learn how to do the world's work, and how to do it in the best manner, with the least expense of time and labor. Having had this opportunity, our people have

equaled, and generally excelled, all others in the perfection of their manufacturing industries. It has helped to create a manufacturing business in this country without a parallel in the world. It has developed a market which exists nowhere else. It has created industries and fostered factories. In a word, it has developed a magnificent business of manufacture. Without this there could be no combination of manufacturing interests, because there would be nothing to combine. But in no other sense can it be truthfully said that a protective tariff has had anything to do with the origin of trusts and combinations. If the result of free trade should be to destroy these industries in favor of their rivals across the water, there would be nothing left to combine, and so combinations here might be destroyed in favor of those existing abroad.

But suppose articles made by trusts were put upon the free lists. There is now, so far as we can recall, no article at present produced in the United States, except the products of petroleum, in which competition does not exist. The American Sugar Refining Company finds a most active and alert competitor in the Arbuckle Company. As was predicted when the tariff of 1897 was under discussion in the House, the competition of beet sugar factories is making itself felt, and it affects the price of sugar. These factories are growing in importance from year to year, and now furnish about ten per cent of our total consumption of sugar. If our present laws are continued, it needs no prophet to foresee that our beet sugar will, at no distant day, furnish the American consumer the proportion that it furnishes the world, three fifths of the amount consumed.

Recently the billion dollar steel company has been formed. But the number of factories outside of the trust is legion and is increasing every day. Even some of the men who sold out to the new combination have taken advantage of the large capital furnished them, and are putting up new steel plants. A recent number of "The Iron Age" gives the details of this increase. It looks as if our capacity to produce steel would double in the next two or three years.

Trusts did not originate in the United States, nor has their highest development been found here. As early as 1873 the Steel Rail Trust was established in Austria. There were many establishments and the annual output was 120,000 tons. The demand dropped off to 60,000 tons, and in order to meet the force of the vigorous competition which followed, various companies formed a combination that apportioned the orders among the different factories and fixed the price (soon advanced); and the factories thereby escaped the threatened disaster. Since that time the number of Austrian trade combinations has steadily risen, until now it embraces nearly every species of manufacture, small and great. These combinations have for their chief object the regulation of production and the constancy of prices. They have all the features which formerly attached to such organizations in this country for the maintenance of prices. However, there seems to be no legal difficulty in Austria in the way of compelling the enforcement of the agreement. Indeed, these contracts are recognized by the Austrian law and enforced by the courts. These combinations have all the objectionable features that have been charged against the American trust. Bills have been introduced in the Parliament to destroy these combinations, but they seem to lie in abeyance. Our consuls reported last year that the number of these trade combinations was legion, and existed in every branch of manufacture and trade.

In Belgium various industrial combinations exist. Among the objects of these combinations is the fixing of the prices at which products shall be sold for internal consumption. The enterprises are conducted independently, but no one dares to sell below the price fixed, under the heavy penalties which are enforced. Such combinations, or syndicates, embracing every branch of industry or commerce, formed for the purpose of controlling the markets, have existed for years. There seems to be no general feeling against these combinations in Belgium, and, during a debate last year in the Belgium House of Representatives relative to the petroleum monopoly, it appeared that the balance of opinion was strongly in favor of trusts. Our consuls report that several

hundred syndicates and trade combinations exist in Belgium at the present time.

The organization of trusts in France is prohibited by law. The criminal code provides a penalty of fine and imprisonment for this class of offenses. Notwithstanding this statute, it would appear from our consular reports that some of the proprietors of large manufacturing interests have formed an agreement to sell the products of their various concerns as one individual and at fixed prices. The quantity to be supplied by each concern is also agreed upon.

Because of the existence of this criminal law in France, it is difficult to get at the facts in regard to the trade combinations or trusts which are in operation there. Sugar refining is in the hands of a few large establishments which by agreement control the production, sale, and price of sugar. The borax industry of France is said to be under a trust, as is also petroleum. In the latter industry, three principal refineries organized themselves into a syndicate for the purpose of monopolizing the industry and controlling the market. They immediately set to work to bring the smaller refineries into the combination. A uniform price was established, to be maintained or modified weekly by the members of the original syndicate, who also put a limit on the production of each refinery. Each firm agreed not to sell below the fixed price. They also entered into a contract with the Standard Oil Company of the United States, and, later, with the firm which had the monopoly in France for the sale of Russian petroleum. This has proved to be a very prosperous venture and has existed there a long series of years. Our consul at Marseilles reports, "In spite of stringent legislation directed against the artificial manipulation of prices in France, and the popular conviction that combinations of capital in the nature of trusts are not to be found, I discovered that syndicates have been successfully organized, and in this city are now in more or less undisputed control of the following commodities or utilities: sugar, rice, sulphur, candles, coal, petroleum, tiles, matches, tobacco, transportation by land, and transportation of immigrants."

It will be seen that while France has the most stringent laws of any country in the world, and has fewer monopolistic syndicates than any other great country, yet the trusts are frequent and very powerful there.

Trusts abound in Germany. They are called "cartels," or trade syndicates, and are defined by an eminent German authority as "a combination for the purpose of maintaining the competitive power of its members, notwithstanding their varying individual facilities, against the advantages enjoyed by monopolists": (1.) By obtaining a uniform maximum selling price for products. (2.) By the creation and maintenance of a normal and rational demand for materials and labor. (3.) By creating a monopoly for every member or for every group of members in each branch of production.

There were five of these German trusts in 1870, the number of which increased to 345 in 1897, divided into the following groups: the chemical industry 82 syndicates, iron 80, stone and ores 59, textile industry 38, paper manufacture 19, wood and manufactures of the same 18, coal and coke 17, metals, (exclusive of iron and steel) 15, food products 12, leather and leather goods, five. On the first of January, 1898, there were 224 kinds of raw materials and manufactured articles, the production, purchase, manufacture, and sale of which in Germany were controlled by syndicates, and the number has steadily increased since that date. There were six "cartels" governing transportation and international selling agreements with various other countries, England, France, Belgium, Switzerland, and Austria, regulating the selling price, as between two or more of these countries, of the following articles: carbonate of ammonia, borax, uranic colors, muriatic acid, milk sugar, hydrate of chloral, soda, Thomas meal, alizarin, oxalic acid and potash, iodine, strontium, bromine, certain fertilizers, chromate and other salts of potash, saline products, dynamite, glanzgold, sporting ammunition, rails, billets, wire, gaspipes, wood screws, cement, mirror glass, coke, raw zinc, bismuth, lead, and copper.

The dynamite trust covers nearly all of the new explosives.

It includes Germany, Switzerland, France, Belgium, and Great Britain, and is managed from London. It has forced advances in price upon some of the great Governments under which it exists.

The Rhenish Westphalian Coal Trust controls the mining and prices of coal in Western Germany. It estimates the amount of coal requirements, and apportions this amount among the members, and fixes the price, which is obtained under all circumstances. All branches of the German iron trade seem to be controlled by syndicates. The agreement of these syndicates is iron clad. Each member must live up to all the rules or incur a heavy fine. This fine is secured in advance by the signing of a blank acceptance, which is filled in by the treasurer and put into circulation. If an excess of iron products has to be placed upon the market abroad, at a price below the cost of production, the loss incurred is assumed *pro rata* by each member of the combine, and is made up by the higher price received in the home trade.

Next to Germany, Great Britain seems to lead the world in the extent to which its industries are under the control of trusts. These combinations are so frequent over there as to excite little attention or interest. They control almost every branch and kind of industry. To give any detailed account of their extent or of the various branches of manufacture which they control, would require more space than is accorded to a magazine article. These trusts are organized under the incorporation laws and also as a combination of many firms. The fact that all the articles covered by trusts in Great Britain are imported free of duty would seem to indicate that the tariff in Great Britain is not the "mother of trusts." While these monopolies in Great Britain are frequently denounced as raising the price of manufactured articles and not increasing the wages of laborers, yet there is a large conservative class who defend them. Certainly there does not seem to have been any concerted effort to check the tendency toward the combination of capital, which might be so readily accomplished in Great Britain, where there is no division of legislative authority,

and where the power of Parliament would be absolute in enacting any laws it saw fit to make for their suppression.

To return to the subject of trusts in our own country : here we find the fiercest competition in every branch of industry over which some trust is ambitious of control, except in the one item of petroleum. A large percentage of the business is done by competitive factories that are independent of the trust. They fix their own prices, a fact which tends to regulate the price at which the product of the trust is sold. But these corporations outside of the great combinations are frequently weak in financial ability, although not in business experience or in modern shops. Where an article of manufacture needs the protection of a tariff, the result of a repeal would first be to drive out and destroy the weak and smaller concerns in the business, before it would have any appreciable effect upon the great combinations of capital. Indeed, the legitimate saving which these great combinations can make from the lower percentage of cost in selling, in office management, and from the great advantage in buying materials, would aid them in meeting successfully all foreign competition, while the smaller concerns would require the aid of a protective tariff, in case the surplus of the other manufacturing countries of the world should be dumped upon our market. If to remove the tariff would be to destroy domestic trusts, the yoke and burden imposed by the trust abroad would be more grievous to be borne.

It is evident that the Sherman Law of 1890 was as effective as any law that could be enacted by Congress under the provisions of the Constitution. No one contends that the Federal Legislature has any jurisdiction in the matter, except that obtained through its power to control interstate and foreign commerce. It seems that all the powers which Congress has under this clause of the Constitution have been fully brought into requisition and made into law in the Sherman Act of 1890.

At the last session of Congress, an effort was made to amend the Constitution of the United States, and to give Congress control over these great corporations. But the believers in the doctrine of State Rights would not consent to such a change in

the fundamental law. Nor is it probable that the necessary two thirds vote can ever be obtained in both Houses of Congress in favor of such an amendment. It would look, therefore, as though Congress were powerless to do anything by reason of any method which has been suggested of coping with these so-called trusts.

The legislatures of the several States undoubtedly have the inherent power to deal with these corporations. The latter cannot exist except for the incorporation laws of the State. In fact, some of the States in which no manufacturing business existed at the time have passed stringent laws in relation to monopolies and trusts. But only a few of the States have thus declared by legislative act against these corporations. And it would seem that in the State of Texas, where there has been a recent wonderful discovery of petroleum, they have put some of the provisions of these laws into a state of "innocuous desuetude."

But in the commercial States where large manufacturing interests exist the corporation laws are made very liberal. It has been the policy of these States to make the laws liberal in order to attract the business corporations, because they would add to the growth and prosperity of the respective States. The liberal laws are not likely to be altered under any change of political administration. The sentiment of the people is not in favor of any such change.

So it is hardly to be expected that much will be done in the near future, by the legislatures of the several States to destroy the great corporations. No one State can afford to go out on such a crusade as this, single-handed and alone; the result would not be to destroy the monopoly or the combination as was intended, but merely to drive it out from the borders and confines of the State and compel it to seek a refuge and factories in some other State, without in any way removing the burdens which result from the great combinations of capital from the shoulders of the citizens of the State from which the monopoly had been expelled. The instinct of self-preservation would prevent,

in all probability, the enactment of anything like uniform laws denouncing trusts and combinations and destroying them, by each of the forty-five States of the Union. The outlook, therefore, for the destruction of these trusts by State laws does not seem to be promising.

We are differently situated from the countries of Europe in this respect. There they have but one kind of legislative body, and this has supreme control,—the power both of our Federal and State Legislatures. It would be easy for England or Germany to destroy trusts, if the popular feeling demanded it, by a single legislative enactment. The difference in our institutions seems to be a bar to such a procedure. But the States can do much to prevent injustice and robbery by these great combines. New York has enacted a statute, with many excellent features, which has just been declared constitutional by our court of last resort. This is an important field for good legislation. The people will ultimately see that it is fully occupied.

Something can be done, and has been done, in the way of stimulating competition. As we have already seen, a protective tariff tends to foster and to build up competition. Every successful corporation which is launched in a particular business, great or small, is an incentive to the holders of the abundant capital which now exists in this country to engage in a similar branch of business. This is having its effect every day. New factories are being built in every portion of the country, new enterprises are started, and there is no branch of industry, except the refining of standard oil, which is on the free list, that does not have to meet and overcome this competition. The main hope of destroying trusts or rendering their operations harmless is in the competition which results from the natural laws of trade, fostered, when needed, by the protective tariff. Nor need we look with despair at this simple remedy. Competition has regulated trade through the centuries. It is the most potent force in commerce today. It is destroying trusts abroad. It is keeping the level of fair prices here and cutting down and deferring the dividends upon the watered stock of trusts.

The most immediate danger today from trusts is to the holders of the stock which they have issued. Our country is too great, capital is too abundant, and our people too enterprising to be ruined by trusts and combinations, however powerful. We are marching mightily forward in the industrial race. Along our course will appear the wrecks of some great combinations; for no great trusts can endure, unless they maintain fair prices and meet the competition of their rivals.

THE POLITICAL THEORY OF MACHIAVELLI

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I. HIS LIFE AND TIMES.

In no system of political philosophy is the influence of environment more manifest than in that of Machiavelli. The brilliant Florentine was in the fullest sense the child of his times. Born in 1469, he entered public life twenty-nine years later and died in 1527. The period of his maturity thus coincided with the first quarter of the sixteenth century. What, then, were the political and intellectual conditions and tendencies of this period that would be likely to impress themselves upon a mind of so fine a texture as was that of Machiavelli?

In the first place, the movement for limited government in Church and State that attained such considerable headway during the period of the great Church Councils, in the first half of the fifteenth century, had, at the beginning of the sixteenth, entirely disappeared. A monarchic reaction had swept away almost all vestiges of the aristocratic régime. In the Church, the Popes had successfully evaded the requirement of periodical councils that had been decreed at Constance, and, though the Lateran Council of 1511-17 was called together, after long delay, in response to the demands of the discontented, it became merely an instrument for materially strengthening the position of the

Roman See.¹ The great secular States of Europe exhibited the full establishment of absolute monarchy. Henry VII. in England, Louis XI., Charles VIII., and Louis XII. in France, and Ferdinand in Spain had relegated the feudal assemblies of their respective dominions to a position of obscurity and impotence. Even Maximilian of Germany endeavored, in his feeble way, to impress himself upon the administration of his disjointed realm. The era was that of the strong man in both secular and ecclesiastical politics, and Machiavelli's writings give copious evidence that he realized this fact.

But he was conscious, also, of the fact that the tendency of the times was toward the expression of nationality, as well as of monarchy, in political organization. The distinction between English, French, Germans, Italians, and Spanish had now become a commonplace of political observation, and had entered extensively into the policy of statesmen. As against this fact, the ancient notion of an empire coextensive with Christian Europe lost all its significance. Not even the peril of a Mohammedan conquest and the exhortations to a crusade against the Turk could reawaken the notion that the Emperor was the secular head of Christendom. The national monarchy was the political type which alone inspired interest and respect. Of all the groups of provinces and cities that were tending toward consolidation Italy had made the least progress. For about three hundred years, the Italian peninsula had been the abode of numerous city-states, whose history had been singularly prolific in analogies with that of the Hellenic world. By the beginning of the sixteenth century, a process of consolidation and of internal transformation had resulted in the division of practically the whole Peninsula among five States,—the Kingdom of Naples, the Territory of the Roman Church, the Duchy of Milan, and the

(1) Through this council Leo X. secured a concordat with Francis I. which abolished the Pragmatic Sanction of 1438, and greatly diminished the privileges of the French prelates as against the papacy. On the little interest in this council felt by Europe in general, see Creighton, *History of the Papacy*, iv. p. 234.

Republics of Venice and Florence. Further consolidation was an obvious possibility; and the unification of the whole country under a national monarch, on the model of France or Spain, was an ideal that particularly inspired Machiavelli. In the way of realizing this, however, stood not only the reciprocal jealousies of the existing secular States, and the fact that there was no one prince whose moral influence and material resources assured him such recognition of leadership in Italy as Ferdinand, for example, had acquired in Spain, but also the peculiar position and policy of the papacy.

Largely as a result of the removal to Avignon and the disorganization of the schism, the region in Central Italy immediately subject to the Roman See had fallen into anarchy. Upon their resumption of their abode at Rome, the Popes were practically without any control over the petty lords who had established their sway outside of the city. These conditions made it natural that progress toward further consolidation of Italy should proceed primarily through the absorption by the stronger States of the disorderly little territories whose nominal superior was the Pope. But to the steps in this direction taken by Naples and Venice the wielders of the papal power, when once the danger of the conciliar movement was past, opposed the most vehement resistance. From the time of Nicholas V. (1447-53) the policy of maintaining and enhancing the secular dignity and power of the papacy was pushed by the aid of every resource which the curia could command. This policy, in one or another of its phases, is the key to the career of Sixtus IV. and Alexander VI. (Borgia), whose methods gave such scandal to Christendom, and it attained its final success under Julius II. (1503-13), whose energetic procedure in diplomacy and on the battlefield confirmed, for three hundred and fifty years, the hold of the papacy on the government of Central Italy. It was claimed by the Popes, and there was much reason in the claim, that an independent position politically was the only security against the recurrence of such a condition of subservience to some temporal ruler as characterized the "Babylonish captivity" at Avignon; but the methods by

which independence was realized and maintained afforded only too good grounds for the cynical judgment of Machiavelli and others, that the papacy had become primarily a secular institution, —all the more to be feared because of the traditions of spirituality which afforded so convenient a mask for its designs.

In maintaining the integrity of the States of the Church, the Popes contributed largely, if not decisively, to prevent the consolidation of Italy. But just as Machiavelli attained manhood, in 1494, the invasion of the Peninsula by Charles VIII. of France inaugurated that practice which turned Italy into the battlefield of the great monarchies. In the conflict of France and Spain and Germany, the little Italian States had slight hope of preserving their independence by material force; but, like other weak powers under similar circumstances, they developed boundless resources of craft and diplomacy. Italian politics was the field of a most complex activity, and Machiavelli, who during fourteen years (1498–1512) held an important office in the Florentine administration, was in the midst of it. Practical experience thus combined with his philosophical temperament to give character to his speculations. The missions on which he was sent by his government gave him personal knowledge and experience, not only of Italian men and affairs, but also of the greater nations of Europe.¹ His extensive and acute observation of government as it actually worked, left a most vivid impression on his thought and writings.

But with all the influence of contemporary political conditions, Machiavelli's philosophy was to an even greater extent the product of that admiration for pagan antiquity which was the hallmark of the Renaissance. It was in his time that this culture movement was producing in Italy its most perfect results. Art and literature had thrown off entirely the forms of mediævalism, and looked for all their inspiration to the models of the ancient world. Philosophy and science were following in the same path; and the paganizing of morals, and even of religion, was only too clearly manifest in the life of the times. The dominant intel-

(1) He visited France and Germany.

lectual note of the age was freedom,—freedom from the limitations and restraints which had been imposed upon men's thought and action by the methods and dogmas of scholasticism, and freedom to revel in every species of activity which the untrammelled spirit of the ancients had suggested. Florence was the acknowledged centre of Italian culture during the Renaissance, and Machiavelli was to the core of his being a Florentine. His intellectual training and equipment corresponded with the characteristics of his environment. The literature of antiquity, particularly the works of the historians, formed the staple of his intellectual diet, and in it he satisfied all the cravings of his nature. With the best writers of ancient Rome he was thoroughly familiar, and his acquaintance with those of Greece was fairly extensive, though there is no conclusive evidence that he understood their language.¹ It was under the stimulus of the spirit embodied in this literature that his naturally acute intelligence attacked the problems of politics, and propounded solutions which, in both method and results, were as distinct from those of the preceding twelve centuries as if those centuries had never existed.

II. METHOD OF HIS PHILOSOPHY AND HIS POINT OF VIEW.

The form and method of Machiavelli's philosophy had no prototype later than Aristotle,—the Aristotle of Hellas, not of Christian Europe. All the paraphernalia of the scholastics and of the mediæval jurists were simply ignored in his speculation. A comparison of the chapter heads of "The Prince" with those, for example, of the "Monarchia" of Rosellinus, who wrote only fifty years earlier, would hardly suggest that the two writers lived in the same world. The dogma of the two powers, the relations of Pope and Emperor, the conflict of spiritual and secular jurisdiction, the doctrine of *imperium continuum*, the Donation of Constantine, and all the rest of the long familiar captions,

(1) On this point see Villari, *Niccolò Machiavelli*, translation, ii. 11 et seq. London: Kegan Paul, 1878.

receive scarcely an allusion from Machiavelli. To the opinions of the Church fathers and the mediæval doctors he makes no reference, and he never cites a text of the canon or of the civil law. His work was as completely dis severed from the long accepted system of political theory as the contemporary work of Columbus was from the long accepted system of geography.

The true method in the science of politics was, in Machiavelli's opinion, the historical method. Men had been, he believed, in all ages and places the same as at present, had been influenced by the same motives, and had been called upon to solve the same problems with the same means. A study of the past, therefore, would throw the fullest light on the needs of the present and would even, he thought, make prediction of the future an easy matter.¹ He felicitates himself on being the first to perceive the true relation of history to politics, and to enter upon a new and untried path in political speculation. But the past which Machiavelli studies in his own works, and from which he supposes himself to be drawing his conclusions, is almost exclusively the past of classical antiquity. It is Greece, and particularly Rome, that furnish him with political truth. This manner of applying the historical method corrected, of course, and most usefully, that of the scholastic philosophy, which tended to teach that a deep gulf divided Christians from pagans, and that the experience of the latter, as a source of lessons for mankind, was practically worthless, owing to their lack of participation in the divine revelation. Yet Machiavelli, in restoring the history of the Greeks and Romans to its proper place in the edification of the human race, himself erred on the other side, in leaving almost entirely out of account the history of the peoples in whose development Christianity played so large a part. The work which was avowedly an application of his new method, the

(1) *Discourses on Livy*, i. *Introduction*. Si cognosce facilmente come in tutte le città e in tutti i popoli sono quelli medesimi desideri e quelli medesimi umori, e come vi furono sempre; in modo ch' egli è facil cosa * * * prevedere in ogni repubblica le future [cose]. i. chap. 39.

"Discourses on the First Decade of Titus Livius,"¹ dealt with the Romans almost exclusively; and in "The Prince" Machiavelli's interest was clearly determined by contemporary conditions. The comparative method, which is essential to fruitfulness in the historical, was employed only to a slight extent and mostly in a rudimentary form.²

In fact, Machiavelli's method was historical rather in appearance than in reality. The actual source of his speculations was the interest he felt in the men and conditions of his own time. In the history of the ancients he found parallels that appealed strongly to him by their relation to existing conditions, and he seized upon them as revelations of essential truth. Of the circumstances of his own time he was a most accurate observer and a most acute analyst. This determined the method which he really depended upon. His conclusions were reached empirically, and were then reinforced by appeals to history. He used Livy, in "The Discourses," rather for the purpose of sustaining than for the purpose of discovering principles. The *haec fabula docet* often adorned a tale that from the standpoint of serious history was absurd, yet Machiavelli's teaching, like Æsop's, was generally sound even when the story was weakest.

These characteristics of method are closely related to the point of view from which he regards politics. His philosophy is a study of the art of government rather than a theory of the state. Machiavelli's field is "Politik" not "Staatslehre." He is interested in the establishment and operation of the machinery of government,—in the forces through which governmental power is generated and applied. He views things from the standpoint of the governing, not of the governed class. The

(1) *Discorsi sopra la Prima Deca di Tito Livio*. In *Opere* (Milano, 1804) vols. ii. and iii. Translated in Detmold, *The Historical, Political, and Diplomatic Writings of Niccolò Machiavelli*. Boston: Osgood & Company, 1888.

(2) For an admirable use of the comparative method in answering a single definite question, see *Discourses*, i. 5.

spirit and motives of the latter are treated merely as incidental to the activity of the former. This is notoriously true of "The Prince," which has given so bad a reputation to its author; but it is also true, in a hardly less degree, of "The Discourses." If the former work analyzes the political system of the strong monarch, the latter analyzes that of the strong republic. In one the main theme is the successful foundation of a principality by an individual; in the other it is the foundation of an empire by a free city. But in both the centre of his thought is the methods of those who wield the power of the state rather than the fundamental relationships in which the essence of the state consists.

It follows, therefore, that while the affinity between Machiavelli and Aristotle is, from the point of view of method, very marked, in substance the Italian covers a much narrower field than that covered by the Greek. Aristotle does, indeed, devote much attention to the workings of government, to the practical questions of policy and administration, but he subordinates this phase of his work to the investigation of the broader aspects of organized social and political life. He has a theory of the state in the widest sense, and he sets forth this theory at length. Machiavelli, while conscious of a broad philosophical basis for his views, gives only perfunctory attention to this and hastens to take up the questions of immediate practical concern. Here his doctrine as well as his method approaches very nearly at many points to that of Aristotle. He is far less systematic; he makes scarcely any attempt at a logical presentation of the science or art of government; but the principles of practical policy for given conditions are substantially identical in the minds of the two philosophers. Running all through, however, may be discerned the influence of the distinction that, while the ideal of Aristotle, pretty consistently adhered to, was a state in which a condition of immobility and philosophic calm was the supreme end to be kept in view, that of Machiavelli was a state whose end was expansion and the attainment of widespread dominion. The Italian recognized the abstract excellence of the Greek's ideal, but regarded it as too far removed from attainability to be worthy of

serious consideration. "Doubtless," he says, "a perfectly balanced state, free from internal party conflicts, would be the true political existence. But all human affairs are in motion and it is impossible to stand still; they must progress or decline; and where reason does not lead necessity often drives." Hence a state organized with a view to mere existence without expansion is likely to be forced into the latter policy, and thus to be brought the more quickly to ruin.¹

It is this ideal of successful expansion that accounts for Machiavelli's generally low estimate of the Greek States and his particular interest in Rome. To him Athens and Sparta seemed to lack the chief elements of political wisdom. Measured by his standard they were failures, while Rome, on the other hand, achieved empire, and was therefore a success. If Aristotle had witnessed the career of Rome, he might have been inspired in his philosophy by an ideal analogous to that of Machiavelli. The Greek had a sufficient appreciation of power,—of the capacity to cope with circumstances and with men; and when he treated of the strong man in his philosophy, his conclusions were very similar to those of the Italian. But Aristotle lived after the age of the Hellenic despots, and when little of them survived save a name of great odium. Machiavelli, on the other hand, lived when the Italian despot and the absolute monarch were in the full tide of their success, and when much of what men call prosperity was flourishing under their sway. His environment, therefore, as well as his temperament, operated to prevent any such depreciation of the tyrant's art as was involved in the system of Aristotle.

III. ATTITUDE TOWARD MORALITY AND RELIGION.

Not less important scientifically than his adoption of the historical method, and far more influential in establishing the reputation of Machiavelli, was his attitude toward morality and religion. It is this by which Machiavelli is best known, and it

(1) *Discourses*, i. 6.

is this that marks him off most distinctly from the preceding philosophers of the Middle Ages. Mediæval political theory did take some account of history, and the jurists, in particular, supported their *a priori* doctrines by more or less reference to the past. But in no system of either ancient or mediæval times were the dictates of religion and morality so frankly relegated to a subordinate, and even insignificant, position in relation to the theory and practice of politics. Natural law (*jus naturale*), in which both ancient and mediæval philosophy had placed the source and limits of political science, received from Machiavelli scarcely the recognition of a passing allusion, and divine law, in so far as it was manifested to man through direct revelation, he considered to be *ipso facto* removed from the field of his speculation.¹

This wholly unprecedented position in political theory is presented in several different aspects in Machiavelli's thought. In the first place, it is necessary to recognize in his philosophy the first formal separation of politics as a science from the science of ethics. This separation was practically involved in the work of Aristotle, though it was more an incident than an essential in his system. He never assumed outright the independence of political from moral doctrine, but systematically recognized that the latter conditioned the former. Machiavelli, on the other hand, as systematically isolated the phenomena of politics, and studied them wholly without reference to the scientific priority of the facts of a moral existence. He did not at all deny the excellence of the moral virtues, but he refused to consider them as essential to or conditions of the political virtues. Machiavelli's political man is as entirely dissociated from all standards of conduct save success in the establishment and extension of governmental

(1) Thus in *The Prince*, chap. 6, Moses, whom Machiavelli seemed disposed to regard as one of the strong men of history, is dropped out of the discussion because he merely executed the policy dictated by God. The reason that would have made Moses the chief theme of discussion in the philosophy of another excludes him from consideration in that of Machiavelli.

power as is the "economic man" of the orthodox school from all save success in the creation of wealth.

In relation to the attainment of the supreme political ends, the employment of violence, cruelty, bad faith, and of all the other vices is discussed in both "The Prince" and "The Discourses" with only the most perfunctory expressions of moral disapproval,¹ and the employment of virtue and religion is discussed with as little evidence of moral appreciation. A scientific indifference so thoroughgoing as was that of Machiavelli could hardly have failed to subject him to the reproach of sympathy with evil. He lays it down, for example, that while it is moral and praiseworthy for a prince to be good, nevertheless one who wishes to maintain his authority must be ready to lay aside his goodness at any moment, and, in general, to employ it or not according to circumstances. Moreover, since no man can be expected to possess all the virtues, the discreet ruler will particularly avoid the infamy of those vices which endanger the state, and will thus be relieved of concern about those which are necessary to preserve it.² And, again, in perhaps the most famous passage in his works, he refers to the common impression that the keeping of faith is praiseworthy, and then proceeds to demonstrate that, for the sake of maintaining political power, deceit and hypocrisy are indispensable.³ "The prince must appear all sincerity, all uprightness, all humanity, all religion;" but he must have his mind so disciplined that, when it is necessary to save the state, he can act regardless of these. "Let the prince, then, look to the maintenance of the state; the means will always be deemed honorable and will receive general approbation." And when Machiavelli is treating of republics his conclusions are the same. "I believe that when there is fear for the life of the state, both

(1) Cf. the comparison of cruelty badly used with cruelty "well used," —se del male è lecito dire bene. *The Prince*, chap. 8.

(2) *Ibid.*, chap. 15.

(3) *Ibid.*, chap. 18.

monarchs and republics, to preserve it, will break faith and display ingratitude." ¹

Moral judgments, thus, are wholly subordinate in Machiavelli's philosophy to the exigencies of political existence and welfare. He is not immoral, but unmoral in his politics. And the same attitude appears in relation to religion. He is not irreligious, but unreligious. So far as religious practices involve the operation of forces above the influence of human reason, they are entirely out of his sphere; but so far as religion is operative in determining relations to the state and the trend of political development, it is subjected to the same cold-blooded analysis that appears in his treatment of morality. Religious sentiment he views as an important instrument of state policy, and as such he holds that it must always be taken into account by statesmen; not at all, however, because of any profound truth to which the sentiment corresponds, but because the decline of respect for religion is the surest sign of approaching ruin for the state, and because wise statesmen are able, through appeal to this sentiment, to achieve reforms which otherwise would be beyond their power. ²

Always, thus, Machiavelli has in mind the necessity of preserving the state as the first principle of his philosophy. The whole effect of this point of view is summed up in the dictates of unscrupulous patriotism: "Where the safety of one's country is at stake, there must be no consideration of what is just or unjust, merciful or cruel, glorious or shameful; on the contrary, everything must be disregarded save that course which will save her life and maintain her independence." ³

A second influence which was obviously at work in determining Machiavelli's treatment of the relation of politics to ethics and religion was his admiration for power and efficiency in man. This feeling was temperamental rather than conscious. The philosopher could not avoid a sense of pleasure in the manifestation of the ability to reach a desired end with clear-cut and

(1) *Discourses*, bk. i. chap. 59. (2) *Ibid.*, i. 11. (3) *Ibid.*, iii. 41.

indisputable success. He had in him the stuff that the hero-worshiper is made of. The strong man and his art constituted the theme to which Machiavelli's genius inevitably returned. His intimate familiarity with the workings of government in the weak Florentine Republic, where divided counsels, temporizing, and vacillation were so conspicuous, strongly confirmed the natural disposition to minute analysis of the elements which combined to make the policy of a state fixed, definite, and coherent. Hence his rather unfortunate favorable judgment upon Cæsar Borgia,¹ which involved approval of neither the end nor the means of that tyrant's policy, but merely of the relation between end and means. And hence, too, the reproach visited upon the Baglioni for not slaying Pope Julius II. when the opportunity was given.² Without passing any judgment upon the immorality of the policy which the tyrant should have pursued, Machiavelli merely points out the utter inconsistency of an ill-timed scruple with the policy in question. And the same characteristic of the philosopher's thought is seen in his reiterated disparagement of a middle course in affairs of state.³

Finally, the separation of politics from ethics and religion is maintained by Machiavelli consciously, as a result of the conviction that this corresponds most closely with the facts of human existence. He is in the fullest sense a student of practical politics, and he seeks to determine the workings of a real, not of an ideal, political life. Imaginary and impossible states have for him no interest whatever. His purpose is "to get back to the actual truth of things."⁴ "There is," he says, "the greatest difference between the way in which men live and that in which they ought to live"; and the former, not the latter, is deliberately chosen as the subject of his investigations.

This point of view was, of course, most useful. It corrected the tendency to make of political science a mere congeries of

(1) *The Prince*, chap. 7. (2) *Discourses*, i. 27. (3) *Ibid.*, i. 26 and 27.

(4) * * * mi è parso più conveniente andare dietro alla verità effettuale della cosa. *Il Principe*, chap. 15.

moral and religious precepts. At the same time, it involved the interpretation of history and the formulation of political philosophy in terms of the most advanced rationalism of the pagan Renaissance. In the intellectual classes of Machiavelli's day moral and religious emotion was practically extinct. A calculating self-interest served for a practical standard of conduct, and a perfunctory observance of the forms of the Christian religion did not disguise a widespread rejection of its substance. It was easy, therefore, in such an environment, for Machiavelli to formulate his political philosophy independently of ethical and theological influences. It was easy for him, also, in the presence of such careers as those of the Borgias, to present "the actual truth of things" as expressed in the dissociation of political from ethical and religious principles and practices. And it was very natural for him to heap invective upon the Roman Church, not so much for having abandoned its religion, as for having violated all the scientific proprieties by assuming a leading place in politics.²

On the whole, it must be said that while Machiavelli's attitude toward morality and religion was scientifically justifiable, and contributed greatly to the clarification of the problems of politics, the lack of feeling which characterized the expression of his views afforded considerable ground for the suspicion that he was not only scientifically unmoral, but also practically immoral, and for the criticism to which he has been subjected throughout succeeding centuries. Yet it may be doubted whether, with all the reproach that is due him, he has not been too severely punished by having to bear the odium that is concentrated in the term "Machiavellian."

IV. THE FORMS OF GOVERNMENT.

Machiavelli's treatment of the classification of governments starts with a perfunctory adoption of the Aristotelian system of monarchy, aristocracy, and constitutional democracy, with the

(1) *The Prince*, chap. 11. *Discourses*, i. 11.

three corresponding corruptions,—tyranny, oligarchy, and democracy; and the same conclusion is reached with that of Polybius and Cicero, that a mixed form is the best and most stable.¹ This line of thought is not followed out to any extent, however, and serious attention is concentrated on the characteristics and relative advantages of the monarchy, or principality, and the popular government, or republic. The blending of the ideas of antiquity with the influence of contemporary conditions is obvious at every step in the progress of his reflection. The isolated and non-expanding Hellenic city-state, republican or despotic, with its analogue in the Italian city-state; the expanding city-state of Rome, with its imperial development; and the recently founded quasi-national monarchy,—all combine in determining his conclusions. “The Prince” is essentially a study of monarchy in relation to the extension of political dominion, and “The Discourses” is in like manner a study of popular government with reference to the same end.

As between the princely and the popular form, Machiavelli is very far from being the thoroughgoing advocate of the former that an unfortunate reputation has tended to make him. His appreciation of republican government is no less pronounced than that of Aristotle himself; and in respect to this form the judgments of the Italian, when allowance is made for the difference in ideals, are in substantial agreement with those of the Greek. For a community in which a general economic equality prevails, Machiavelli holds that the commonwealth is the best, and indeed the only possible, form of government.² The people as a whole is, he thinks, wiser and no more vacillating than a prince. The ingratitude of republics is no greater than that displayed by princes.³ The judgment of the people, especially in such matters as the choice of officers and the assignment of honors, is in

(1) *Ibid.*, i. 2.

(2) * * * dove è equalità, non si può fare Principato, e dove la non è, non si può far repubblica. *Discorsi*, i. 55.

(3) *Ibid.*, i. 58.

general sound and unimpeachable.¹ Granting that a prince is best suited to the original establishment of political or legal institutions, a popular government is best qualified to maintain them.² Again, republics keep faith better than princes—if not by choice, at least as a result of the greater complexity of the popular organization and the corresponding obstacles to a quick change of policy.³ And, finally, in respect to that adaptation to times and circumstances which is essential to the success of any policy, the republic has an advantage over the monarchy, because the character of the prince will not change with conditions, while among the many characters which participate in the service of a republic, one may always be found that is suited to the particular needs of a given time.⁴

Machiavelli thus manifests no irrational preference for monarchy; and his judgment in respect to aristocratic power is almost wholly unfavorable. The antithesis of the great (“i grandi”) and the masses (“il popolo”) he considers a prime factor in the life of every city-state (“città”), and his feeling is frankly with the latter. The mass of the people he believes to be the best support for an elective monarch,⁵ to be the most effective instrument for the maintenance of independence, and to be far less productive of internal disturbance than is the aristocracy.⁶ The leading motive of the upper class he conceives to be, in all cases, the passion for the exercise of authority, while the masses desire only peace and order.⁷ A landed aristocracy (“gentiluomini”), in particular, renders free government impossible.⁸ This class, indeed, when possessing castles and subjects of their own, he considers fatal to all social order (“nemici d’ogni civiltà”). Where such conditions exist, as is the case in many parts of

(1) *Ibid.*, i. 47-48; *Cf.* iii. 34. (2) i. 58.

(3) *Discourses*, i. 59. (4) *Ibid.*, iii. 9.

(5) *The Prince*, chap. 9. (6) *Discourses*, i. 5.

(7) *Ibid.*, i. 16.

(8) Dove sono gentiluomini non si possa ordinare repubblica. *Discorsi*, i. 55.

Italy, not only is the establishment of republican government impossible, but even monarchy can be set up only through the extinction or systematic transformation of the "gentlemen."

A high degree of appreciation for the commonwealth based on the mass of equal citizens is thus a distinguishing feature of Machiavelli's philosophy. But he fully recognizes that circumstances require different forms of organization at different times and in different places, and he is particularly attracted by the problem as to what system of organization and action is best adapted to the establishment of far-reaching dominion. What Plato and Aristotle regarded as unworthy of consideration by either statesman or philosopher,¹ becomes thus with Machiavelli the central point of interest.

V. ON THE EXTENSION OF DOMINION.

The theory and practice of extending monarchic dominion is chiefly to be found in "The Prince," while the expansion of republics is the theme of "The Discourses." The process in each case is regarded by Machiavelli, not as involving the blending of two or more social or political organisms, but as consisting in the subjection of a number of states to the rule of a single prince or commonwealth. The French and Spanish monarchies, in whose constitutions Machiavelli finds much to admire, are regarded as groups of states rather than as single organizations; and in his plea for a united Italy he clearly has in mind a similar union. "No province," he says, "was ever united or happy save by becoming subject in its entirety to a single commonwealth or a single prince, as has happened in France and in Spain."² This conception of unity has little in common with that which inspired the heroic national politics of the nineteenth century, but it is precisely that which was to determine all the transforma-

(1) Cf. Plato, *The Laws*, bk. v. 742; Aristotle, *Politics*, vii. 2 and 14.

(2) Veramente alcuna provincia non fu mai unita o felice, se la non viene tutta all' ubbidienza d'una repubblica o d'un principe, come è avvenuto alla Francia ed alla Spagna. *Discorsi*, i. 12.

tions of political geography in Western Europe for three centuries after Machiavelli's death.

In "The Prince" the chief heads of the discussion are first the acquisition, and second the extension, of princely power. Under the first head are set forth the methods by which principalities are founded, illustrated by the policy of characters so diverse as those of Moses and Cæsar Borgia. The former, with Cyrus, Romulus, and Theseus, is taken to illustrate the acquisition of power by the individual's own resources and ability,¹ while the Borgia is taken as a typical instance of those who owe their success to good fortune and the aid of others. All these heroes were founders of new states. The extension of dominion by a prince already at the head of a government gives rise to what Machiavelli calls a mixed principality ("principato misto"). His discussion of the methods best adapted to the creation and enlargement of such organizations exhibits most fully, at the same time, the philosopher's intellectual acumen and his moral indifferentism.

The line of least resistance to the ambitious prince, it is pointed out, is through peoples of his own race. It is easy to hold acquisitions made in the same country ("provincia") and where the same language is used; the conqueror has merely to extinguish the line of the former prince and to let the old institutions remain. But acquisition of states ("stati") in a country differing in language and institutions from that of the conqueror involves more complex problems, the solution of which was, on the whole, achieved most successfully by the Romans.² The most serious difficulties in the way of a conquering prince arise in connection with a state that has been under republican government prior to the conquest. Here the name of liberty and the memory of the ancient constitution will always serve as an

(1) *Virtù*. This term is used by Machiavelli, like the Latin *virtus* and the Greek ἀρετή, without any ethical connotation.

(2) *The Prince*, chap. 5.

inspiration to revolt, and the only safe policy is utterly to destroy the community.¹

With all his admiration for the strong man and all his confidence that the ability and resources of one truly great can determine the fate of states, Machiavelli, nevertheless, has a just appreciation of the persistent power inherent in the fundamental institutions ("gli ordini") of a community. The surest test of the great man is his ability to introduce and maintain a new social and political constitution. The reformer is hampered by the open hostility of those who derive profit from the old order, and by the lukewarmness of those who have only hope, but no certainty, of benefit from the new. The prince who takes over the sovereignty of a state and leaves it to go on under its old institutions has a simple task; but he who assumes power in order to reform the constitution undertakes the most doubtful and dangerous of enterprises.² Success in this respect is what justifies the assignment of high position among statesmen to Moses, Cyrus, Romulus, and Theseus; and the key to their success Machiavelli characteristically finds in the fact that they all took pains to have at hand armed forces sufficient to defend the new constitutions, when persuasion ceased to be effective. That the inherent excellence of a new constitution is no guarantee of its permanence is proved, Machiavelli thinks, by the failure of reforming prophets who have not sustained themselves by arms, and notably by the then recent case of Savonarola.

The tendency toward extension of dominion is in Machiavelli's opinion inevitable in both republics and monarchies. A prince is resistlessly impelled to such a policy by the insatiable craving for power which is natural to men, and a republic, if not impelled by choice, is sure to be driven to it by necessity.³ If the constitution of a republic is not such as to be suited to a policy of expansion, the foundation of the state will be torn away

(1) Chi diviene padrone di una città consueta a vivere libera e non la disfaccia, aspetti di essere disfatto da quella. *Il Principe*, chap. 5.

(2) *Ibid.*, chap. 6. (3) *Discourses*, i. 6; ii. 19.

when the necessity for such a policy arises, and the constitution will be destroyed.

In carrying out the extension of its dominion, the Roman Republic set an example which in Machiavelli's opinion no commonwealth can do better than to follow implicitly. The elements of the Roman system he summarizes thus: "Increase the population of the city; acquire allies rather than subjects; establish colonies in the conquered territory; turn all booty into the treasury; carry on war rather by field campaigns and pitched battles than by sieges; keep the state rich and the individual poor; and with the utmost care maintain a well-trained army."¹ It is noteworthy that the greatest stress here, as in the discussion of successful monarchy, is put upon the force of arms. It is Machiavelli's fixed belief, due as much to his observations in Italian politics as to the teachings of history, that a well-trained citizen soldiery is indispensable in a republic, not only for the purpose of aggrandizement, but even for maintaining existence. Both his active career in the Florentine administration and his philosophical writings testify to his interest in the substitution of a popular militia for the mercenary bands that constituted the bulk of the fighting forces of his day.² In "The Discourses" he devotes a very clever chapter to demonstrating the falsity of the common saying that "money is the sinews of war."³ Not money, but good soldiers, are in reality the source of strength; for, he says, "Money will not always procure good soldiers, but good soldiers will always procure money."

But with all Machiavelli's cynical exaltation of physical force as the foundation of the greatness of states, he will not, in last analysis, concede that this factor is as decisive as craft. He holds it unquestionable truth that men never rise from insignificance to greatness without the use of force and craft ("fraude");

(1) *Ibid.*, ii. 19.

(2) He carried out in Florence a project for the organization of a citizen militia. See Villari, *Niccolò Machiavelli e i suoi tempi*, i. p. 509 *et seq.*

(3) *Discourses*, ii. 10.

but while force without craft is never sufficient, craft without force will meet with success.¹ This principle applies as well to republics as to principalities, as he amply demonstrates by reference to the career of the Romans.

VI. ON THE PRESERVATION OF DOMINION.

While the more or less definite conviction that every government must either extend its authority or perish, gives to Machiavelli's doctrine of aggrandizement the chief importance in his philosophy, nevertheless his works abound in striking presentations of the principles on which depends the ordinary peaceful working of both monarchic and republican institutions.

For the stability of princely governments the first great rule of policy is respect for the established institutions and customs of the land. Men who are well-governed and whose familiar ways of life are let alone will not seek for any further liberty.² This is a consideration which should guide both hereditary and usurping monarchs. In the former class, however, Machiavelli's interest is not very great; with ordinary sagacity the hereditary prince has an easy task.³ But the newly established prince has to confront a more troublesome situation, and the dictates of sound policy for such a ruler are always more particularly in Machiavelli's mind. "The Prince" embodies a comprehensive analysis of the art of tyranny, with conclusions that in very many respects coincide with those of Aristotle in his discussion of the same subject.⁴

Because all government rests ultimately on force,⁵ the prince must have a good army,—which excludes dependence on foreign mercenaries or allies. He must, on the whole, be parsimonious with his own money and that of his subjects, but lavish in distributing the spoils of war.⁶ Severity rather than mildness must characterize his attitude in public affairs, but above all he must

(1) *Ibid.*, ii. 13.

(2) *Ibid.*, iii. 5. (3) *The Prince*, chap. 2. (4) In the *Politics*, v. 11.

(5) *The Prince*, chap. 12. (6) Chap. 16.

keep his hands off the property and the women of his subjects.¹ He should endeavor to be, so far as possible, at the same time feared but not hated by the people; and accordingly those duties of administration which involve odious responsibility should be performed by subordinates, while acts of grace should be attended to by the prince in person.² He must, moreover, embrace every opportunity to develop a reputation for exalted purposes and character. He must keep the people busy with great enterprises, must surround all his actions with an air of grandeur, must take open and decided part in the controversies of neighboring states, must pose as the patron of distinguished ability in the fine arts, and, finally, must liberally encourage the useful arts of commerce and agriculture, and refrain from interfering with them by burdensome taxation.

These dictates of enlightened despotism are thoroughly blended, in their presentation, with the maxims of non-moral conduct which have been already described.³ The combination is a pretty good picture of the actual working of monarchic government in Machiavelli's own time. His corresponding discussion of the principles of republican government also involves a faithful reflection of actual conditions. But in this subject there is distinguishable, at times, an undertone of personal feeling which is totally lacking in "The Prince," and which gives evidence of the fact that at heart Machiavelli had a preference for popular government.

His idea of a commonwealth, or republic, is wholly that of antiquity, namely, a city-state. The thought that popular government could be organized for a whole "province" never appears. So also, as in ancient thought, the commonwealth implies the rule of the mass of the people as distinguished from the aristocracy ("i grandi, la nobiltà"). "Liberty" ("libertà") is used, without discrimination, to designate either independence with respect to any external power, or a condition in which government is in the

(1) *The Prince*, chap. 16. (2) Chap. 19.

(3) *Supra*, sec. 3.

hands of the people rather than of the nobles or an individual.¹ The ancient distinction between "pure" and "corrupt" republics is maintained by Machiavelli; "corruption" meaning the absence of a sense of equality among the citizens. "Corruption" is recognized as an economic rather than a political phenomenon, caused by the unequal accumulation of wealth, and as such the philosopher does not undertake to discuss the ways and means of preventing it, but merely assumes its existence.² His problem is to indicate what is essential for the maintenance of popular government in either pure or corrupt communities. The example of Rome is so influential in determining his philosophy on these points that his views amount to a panegyric on the Roman Republic, as idealized by the poets and historians of the post-republican age. It is worth while to consider, however, a few particular judgments in which Machiavelli, while basing himself primarily on the recitation and eulogy of Roman practice, gives to his reflections the character of universal political science.

Here belongs his analysis of the inter-relationship of constitution, custom, and law in their bearing upon the permanence of republican government. The distinction between the fundamental law of the state ("gli ordini") and ordinary legislation ("le leggi") is consistently maintained by Machiavelli. Legislation and custom, he sees, are closely interdependent; a change in custom will easily be followed by corresponding changes in the laws. Not so, however, with the constitution. It remains intact, and hence becomes by degrees out of harmony with custom and legislation, and therefore a source of ruin to the state. An adaptation of constitution as well as law to the varying conditions in a state is indispensable to the preservation of republican government. If the constitution is not flexible, the necessary adjustment will be effected, after disastrous delay, suddenly and by violence rather than gradually and by peaceful procedure, and the

(1) Cf. *Discourses*, ii. 2.

(2) He does, however, repeatedly declare that the citizens should be kept poor, even if the state become rich.

result is likely to be the entire destruction of the old order, as happened in Rome. But modification of the fundamental law in republics should always be made with the least possible deviation from ancient forms, however great the change in substance; for people are in general content with appearances, and do not penetrate to the realities of things.¹

No less noteworthy than this appreciation of constitutional reform as a means of escaping revolution is Machiavelli's appreciation of the necessity of provision in a republic for the exercise of absolute power by some officer of the government in great emergencies. The dictatorship he regards as one of the most essential features of the republican constitution of Rome, and one of those which contributed most to the greatness of the state.² Popular governments particularly need provision for prompt and efficient action in critical times, from the fact that the normal action of the administration, requiring as it does the coöperation of many wills, is feeble and slow. If the constitution does not provide for the necessary concentration of authority, the constitution will be broken when the stress comes, and the requisite action will be taken regardless of the fundamental law. Thus, however, a precedent will be created in a good cause which may later be followed in a bad. The Roman dictatorship, therefore, carefully limited as it was by well defined methods of creation and termination, furnishes a model for all free governments.

This judgment upon the necessity of dictatorial power in republics was as sound as it was unusual. On another prominent feature of Roman history Machiavelli likewise takes issue with the common opinion. The party controversies between plebs and nobles he regards not as evidence of unsoundness and as a source of disaster in the state, but as an indispensable condition of Roman greatness.³ His reasoning approaches that of the modern

(1) L'universale degli uomini si pasce così di quel che pare, come di quello che è. *Discorsi*, i. 25.

(2) *Ibid.*, i. 34.

(3) *Ibid.*, i. 3, 4.

school which sees in friction and strife the conditions of continuous existence. One must not be deceived, he, in substance, says, by the tumult of party contention. This is not of the essence of the matter. Under cover of the shouting and the stress of the controversy are produced results which, while not consciously in the purpose of the contestants, are of vital importance to the state. Party struggles furnish a necessary vent to the emotions and ambitions of the common people, test the powers and demonstrate the ability of the leading citizens, and call into existence the institutions and laws which prove the mainstay of the government in later days. All these results are discoverable in the history of Rome, and all are essential to an expanding republic.¹ Channels through which the feelings ("umori") of the common people may find adequate and harmless expression are, in Machiavelli's opinion, of the greatest importance, and he suggests various other means to this end, particularly approving ample facilities for the making, and judicial investigation, of charges against public characters.² Men of real distinction and marked ability are always looked upon with suspicion by the masses. In times of peace and quiet they are wholly neglected in republics, and the leadership falls into the hands of the rich and well-connected.³ An escape from the perils of such a tendency was found by Rome, he thinks, in the policy of incessant war, by which the best of her citizens were kept always to the front.

For the republic which would correspond most closely to Machiavelli's ideal, therefore, vehement internal party strife and an ever aggressive foreign policy would be normal and indispensable conditions of existence. This fact, again, throws a strong light on the divergence, which the many resemblances serve to emphasize, between the Machiavellian and the Aristotelian politics.

(1) Sparta and Venice, as types of the non-expanding republic, did not exhibit the phenomena of party strife. *Ibid.*, i. 6.

(2) *Ibid.*, i. 7. (3) *Ibid.*, ii. 16.

VII. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION.

The influence of Machiavelli upon the history of political theories can hardly be exaggerated. Not only the method and substance of his philosophy, but also the marvelous literary art with which it was expressed, served to win for it universal attention. Criticism of his doctrine developed into vehement controversy, in which a grotesquely distorted conception of his system, labeled Machiavellism by its adversaries, brought much open obloquy upon the philosopher, and at the same time stimulated, though less conspicuously, much respect for and adoption of his method and his real principles. By far the foremost among the ideas which the Florentine made prominent in political science was that of a distinction between the standards of public and of private morality. About this point has turned most of the discussion of which Machiavellism has been the centre. The whole trend of theory under the influences which characterized the time of the Reformation was against the view which Machiavelli propounded; but the practice of the age continued to furnish, like all preceding ages, incontestable evidence that the "reason of state" took precedence, in political life, of the moral code which was recognized as valid between man and man. In Frederick the Great of Prussia Machiavellian doctrine received a particularly noteworthy confirmation. For Frederick, as a youthful amateur in philosophy, soundly berated the Italian for the immoral teachings of "The Prince"; but in later life, as the ambitious head of a struggling and sorely beset state, he exemplified in his policy some of the very maxims which he had most solemnly denounced.

Next in importance to his view of the relation between politics and morality, in its influence on later political philosophy, was Machiavelli's method,—his reunion of theory and practice. Though the mediæval tendency to philosophize "in the air"—to speculate on the basis of conditions which had lost, if they ever had possessed, the semblance of reality—by no means entirely disappeared after Machiavelli's time; though it continued

for a century or more to characterize a large body of political literature,—yet his relentless empiricism gave an impulse to the method of observation and experience which was not exhausted till the last vestiges of mediævalism in political theory had disappeared.

Finally, a summary of the chief influences which radiated from Machiavelli into the broad field of political science must include reference to his doctrine of aggrandizement. In the assumption that extension of power was the test of excellence in government, he established a philosophic basis for accepting, as rational, and as a fit subject for reflection, that consolidation of states which was so prominent a fact of the times. In suggesting—for he did not strongly press the idea—that the logical limit of this consolidation, in any case, was the limit of ethnic homogeneity, he projected an influence which was felt in the nineteenth century. But the doctrine of nationality, which has thus far played so prominent a part in the expansion of states, has in reality no logical relation to Machiavelli's fundamental principle. Already a multitude of other bases for conquest, more adequate to later necessities, are familiar to current thought. To justify the extension of political power, the Aryan is invested with a claim to dominate the Semite or the Turanian; the "Anglo-Saxon" is invented, to rule over other Aryans; the "political peoples" are assigned the desired preëminence over the "non-political," the civilized over the uncivilized. Nationality has proved merely a temporary and transitional phase of the trend toward expansion on Machiavellian lines, which has, in fact, no logical limit save that of power.

Machiavelli is sometimes called the first modern political philosopher. It is quite as accurate to say that he ends the mediæval era as that he begins the modern. Great as was his influence in stimulating reflection, it was not by his radical rejection of all the characteristics of mediæval political theory that the modern era was introduced. Western Europe could not be rationalized and paganized off-hand. Before the death of Machiavelli, Luther

gave the signal for the movement which was to keep the intellectual energy of Europe fully occupied, for a hundred and fifty years, in the fields of theology and morals, and to keep politics in a subordinate position. Machiavellian doctrine was influential during this time, though Machiavelli's name was execrated by all parties. Only after the Reformation had been succeeded by the Revolution was frank and open recognition given to Machiavelli's philosophical depth and practical political sagacity.

THE MIDDLE WEST

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American sectional nomenclature is still confused. Once "the West" described the whole region beyond the Alleghanies; but the term has hopelessly lost its definiteness. The rapidity of the spread of settlement has broken down old usage, and as yet no substitute has been generally accepted. The "Middle West" is a term variously used by the public, but for the purpose of the present paper, it will be applied to that region of the United States included in the census reports under the name of the North Central division, comprising the States of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin (the old "Territory Northwest of the River Ohio"), and their trans-Mississippi sisters of the Louisiana Purchase,—Missouri, Iowa, Minnesota, Kansas, Nebraska, North Dakota, and South Dakota. It is an imperial domain. If the greater countries of Central Europe,—France, Germany, Italy, and Austria-Hungary,—were laid down upon this area, the Middle West would still show a margin of spare territory. Pittsburg, Cleveland, and Buffalo constitute its gateways to the Eastern States; Kansas City, Omaha, St. Paul-Minneapolis, and Duluth-Superior dominate its western areas; Cincinnati and St. Louis stand on its southern borders; and Chicago reigns at the centre. What Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore are to the Atlantic seaboard these cities are to the Middle West. The Great Lakes and the Mississippi, with the Ohio and the Missouri as laterals, constitute the vast water system that binds the Middle West together. It is the

economic and political centre of the Republic. At one edge is the populism of the prairies; at the other, the capitalism that is typified in Pittsburg. Great as are the local differences within the Middle West, it possesses, in its physiography, in the history of its settlement, and in its economic and social life, a unity and interdependence which warrant a study of the area as an entity. Within the limits of this article, treatment of so vast a region, however, can at best afford no more than an outline sketch, in which old and well-known facts must, if possible, be so grouped as to explain the position of the section in American history.

In spite of the difficulties of the task, there is a definite advantage in so large a view. By fixing our attention too exclusively upon the artificial boundary lines of the States, we have failed to perceive much that is significant in the westward development of the United States. For instance, our colonial system did not begin with the Spanish War; the United States has had a colonial history and policy from the beginning of the Republic; but they have been hidden under the phraseology of "interstate migration" and "territorial organization."

The American people have occupied a spacious wilderness; vast physiographic provinces, each with its own peculiarities, have lain across the path of this migration, and each has furnished a special environment for economic and social transformation. It is possible to underestimate the importance of State lines, but if we direct our gaze rather to the physiographic province than to the State area, we shall be able to see some facts in a new light. Then it becomes clear that these physiographic provinces of America are in some respects comparable to the countries of Europe, and that each has its own history of occupation and development. General Francis A. Walker once remarked that "the course of settlement has called upon our people to occupy territory as extensive as Switzerland, as England, as Italy, and latterly, as France or Germany, every ten years." It is this element of vastness in the achievements of American democracy that gives a peculiar interest to the conquest and development of the Middle West. The effects of this con-

quest and development upon the present United States have been of fundamental importance.

Physiographically the Middle West is almost conterminous with the Province of the Lake and Prairie Plains ; but the larger share of Kansas and Nebraska, and the western part of the two Dakotas belong to the Great Plains ; the Ozark Mountains occupy a portion of Missouri, and the southern parts of Ohio and Indiana merge into the Alleghany Plateau. The relation of the Province of the Lake and Prairie Plains to the rest of the United States is an important element in the significance of the Middle West. On the north lies the similar region of Canada : the Great Lakes are in the centre of the whole eastern and more thickly settled half of North America, and they bind the Canadian and Middle Western people together. On the south, the province meets the apex of that of the Gulf Plains, and the Mississippi unites them. To the west, it merges gradually into the Great Plains ; the Missouri and its tributaries and the Pacific railroads make for them a bond of union ; another rather effective bond is the interdependence of the cattle of the plains and the corn of the prairies. To the east, the province meets the Alleghany and New England Plateaus, and is connected with them by the upper Ohio and by the line of the Erie Canal. Here the interaction of industrial life and the historical facts of settlement have produced a close relationship. The intimate connection between the larger part of the North Central and the North Atlantic divisions of the United States will impress any one who examines the industrial and social maps of the census atlas. By reason of these interprovincial relationships, the Middle West is the mediator between Canada and the United States, and between the concentrated wealth and manufactures of the North Atlantic States and the sparsely settled Western mining, cattle-raising, and agricultural States. It has a connection with the South that was once still closer, and is likely before long to reassert itself with new power. Within the limits of the United States, therefore, we have problems of interprovincial trade and commerce similar to those that exist between the nations of the Old World.

Over most of the Province of the Lake and Prairie Plains the Laurentide glacier spread its drift, rich in limestone and other rock powder, which farmers in less favored sections must purchase to replenish the soil. The alluvial deposit from primeval lakes contributed to fatten the soil of other parts of the prairies. Taken as a whole, the Prairie Plains surpass in fertility any other region of America or Europe, unless we except some territory about the Black Sea. It is a land marked out as the granary of the nation; but it is more than a granary. On the rocky shores of Lake Superior were concealed copper mines rivaled only by those of Montana, and iron fields which now furnish the ore for the production of eighty per cent of the pig iron of the United States. The Great Lakes afford a highway between these iron fields and the coal areas of the Ohio Valley. The gas and oil deposits of the Ohio Valley, the coal of Illinois, Iowa, Michigan, and eastern Kansas, the lead and zinc of the Ozark region and of the upper Mississippi Valley, and the gold of the Black Hills, —all contribute underground wealth to the Middle West.

The primeval American forest once spread its shade over vast portions of the same province. Ohio, Indiana, southern Michigan, and central Wisconsin were almost covered with a growth of noble deciduous trees. In southern Illinois, along the broad bottom lands of the Mississippi and the Illinois, and in southern and southwestern Missouri, similar forests prevailed. To the north, in Michigan, Wisconsin, and Minnesota, appeared the sombre white pine wilderness, interlaced with hard woods, which swept in ample zone along the Great Lakes, till the deciduous forests triumphed again, and, in their turn, faded into the treeless expanse of the prairies. In the remaining portions were openings in the midst of the forested area, and then the grassy ocean of prairie that rolled to west and northwest, until it passed beyond the line of sufficient rainfall for agriculture without irrigation, into the semi-arid stretches of the Great Plains.

In the middle of the eighteenth century, the forested region of this province was occupied by the wigwams of many different tribes of the Algonquin tongue, sparsely scattered in villages

along the water courses, warring and trading through the vast wilderness. The western edge of the prairie and the Great Plains were held by the Sioux, chasing herds of bison across these far-stretching expanses. These horsemen of the plains and the canoemen of the Great Lakes and the Ohio were factors with which civilization had to reckon, for they constituted important portions of perhaps the fiercest native race with which the white man has ever battled for new lands.

The Frenchman had done but little fighting for this region. He swore brotherhood with its savages, traded with them, intermarried with them, and explored the Middle West; but he left the wilderness much as he found it. Some six or seven thousand French people in all, about Detroit and Vincennes, and in the Illinois country, and scattered among the Indian villages of the remote lakes and streams, held possession when George Washington reached the site of Pittsburg, bearing Virginia's summons of eviction to France. In his person fate knocked at the portals of a "rising empire." France hurried her commanders and garrisons, with Indian allies, from the posts about the Great Lakes and the upper Mississippi; but it was in vain. In vain, too, the aftermath of Pontiac's widespread Indian uprising against the English occupation. When she came into possession of the lands between the Ohio, the Mississippi, and the Great Lakes, England organized them as a part of the Province of Quebec. The daring conquest of George Rogers Clark left Virginia in military possession of the Illinois country at the conclusion of the Revolutionary War; but over all the remainder of the Old Northwest, England was in control. Although she ceded the region by the treaty which closed the Revolution, she remained for many years the mistress of the Indians and the fur trade. When Lord Shelburne was upbraided in parliament for yielding the Northwest to the United States, the complaint was that he had clothed the Americans "in the warm covering of our fur trade," and his defense was that the peltry trade of the ceded tract was not sufficiently profitable to warrant further war. But the English

government became convinced that the Indian trade demanded the retention of the Northwest, and she did in fact hold her posts there in spite of the treaty of peace. Dundas, the English secretary for the colonies, expressed the policy, when he declared, in 1792, that the object was to interpose an Indian barrier between Canada and the United States, and in pursuance of this policy of preserving the Northwest as an Indian buffer State, the Canadian authorities supported the Indians in their resistance to American settlement beyond the Ohio. The conception of the Northwest as an Indian reserve strikingly exhibits England's inability to foresee the future of the region, and to measure the forces of American expansion.

By the cessions of Virginia, New York, Massachusetts, and Connecticut, the Old Congress had come into nominal possession of an extensive public domain, and a field for the exercise of national authority. The significance of this fact in the development of national power is not likely to be overestimated. The first result was the completion of the Ordinance of 1787, which provided a territorial government for the Old Northwest, with provisions for the admission of States into the Union. This federal colonial system guaranteed that the new national possessions should not be governed as dependent provinces, but should enter as a group of sister States into the federation. While the importance of the article excluding slavery has often been pointed out, it is probable that the provisions for a federal colonial organization have been at least equally potential in our actual development. The full significance of this feature of the Ordinance is only appreciated when we consider its continuous influence upon the American territorial and State policy in the westward expansion to the Pacific, and the political preconceptions with which Americans approach the problems of government in the new insular possessions. The Land Ordinance of 1785 is also worthy of attention in this connection, for under its provisions almost all of the Middle West has been divided by the government surveyor into rectangles of sections and townships, by whose lines the settler has been able easily and certainly to locate his farm, and the

forester his "forty." In the local organization of the Middle West these lines have played an important part.

It would be impossible within the limits of this paper to detail the history of the occupation of the Middle West; but the larger aspects of the flow of population into the region may be sketched. Massachusetts men had formed the Ohio Company, and had been influential in shaping the liberal provisions of the Ordinance. Their land purchase, paid for in soldiers' certificates, embraced an area larger than the State of Rhode Island. At Marietta in 1788, under the shelter of Fort Harmar, their bullet-proof barge, the "Mayflower," landed the first colony. A New Jersey colony was planted in the same year at Cincinnati in the Symmes Purchase. Thus American civilization crossed the Ohio. The French settlements at Detroit and in Indiana and Illinois belonged to other times and had other ideals; but with the entrance of the American pioneer into the forest of the Middle West, a new era began. The Indians, with the moral support of England, resisted the invasion, and an Indian war followed. The conquest of Wayne, in 1795, pushed back the Indians to the Greenville line, extending irregularly across the State of Ohio from the site of Cleveland to Fort Recovery in the middle point of her present western boundary, and secured certain areas in Indiana. In the same period Jay's treaty provided for the withdrawal of the British posts. After this extension of the area open to the pioneer, new settlements were rapidly formed. Connecticut disposed of her reserved land about Lake Erie to companies, and in 1796 General Moses Cleaveland led the way to the site of the city that bears his name. This was the beginning of the occupation of the Western Reserve, a district about as large as the parent State of Connecticut, a New England colony in the Middle West, which has maintained, even to the present time, the impress of New England traits. Virginia and Kentucky settlers sought the Virginia Military Bounty Lands, and the foundation of Chillicothe here, in 1796, afforded a centre for Southern settlement. The region is a modified extension of the limestone area of Kentucky, and naturally attracted the

emigrants from the Blue Grass State. Ohio's history is deeply marked by the interaction of the New England, Middle, and Southern colonies within her borders.

By the opening of the nineteenth century, when Napoleon's cession brought to the United States the vast spaces of the Louisiana Purchase beyond the Mississippi, the pioneers had hardly more than entered the outskirts of the forest along the Ohio and Lake Erie. But by 1810 the government had extinguished the Indian title to the unsecured portions of the Western Reserve, and to great tracts of Indiana, along the Ohio and up the Wabash Valley; thus protecting the Ohio highway from the Indians, and opening new lands to settlement. The embargo had destroyed the trade of New England, and had weighted down her citizens with debt and taxation; caravans of Yankee emigrant wagons, precursors of the "prairie schooner," had already begun to cross Pennsylvania on their way to Ohio; and they now greatly increased in number. North Carolina back countrymen flocked to the Indiana settlements, giving the peculiar Hoosier flavor to the State, and other Southerners followed, outnumbering the Northern immigrants, who sought the eastern edge of Indiana. Tecumthe and his people, rendered desperate by the advance into their hunting grounds, took up the hatchet, made wide-reaching alliances among the Indians, and turned to England for protection. The Indian war merged into the War of 1812, and the settlers strove in vain to add Canadian lands to their empire. In the diplomatic negotiations that followed the war, England made another attempt to erect the Old Northwest beyond the Greenville line into a permanent Indian barrier between Canada and the United States; but the demand was refused, and by the treaties of 1818, the Indians were pressed still farther north. In the meantime, Indian treaties had released additional land in southern Illinois, and pioneers were widening the bounds of the old French settlements. Avoiding the rich savannas of the prairie regions, as devoid of wood, remote from transportation facilities, and suited only to grazing, they entered the hard woods—and in the early twenties they were advancing

in a wedge shaped column up the Illinois Valley. The Southern element constituted the main portion of this phalanx of axe-bearers. Abraham Lincoln's father had joined the throng of Kentuckians that entered the Indiana woods in 1816, and the boy, when he had learned to hew out a forest home, betook himself, in 1830, to Sangamon County, Illinois. He represents the pioneer of the period; but his axe sank deeper than other men's, and the plaster cast of his great sinewy hand, at Washington, embodies the training of these frontier railsplitters, in the days when Fort Dearborn, on the site of Chicago, was but a military outpost in a desolate country. While the hard woods of Illinois were being entered, the pioneer movement passed also into the Missouri Valley. The French lead miners had already opened the southeastern section, and Southern mountaineers had pushed up the Missouri; but now the planters from the Ohio Valley and the upper Tennessee followed, seeking the alluvial soils for slave labor. Moving across the southern border of free Illinois, they had awakened regrets in that State at the loss of so large a body of settlers.

Looking at the Middle West, as a whole, in the decade from 1810 to 1820, we perceive that settlement extended from the shores of Lake Erie in an arc, following the banks of the Ohio till it joined the Mississippi, and thence along that river and up the Missouri well into the centre of the State. The next decade was marked by the increased use of the steamboat; pioneers pressed farther up the streams, etching out the hard wood forests well up to the prairie lands, and forming additional tracts of settlement in the region tributary to Detroit and in the southeastern part of Michigan. In the area of the Galena lead mines of northwestern Illinois, southwestern Wisconsin, and northeastern Iowa, Southerners had already begun operations; and if we except Ohio and Michigan, the dominant element in all this overflow of settlement into the Middle West was Southern, particularly from Kentucky, Virginia, and North Carolina. The settlements were still dependent on the rivers for transportation, and the areas between the rivers were but lightly occupied. The

Mississippi constituted the principal outlet for the products of the Middle West; Pittsburg furnished most of the supplies for the region, but New Orleans received its crops. The Old National road was built piecemeal, and too late, as a whole, to make a great artery of trade throughout the Middle West, in this early period; but it marked the northern borders of the Southern stream of population, running, as this did, through Columbus, Indianapolis, and Vandalia.

The twenty years from 1830 to 1850 saw great changes in the composition of the population of the Middle West. The opening of the Erie Canal in 1825 was an epoch-making event. It furnished a new outlet and inlet for northwestern traffic; Buffalo began to grow, and New York City changed from a local market to a great commercial centre. But even more important was the place which the canal occupied as the highway for a new migration. In the march of the New England people from the coast, three movements are of especial importance: the advance from the seaboard up the Connecticut and Housatonic Valleys through Massachusetts and into Vermont; the advance thence to central and western New York; and the advance to the interior of the Old Northwest. The second of these stages occupied the generation from about 1790 to 1820; after that the second generation was ready to seek new lands; and these the Erie Canal and lake navigation opened to them, and to the Vermonters and other adventurous spirits of New England. It was this combined New York-New England stream that in the thirties poured in large volume into the zone north of the settlements which have been described. The newcomers filled in the southern counties of Michigan and Wisconsin, the northern counties of Illinois, and parts of the northern and central areas of Indiana. Pennsylvania and Ohio sent a similar type of people to the area adjacent to those States. In Iowa a stream, which combined a Southern element with these settlers, sought the wooded tributaries of the Mississippi in the southeastern part of the State. In default of legal authority, in this early period, they formed squatter governments and land associations, comparable to the action

of the Massachusetts men who in the first quarter of the seventeenth century "squatted" in the Connecticut Valley.

A great forward movement had occurred, which took possession of oak openings and prairies, gave birth to the cities of Chicago, Milwaukee, St. Paul, and Minneapolis, as well as to a multitude of lesser cities, and replaced the dominance of the Southern element by that of a modified Puritan stock. The railroad system of the early fifties bound the Mississippi to the North Atlantic seaboard; New Orleans gave way to New York as the outlet for the Middle West, and the day of river settlement was succeeded by the era of inter-river settlement and railway transportation. The change in the political and social ideals was at least equal to the change in economic connections, and together these forces made an intimate organic union between New England, New York, and the newly settled West. In estimating the New England influence in the Middle West, it must not be forgotten that the New York settlers were mainly New Englanders of a later generation.

Combined with the streams from the East came the German migration into the Middle West. Over half a million, mainly from the Palatinate, Würtemberg, and the adjacent regions, sought America between 1830 and 1850, and nearly a million more Germans came in the next decade. The larger portion of these went into the Middle West; they became pioneers in the newer parts of Ohio, especially along the central ridge, and in Cincinnati; they took up the hard wood lands of the Wisconsin counties along Lake Michigan; and they came in important numbers to Missouri, Illinois, Indiana, and Michigan, and to the river towns of Iowa. In Wisconsin and Missouri their numbers were such that enthusiasts dreamed of establishing in the one or the other a German State. The migration in the thirties and forties contained an exceptionally large proportion of educated and forceful leaders, men who had struggled in vain for the ideal of a liberal German nation, and who contributed important intellectual forces to the communities in which they settled. The Germans, as a whole, furnished a conservative and

thrifty agricultural element to the Middle West. In some of their social ideals they came into collision with the Puritan element from New England, and the outcome of the steady contest has been a compromise. Of all the States, Wisconsin has been most deeply influenced by the Germans.

By the later fifties, therefore, the control of the Middle West had passed to its Northern zone of population, and this zone included representatives of the Middle States, New England, and Germany as its principal elements. The Southern people, north of the Ohio, differed in important respects from the Southerners across the river. They had sprung largely from the humbler classes of the South, although there were important exceptions. The early pioneer life, however, was ill-suited to the great plantations, and slavery was excluded under the Ordinance. Thus this Southern zone of the Middle West, particularly in Indiana and Illinois, constituted a mediating section between the South and the North. The Mississippi still acted as a bond of union, and up to the close of the War of 1812 the valley, north and south, had been fundamentally of the same social organization. In order to understand what follows, we must bear in mind the outlines of the occupation of the Gulf Plains. While settlement had been crossing the Ohio to the Northwest, the spread of cotton culture and negro slavery into the Southwest had been equally significant. What the New England States and New York were in the occupation of the Middle West, Virginia, the Carolinas, and Georgia were in the occupation of the Gulf States. But, as in the case of the Northwest, a modification of the original stock occurred in the new environment. A greater energy and initiative appeared in the new Southern lands; the pioneer's devotion to exploiting the territory in which he was placed transferred slavery from the patriarchal to the commercial basis. The same expansive tendency seen in the Northwest revealed itself, with a belligerent seasoning, in the Gulf States. They had a programme of action. Abraham Lincoln migrated from Kentucky to Indiana and to Illinois. Jefferson Davis moved from Kentucky to Louisiana, and thence to Mississippi, in the same period. Start-

ing from the same locality, each represented the divergent flow of streams of settlement into contrasted environments. The result of these antagonistic streams of migration to the West was a struggle between the Lake and Prairie plainsmen, on the one side, and the Gulf plainsmen, on the other, for the possession of the Mississippi Valley. It was the crucial part of the struggle between the Northern and Southern sections of the nation. What gave slavery and State sovereignty their power as issues was the fact that they involved the question of dominance over common territory in an expanding nation. The place of the Middle West in the origin and settlement of the great slavery struggle is of the highest significance.

In the early history of Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, a modified form of slavery existed under a system of indenture of the colored servant; and the efforts of Southern settlers in Indiana and in Illinois to reintroduce slavery are indicative of the importance of the pro-slavery element in the Northwest. But the most significant early manifestation of the rival currents of migration with respect to slavery is seen in the contest which culminated in the Missouri Compromise. The historical obstacle of the Ordinance, as well as natural conditions, gave an advantage to the anti-slavery settlers northwest of the Ohio; but when the Mississippi was crossed, and the rival streams of settlement mingled in the area of the Louisiana Purchase, the struggle followed. It was an Illinois man, with constituents in both currents of settlement, who introduced the Missouri Compromise, which made a *modus vivendi* for the Middle West, until the Compromise of 1850 gave to Senator Douglas of Illinois, in 1854, the opportunity to reopen the issue by his Kansas-Nebraska bill. In his doctrine of "squatter-sovereignty," or the right of the territories to determine the question of slavery within their bounds, Douglas utilized a favorite Western political idea, one which Cass of Michigan had promulgated before. Douglas set the love of the Middle West for local self-government against its preponderant antipathy to the spread of slavery. At the same time he brought to the support of the doctrine the democratic party, which ever since

the days of Andrew Jackson had voiced the love of the frontier for individualism and for popular power. In his "Young America" doctrines Douglas had also made himself the spokesman of Western expansive tendencies. He thus found important sources of popular support when he invoked the localism of his section against the nationalism which it had previously shown. The Western appeals to Congress for aid in internal improvements, protective tariffs, and land grants had been indications of nationalism. The doctrine of squatter sovereignty itself catered to the love of national union by presenting the appearance of a non-sectional compromise, which should allow the new areas of the Middle West to determine their own institutions. But the Free Soil party, strongest in the regions occupied by the New York-New England colonists, and having for its programme national prohibition of the spread of slavery into the territories, had already found in the Middle West an important centre of power. The strength of the movement far surpassed the actual voting power of the Free Soil party, for it compelled both Whigs and Democrats to propose fusion on the basis of concession to free soil doctrines. The New England settlers and the western New York settlers,—the children of New England,—were keenly alive to the importance of the issue. Indeed, Seward, in an address at Madison, Wisconsin, in 1860, declared that the Northwest, in reality, extended to the base of the Alleghanies, and that the new States had "matured just in the critical moment to rally the free States of the Atlantic coast, to call them back to their ancient principles."

These free soil forces and the nationalistic tendencies of the Middle West proved too strong for the opposing doctrines when the real struggle came. Calhoun and Taney shaped the issue so logically that the Middle West saw that the contest was not only a war for the preservation of the Union, but also a war for the possession of the unoccupied West, a struggle between the Middle West and the States of the Gulf Plains. The economic life of the Middle West had been bound by the railroad to the North Atlantic, and its interests, as well as its love of national unity,

made it in every way hostile to secession. When Dr. Cutler had urged the desires of the Ohio Company upon Congress, in 1787, he had promised to plant in the Ohio Valley a colony that would stand for the Union. Vinton of Ohio, in arguing for the admission of Iowa, urged the position of the Middle West as the great unifying section of the country: "Disunion," he said, "is ruin to them. They have no alternative but to resist it whenever or wherever attempted. * * * Massachusetts and South Carolina might, for aught I know, find a dividing line that would be mutually satisfactory to them; but, Sir, they can find no such line to which the western country can assent." But it was Abraham Lincoln who stated the issue with the greatest precision, and who voiced most clearly the nationalism of the Middle West, when he declared, "A house divided against itself cannot stand. I believe this government cannot endure permanently half slave and half free."

So it was that when the civil war in Kansas grew into the Civil War in the Union, after Lincoln's election to the presidency, the Middle West, dominated by its combined Puritan and German population, ceased to compromise, and turned the scale in favor of the North. The Middle West furnished more than one third of the Union troops. The names of Grant and Sherman are sufficient testimony to her leadership in the field. The names of Lincoln, Chase, and Stanton show that the presidential, the financial, and the war powers were in the hands of the Middle West. If we were to accept Seward's own classification, the conduct of foreign affairs belonged to the same section; it was, at least, in the hands of a representative of the dominant forces of the section. The Middle West, led by Grant and Sherman, hewed its way down the Mississippi and across the Gulf States, and Lincoln could exult in 1863, "The Father of Waters again goes unvexed to the sea. Thanks to the great Northwest for it, nor yet wholly to them."

In thus outlining the relations of the Middle West to the slavery struggle, we have passed over important extensions of settlement in the decade before the war. In these years, not

only did the density of settlement increase in the older portions of the region, but new waves of colonization pushed into the remoter prairies. Iowa's pioneers, after Indian cessions had been secured, spread well toward her western limits. Minnesota, also, was recruited by a column of pioneers. The treaty of Traverse de Sioux, in 1851, opened over twenty million acres of arable land in that State, and Minnesota increased her population 2730.7 per cent in the decade from 1850 to 1860.

Up to this decade the pine belt of the Middle West, in northern Michigan, Wisconsin, and Minnesota had been the field of operations of Indian traders. At first under English companies, and afterward under Astor's American Fur Company, the traders with their French and half-breed boatmen skirted the Great Lakes and followed the rivers into the forests, where they stationed their posts and spread goods and whiskey among the Indians. Their posts were centres of disintegration among the savages. The new wants and the demoralization which resulted from the Indian trade facilitated the purchases of their lands by the federal government. The trader was followed by the seeker for the best pine land "forties"; and by the time of the Civil War the exploitation of the pine belt had fairly begun. The Irish and Canadian choppers, followed by the Scandinavians, joined the forest men, and log drives succeeded the trading canoe. Men from the pine woods of Maine and Vermont directed the industry, and became magnates in the mill towns that grew up in the forests,—millionaires, and afterwards political leaders. In the prairie country of the Middle West, the Indian trade that centred at St. Louis had been important ever since 1820, with an influence upon the Indians of the plains similar to the influence of the northern fur trade upon the Indians of the forest. By 1840 the removal policy had effected the transfer of most of the eastern tribes to lands across the Mississippi. Tribal names that formerly belonged to Ohio and the rest of the Old Northwest were found on the map of the Kansas Valley. The Platte country belonged to the Pawnees and their neighbors, and to the north along the Upper Missouri were the Sioux, or Dakotas, Crows,

Cheyennes, and other horse Indians, following the vast herds of buffalo that grazed on the Great Plains. The discovery of California gold and the opening of the Oregon country, in the middle of the century, made it necessary to secure a road through the Indian lands for the procession of pioneers that crossed the prairies to the Pacific. The organization of Kansas and Nebraska, in 1854, was the first step in the withdrawal of these territories from the Indians. A period of almost constant Indian hostility followed, for the savage lords of the boundless prairies instinctively felt the significance of the entrance of the farmer into their empire. In Minnesota the Sioux took advantage of the Civil War to rise; but the outcome was the destruction of their reservations in that State, and the opening of great tracts to the pioneers. When the Pacific railways were begun, Red Cloud, the astute Sioux chief, who, in some ways, stands as the successor of Pontiac and of Tecumthe, rallied the principal tribes of the Great Plains to resist the march of civilization. Their hostility resulted in the peace measures of 1867 and 1868, which assigned to the Sioux and their allies reservations embracing the major portion of Dakota territory, west of the Missouri River. The systematic slaughter of millions of buffalo, in the years between 1866 and 1873, for the sake of their hides, put an end to the vast herds of the Great Plains, and destroyed the economic foundation of the Indians. Henceforth they were dependent on the whites for their food supply, and the Great Plains were open to the cattle ranchers.

In a preface written in 1872 for a new edition of "The Oregon Trail," which had appeared in 1847, Francis Parkman said, "The wild cavalcade that defiled with me down the gorges of the Black Hills, with its paint and war plumes, fluttering trophies and savage embroidery, bows, arrows, lances, and shields, will never be seen again." The prairies were ready for the final rush of occupation. The homestead law of 1862, passed in the midst of the war, did not reveal its full importance as an element in the settlement of the Middle West until after peace. It began to operate most actively, contemporaneously with the development of the several

railways to the Pacific, in the two decades from 1870 to 1890, and in connection with the marketing of the railroad land grants. The outcome was an epoch-making extension of population.

Before 1870 the vast and fertile valley of the Red River, once the level bed of an ancient lake, occupying the region where North Dakota and Minnesota meet, was almost virgin soil. But in 1875 the great Dalrymple farm showed its advantages for wheat raising, and a tide of farm seekers turned to the region. The "Jim River" Valley of South Dakota attracted still other settlers. The Northern Pacific and the Great Northern Railroad thrust out laterals into these Minnesota and Dakota wheat areas from which to draw the nourishment for their daring passage to the Pacific. The Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul, the Chicago and Northwestern Railway, and other roads, gridironed the region; and the unoccupied lands of the Middle West were taken up by a migration that in its system and scale is unprecedented. The railroads sent their agents and their literature everywhere, "booming" the "Golden West"; the opportunity for economic and political fortunes in such rapidly growing communities attracted multitudes of Americans whom the cheap land alone would not have tempted. In 1870 the Dakotas had 14,000 settlers; in 1890 they had over 510,000. Nebraska's population was 28,000 in 1860; 123,000 in 1870; 452,000 in 1880; and 1,059,000 in 1890. Kansas had 107,000 in 1860; 364,000 in 1870; 996,000 in 1880; and 1,427,000 in 1890. Wisconsin and New York gave the largest fractions of the native element to Minnesota; Illinois and Ohio together sent perhaps one third of the native element of Kansas and Nebraska, but the Missouri and Southern settlers were strongly represented in Kansas; Wisconsin, New York, Minnesota, and Iowa gave North Dakota the most of her native settlers; and Wisconsin, Iowa, Illinois, and New York did the same for South Dakota.

Railroads and steamships organized foreign immigration on a scale and system never before equaled; the high water mark of American immigration was in the early eighties. Germans and Scandinavians were rushed by emigrant trains out to the prairies,

to fill the remaining spaces in the older States of the Middle West. The census of 1890 showed in Minnesota 373,000 persons of Scandinavian parentage, and out of the total million and one half persons of Scandinavian parentage in the United States, the Middle West received all but about three hundred thousand. The persons of German parentage in the Middle West numbered over four millions out of a total of less than seven millions in the whole country. The province had, in 1890, a smaller proportion of persons of foreign parentage than had the North Atlantic division, but the proportions varied greatly in the different States. Indiana had the lowest percentage, 20.38; and, rising in the scale, Missouri had 24.94; Kansas 26.75; Ohio 33.93; Nebraska 42.45; Iowa 43.57; Illinois 49.01; Michigan 54.58; Wisconsin 73.65; Minnesota 75.37; and North Dakota 78.87.

What these statistics of settlement mean when translated into the pioneer life of the prairie, cannot be told here. There were sharp contrasts with the pioneer life of the Old Northwest: for the forest shade, there was substituted the boundless prairie; the sod house for the log hut; the continental railway for the old National Turnpike and the Erie Canal. Life moved faster, in larger masses, and with greater momentum in this pioneer movement. The horizon line was more remote. Things were done in the gross. The transcontinental railroad, the bonanza farm, the steam plow, harvester, and thresher, the "league-long furrow," and the vast cattle ranches, all suggested spacious combination and systematization of industry. The largest hopes were excited by these conquests of the prairie. The occupation of western Kansas may illustrate the movement which went on also in the west of Nebraska and the Dakotas. The pioneer farmer tried to push into the region with the old methods of settlement. Deceived by rainy seasons and the railroad advertisements, and recklessly optimistic, hosts of settlers poured out into the plains beyond the region of sufficient rainfall for successful agriculture without irrigation. Dry seasons starved them back; but a repetition of good rainfalls again aroused the determination to occupy the western plains. Boom towns flourished like prairie weeds;

Eastern capital struggled for a chance to share in the venture, and the Kansas farmers eagerly mortgaged their possessions to secure the capital so freely offered for their attack on the arid lands. By 1887 the tide of the pioneer farmers had flowed across the semi-arid plains to the western boundary of the State. But it was a hopeless effort to conquer a new province by the forces that had won the prairies. The wave of settlement dashed itself in vain against the conditions of the Great Plains. The native American farmer had received his first defeat; farm products at the same period had depreciated, and he turned to the national government for reinforcements.

The populistic movement of the western half of the Middle West is a complex of many forces. In some respects it is the latest manifestation of the same forces that brought on the crisis of 1837 in the earlier region of pioneer exploitation. That era of over-confidence, reckless internal improvements, and land purchases by borrowed capital, brought a reaction when it became apparent that the future had been over-discounted. But, in that time, there were the farther free lands to which the ruined pioneer could turn. The demand for an expansion of the currency has marked each area of Western advance. The greenback movement of Ohio and the eastern part of the Middle West grew into the fiat money, free silver, and land bank propositions of the Populists across the Mississippi. Efforts for cheaper transportation appear in each stage of Western advance. When the pioneer left the rivers and had to haul his crops by wagon to a market, the transportation factor determined both his profits and the extension of settlement. Demands for national aid to roads and canals had marked the pioneer advance of the first third of the century. The "Granger" attacks upon the railway rates, and in favor of governmental regulation, marked a second advance of Western settlement. The Farmers' Alliance and the populist demand for government ownership of the railroad is a phase of the same effort of the pioneer farmer, on his latest frontier. The proposals have taken increasing proportions in each region of Western advance. Taken as a whole, populism is a manifestation of the

old pioneer ideals of the native American, with the added element of increasing readiness to utilize the national government to effect its ends. This is not unnatural in a section whose lands were originally purchased by the government and given away to its settlers by the same authority, whose railroads were built largely by federal land grants, and whose settlements were protected by the United States army and governed by the national authority until they were carved into rectangular States and admitted into the Union. Its native settlers were drawn from many States, many of them former soldiers of the Civil War, who mingled in new lands with foreign immigrants accustomed to the vigorous authority of European national governments.

But these old ideals of the American pioneer, phrased in the new language of national power, did not meet with the assent of the East. Even in the Middle West a change of deepest import had been in progress during these years of prairie settlement. The agricultural preponderance of the country has passed to the prairies, and manufacturing development has followed in the areas once devoted to pioneer farming. In the decade prior to the Civil War, the area of greatest wheat production passed from Ohio and the States to the east, into Illinois, Indiana, and Wisconsin; after 1880, the centre of wheat growing moved across the Mississippi; and in 1890 the new settlements produced half the crop of the United States. The corn area shows a similar migration. In 1840 the Southern States produced half the crop, and the Middle West one fifth; by 1860 the situation was reversed, and in 1890, nearly one half the corn of the Union came from beyond the Mississippi. Thus the native American settlers of the Old Northwest and their crops have moved together across the Mississippi, and in the regions whence they migrated varied agriculture and manufacture have sprung up.

As these movements in population and products have passed across the Middle West, and as the economic life of the eastern border has been intensified, a huge industrial organism has been created in the province,—an organism of tremendous power, activity, and unity. Fundamentally the Middle West is an agri-

cultural area unequaled for its combination of space, variety, productiveness, and freedom from interruption by deserts or mountains. The huge water system of the Great Lakes has become the highway of a mighty commerce. The Sault Ste. Marie Canal, although open but two thirds of the year, is the channel of a traffic of greater tonnage than that which passes through the Suez Canal, and nearly all this commerce moves almost the whole length of the Great Lake system; the chief ports being Duluth, Chicago, Detroit, Cleveland, and Buffalo. The transportation facilities of the Great Lakes were revolutionized after 1886, to supply the needs of commerce between the East and the newly developed lands of the Middle West; the tonnage doubled; wooden ships gave way to steel; sailing vessels yielded to steam; and huge docks, derricks, and elevators, triumphs of mechanical skill, were constructed.¹ A competent investigator has lately declared that "there is probably in the world today no place at tide water where ship plates can be laid down for a less price than they can be manufactured or purchased at the lake ports." This rapid rise of the merchant marine of our great inland seas has led to the demand for deep water canals to connect them with the ocean road to Europe. When the fleets of the Great Lakes plow the Atlantic, and when Duluth and Chicago become seaports, the water transportation of the Middle West will have completed its evolution. The significance of the development of the railway systems is not inferior to that of the great water way. Chicago has become the greatest railroad centre of the world, nor is there another area of like size which equals this in its railroad facilities: all the forces of the nation intersect here. Improved terminals, steel rails, better rolling stock, and consolidation of railway systems have accompanied the advance of the people of the Middle West.

This unparalleled development of transportation facilities measures the magnitude of the material development of the province. Its wheat and corn surplus supplies the deficit of the

(1) See the *Monthly Reports of Commerce and Finance of the United States* for details on the economic life of the region.

rest of the United States and much of that of Europe. Such is the agricultural condition of the province of which Monroe wrote to Jefferson, in 1786, in these words: "A great part of the territory is miserably poor, especially that near Lakes Michigan and Erie, and that upon the Mississippi and the Illinois consists of extensive plains which have not had, from appearances, and will not have, a single bush on them for ages. The districts, therefore, within which these fall will never contain a sufficient number of inhabitants to entitle them to membership in the confederacy."

Minneapolis and Duluth receive the spring wheat of the northern prairies, and after manufacturing great portions of it into flour, transmit it to Buffalo, the Eastern States, and to Europe. Chicago is still the great city of the corn belt, but its power as a milling and wheat centre has been passing to the cities that receive tribute from the northern prairies. It lies in the region of winter wheat, corn, oats, and live stock. Kansas City, St. Louis, and Cincinnati are the sister cities of this zone, which reaches into the grazing country of the Great Plains. The meeting point of corn and cattle has led to the development of the packing industries,—great business systems that send the beef and pork of the region to supply the East and parts of Europe. The "feeding system" adopted in Kansas, Nebraska, and Iowa, whereby the stock is fattened from the surplus corn of the region, constitutes a species of varied farming that has saved these States from the disasters of the failure of a single industry, and has been one solution of the economic life of the transition belt between the prairies and the Great Plains. Under a more complex agriculture, better adapted to the various sections of the State, and with better crops, Kansas has become more prosperous and less a centre of political discontent.

While this development of the agricultural interests of the Middle West has been in progress, the exploitation of the pine woods of the north has furnished another contribution to the commerce of the province. The centre of activity has migrated from Michigan to Minnesota, and the lumber traffic furnishes one

of the principal contributions to the vessels that ply the Great Lakes and supply the tributary mills. As the white pine vanishes before the organized forces of exploitation, the remaining hard woods serve to establish factories in the former mill towns. The more fertile denuded lands of the north are now receiving settlers who repeat the old pioneer life among the stumps.

But the most striking development in the industrial history of the Middle West in recent years has been due to the opening up of the iron mines of Lake Superior. Even in 1873 the Lake Superior ores furnished a quarter of the total production of American blast furnaces. The opening of the Gogebic mines in 1884, and the development of the Vermillion and Mesabi mines adjacent to the head of the lake, in the early nineties, completed the transfer of iron ore production to the Lake Superior region. Michigan, Minnesota, and Wisconsin together now produce the ore for eighty per cent of the pig iron of the United States. Four fifths of this great product moves to the ports on Lake Erie and the rest to the manufactories at Chicago and Milwaukee. The vast steel and iron industry that centres at Pittsburg and Cleveland, with important outposts like Chicago and Milwaukee, is the outcome of the meeting of the coal of the eastern and southern borders of the province and of Pennsylvania, with the iron ores of the north. The industry has been systematized and consolidated by a few great captains of industry. Steam shovels dig the ore from many of the Mesabi mines; gravity roads carry it to the docks and to the ships, and huge hoisting and carrying devices, built especially for the traffic, unload it for the railroad and the furnace. Iron and coal mines, transportation fleets, railroad systems, and iron manufactories are concentrated in a few corporations, principally in the great steel corporation. The world has never seen such a consolidation of capital and so complete a systematization of economic processes on a Titanic scale.

Such is the economic appearance of the Middle West a century after the pioneers left the frontier village of Pittsburg and crossed the Ohio into the forests. De Tocqueville exclaimed, with reason, in 1833: "This gradual and continuous progress of the

European race toward the Rocky Mountains has the solemnity of a providential event. It is like a deluge of men, rising unabatedly, and driven daily onward by the hand of God."

The ideals of the Middle West began in the log huts set in the midst of the forest a century ago. While his horizon was still bounded by the clearing that his axe had made, the pioneer dreamed of continental conquests. The vastness of the wilderness province kindled his imagination. His vision saw beyond the dank swamp at the edge of the great lake to the lofty buildings and the jostling multitudes of a mighty city; beyond the rank, grass-clad prairie to the seas of golden grain; beyond the harsh life of the log hut and the sod house to the home of his children, where should dwell comfort and the higher things of life, though they might not be for him. The men and women who made the Middle West were idealists, and they had the power of will to make their dreams come true. Here, also, were the pioneer's traits,—individual activity, inventiveness, and competition for the prizes of the rich province that awaited exploitation under freedom and equality of opportunity. He honored the man whose eye was the quickest and whose grasp was the strongest in this contest: it was "every one for himself." The early society of the Middle West was not a complex, highly differentiated and organized society. Almost every family was a self-sufficing unit, and liberty and equality flourished in the frontier periods of the Middle West as perhaps never before in history. American democracy came from the forest, and its destiny drove it to material conquests; but the materialism of the pioneer was not the dull contented materialism of an old and fixed society. Both native settler and European immigrant saw in this free competitive movement of the frontier the chance to break the bondage of social rank, and to rise to a higher plane of existence. The pioneer was passionately desirous to secure for himself and for his family a favorable place in the midst of these large and free but vanishing opportunities. It took a century for this society to fit itself into the conditions of the whole province. Little by little, nature pressed into her mould the plastic pioneer life. The Middle West, yesterday

a pioneer province, is today the field of industrial resources and systematization so vast that Europe, alarmed for her industries in competition with this new power, is discussing the policy of forming protective alliances among the nations of the continent. Into this region flowed the great forces of modern capitalism. Indeed, the region itself furnished favorable conditions for the creation of these forces, and trained many of the greatest American industrial leaders. The prairies, the Great Plains, and the Great Lakes furnished new standards of industrial measurement. From this society, seated amidst a wealth of material opportunities, and breeding individualism, energetic competition, inventiveness, and spaciousness of design, came the triumph of the strongest. Great captains of industry arose and seized on nature's gifts. Struggling with one another, increasing the scope of their ambitions as the largeness of the resources and the extent of the fields of activity revealed themselves, they were forced to accept the natural conditions of a province vast in area but simple in structure. Competition grew into consolidation. On the Pittsburg border of the Middle West the completion of the process is most clearly seen. On the prairies of Kansas stands the Populist, a survival of the pioneer, striving to adjust present conditions to his old ideals.

The ideals of equality, freedom of opportunity, faith in the common man are deep rooted in all the Middle West. The frontier stage, through which each portion passed, left abiding traces on the older, as well as on the newer, areas of the province. Nor were these ideals limited to the native American settlers; Germans and Scandinavians who poured into the Middle West sought the country with like hopes and like faith. These facts must be remembered in estimating the effects of the economic transformation of the province upon its democracy. The peculiar democracy of the frontier has passed away with the conditions that produced it; but the democratic aspirations remain. They are held with passionate determination. The task of the Middle West is that of adapting democracy to the vast economic organization of the present. This region which has so often needed the reminder that bigness is not greatness, may

yet show that its training has produced the power to reconcile popular government and culture with the huge industrial society of the modern world. The democracies of the past have been small communities, under simple and primitive economic conditions: at bottom the problem is how to reconcile real greatness with bigness. It is important that the Middle West should accomplish this task, for the future of the Republic is with her. Politically she is dominant, as is illustrated by the fact that six out of seven of the Presidents elected since 1860 have come from her borders. Twenty-six million people live in the Middle West as against twenty-one million in New England and the Middle States together, and the Middle West has indefinite capacity for growth. The educational forces are more democratic than in the East, and the Middle West has twice as many students (if we count together the common school, secondary, and collegiate attendance), as have New England and the Middle States combined. Nor is this educational system, as a whole, inferior to that of the Eastern States. State universities crown the public school system in every one of these States of the Middle West, and rank with the universities of the seaboard, while private munificence has furnished others on an unexampled scale. The public and private art collections of Pittsburg, Chicago, St. Paul, and other cities rival those of the seaboard. "World's fairs," with their important popular educational influences, have been held at Chicago, Omaha, and Buffalo; and the next of these national gatherings is to be at St. Louis. There is throughout the Middle West a vigor and a mental activity among the common people that bode well for its future. If the task of reducing the Province of the Lake and Prairie Plains to the uses of civilization should for a time overweigh art and literature, and even high political and social ideals, it would not be surprising. But if the ideals of the pioneers shall survive the inundation of material success, we may expect to see in the Middle West the rise of a great and intelligent society where culture shall be reconciled with democracy in the large.

JOHANN KARL BERTRAM STUEVE¹

POULTNEY BIGELOW, *London.*

This is the life of a German who was born in 1798 in the British Dependency of Hanover; was compelled to celebrate the birthday of the great Napoleon with the rest of his German schoolfellows as late as 1813; was seventeen years old when Waterloo was fought; studied in Berlin when Jahn still preached liberty to his gymnastic classes; tramped his Germany from end to end with a knapsack on his back, and the yearning for a United Germany in his heart; was an active champion of constitutional liberty against the encroachments of absolute monarchy; was persecuted by the Government; was one of the revolutionary leaders of 1848, and lived to see Germany united under an Imperial Constitution in 1871. He would be a dull man who could live those years, between Jena and Sedan, and not furnish interesting reports to posterity; and he would be indeed a dull editor who could make such a record uninteresting. The two volumes before us, representing about eight hundred pages of closely-printed German text, prove to be not merely an important contribution to the constitutional history of Germany, but also a work full of literary charm and of suggestive material. The editor has shown himself worthy of his trust, and we can but hope that the English-speaking world may soon be gratified by

(1) *Johann Karl Bertram Stueve*, nach Briefen und persönlichen Erinnerungen von Gustav Stueve. 2 vols. 8° Hanover und Leipzig: Hahn'sche Buchhandlung, 1900.

a suitable translation. It is to be regretted that this eminent work, especially precious for purposes of reference, should have neither index nor adequate table of contents, not even a bald alphabetical index of names. But, then, we have long since ceased to expect such luxuries from the German press !

Germany, the richest of all countries in poets, musicians, chemists, scientific excavators of every kind, is strikingly barren in the field of memoirs or human documents. The age of Goethe, which in Germany was an intellectual renaissance such as had not been experienced in Europe since the days of Martin Luther, brought together a wonderful corps of scholars, to whom we of today are indebted for the spirit of modern research. Philology became a science under Grimm and Boeckh ; history took its modern form under Niebuhr ; sculpture and architecture combined the dignity of the classic with the demands of modern ideals in the works of Rauch and Schinkel ; theology broadened its bases under Schleiermacher ; jurisprudence began to live when Savigny made it his theme ; geography and meteorology suggest Alexander von Humboldt. Schubert, Beethoven ; Uhland, Arndt,—the names seem endless that spring up in the mind when Germany claims recognition for services to humanity during the lifetime of even a single individual. The mighty intellectual forces then unchained represented a natural reaction after a dreary period of monotonous despotism whose climax was reached between the battle of Jena and the battle of Leipzig, when the tax-gatherers of Napoleon roosted on every housetop of the Fatherland, and exacted the utmost farthing from every household.

Then, in the bitterness of national degradation, this patient people commenced to gather arms in secret, to talk of liberation, and even to dream of liberty.

It rose up in its might in 1813, dragged along the senile King of Prussia in its train, sang songs of German unity from Berlin to Paris, and came back to the plough and the university, trusting the royal promise that a constitution should be granted.

The Germans who had rushed to arms against Napoleonic oppression in the spring of 1813 had carried with them the flower of the universities. After two years of campaigning, the professors of Heidelberg and Goettingen, Berlin and Jena, lectured to bearded men, who were no longer creatures of second-hand information, but citizen soldiers whose campaigning in France and observations in Paris had raised in their minds the ominous question, Why should Germans be less fit than Frenchmen for constitutional liberty?

Stueve came to Berlin as a student in 1817 at the age of nineteen. The political reaction, whose object it was to smother every manifestation of popular initiative, had already set in. It was a crime to talk of German Unity, still more of German Liberty. The very colors which symbolized the popular aspirations were proscribed. The secret police was busily scenting out imaginary conspiracies, and so-called society was being educated by the court, the officials, and the inspired press to regard liberals in general, and the university students in particular, as dangerous exponents of French radicalism, if not of anarchy. The very men who had saved the King in his distress by rousing the patriotism of his people were now looked upon askance, and were made to appreciate the fact that ingratitude is not a monopoly of republics. "Turnvater" Jahn was sent to jail; Ernst Moritz Arndt, the author of "*Was ist des Deutschen Vaterland*," was dismissed from his professorship at Bonn. The great Baron Stein was not recalled into the public service; even Gneisenau, who had saved Wellington at the battle of Waterloo, was treated as a suspect;—and, indeed, there was scarcely a name honored by the people which was not, in those early years of the nineteenth century, the object of police inquisition.

The result was that the important men of Germany ceased to write freely to one another, or if they did, pledged themselves to destroy each the other's correspondence. There never was in the history of the world so sad a picture of great talent, patriotism, and scholarship suffering at the mercy of absolute monarchy,—represented by brutal and illiterate policemen.

In such an atmosphere no wonder, then, that German science stopped short at questions involving the relation of the people to their sovereign, and that the wealth of personal correspondence which characterizes the literature of England and America should be almost wholly wanting.

Stueve may be said to have entered the broad stream of German national life, when in Berlin he came under the spell of Schleiermacher and Savigny.

He wrote to his mother, November 4th, 1817, from Berlin:—

“If my letters betrayed any dissatisfaction, it is, believe me, the result of strictly external conditions, for I did not like Berlin nor my position here. But things have changed since the summer. The student is here an object of hatred. It is only in him that there is anything vigorous. He is persecuted,—hemmed in by limitations,—but this very thing gives me a certain satisfaction, this tyranny stirs up the dreamers, and awakens resistance to the evil (*‘das Böse’*) that is here so strong. (*‘Das Böse’* stands for *Government.*)

“Improvement can be hoped for only through regeneration from within. Let us first kill the devil within ourselves before seeking to drive the devil out of others. Not until the people grasp this truth can any good be hoped for. For that reason, the good spirits must work together in order ultimately to exercise an influence on the people. That is a slow way, but I venture to think the only one.

“It is useless for the crown to offer German Unity and Liberty, unless the people is ripe to receive them.”

Stueve is the typical German scholar and statesman combined; for in the Germany of his day the university alone produced the politician. He voiced with strange prophetic precocity the political sentiment of educated Germany.

It is to Stueve and to the Germans of his mental methods that Germany owes her escape from the violence which in France characterized successive revolutions between 1789 and 1871. For a lad of nineteen this letter to his mother is almost as remarkable as Bryant’s “Thanatopsis,” written at the same age, and at about the same time.

While the Prussian King, Frederick William III., was in this and successive years haunted by the dread of a general conspiracy

to establish a republic in Germany, Stueve, who knew the sentiment of his fellow students better than did the political police, wrote, "Don't believe this nonsense about any political conspiracy."

Of Schleiermacher, whose lectures he attended, he wrote to his mother (December, 1817):—

"He seeks what is good everywhere, and fears no man. The students love him, and he is surrounded by a group of disciples. Those who attend his lectures have recently had a copper plate engraving made of him. * * * He preaches here at Trinity Church every Sunday, alternately mornings and afternoons. Aside from his theological scholarship, he is one of our first philosophers and a splendid speaker. In body he is small, insignificant, and somewhat deformed ('verwachsen'), but his face is grand; his eyes resemble two sparks, and the very shape of his mouth indicates the power of speech that is his. He is perfectly happy in his family, so far as I hear."

Stueve gives us a stimulating picture of happy relations between students and faculty,—professors surrounded by eager inquirers; all united in a common thirst for knowledge, each helping the other in fields where no one could say that there was not something more to be learned. It would be difficult, under present university conditions in America, to reproduce an academic life such as existed in Germany in the days of Stueve. To be sure, we can recall the lecture room of Professor Sumner at Yale, crowded with eager undergraduates who came of their own free will from all departments of the university, drawn by the forcible manner in which this gifted scholar discussed political economy, sociology, and financial history!

Some day the world may know authoritatively the amount of pressure which was brought to bear upon the faculty of Yale University in the hope of curtailing Professor Sumner's liberty of speech. The future historian will, perhaps, be surprised to learn that in republican America free thought at the universities has had to battle for existence no less than in Germany. Only last year (1900), a professor was dismissed from the Leland Stanford University under circumstances which a committee of independent professors, from various other academic bodies, regarded

as anything but creditable to that seat of learning. From the University of California Henry George was excluded in 1877, because of his views, which were embodied later in "Progress and Poverty." Such cases have occurred in different parts of Germany, but only at long intervals, and never without creating a burst of national indignation.

Stueve tells us that in 1837, when the new King of Hanover ascended the throne, he inaugurated his reign by telling the people that he would abolish the constitution. Seven professors of the University (Goettingen) boldly protested against this invasion of popular rights, and were promptly dismissed from their posts and driven out of the country. This event created a storm throughout Europe. The seven professors were hailed as martyrs in the cause of liberty, and even today the "Goettinger Sieben" are referred to in the same breath with Tell, Joan of Arc, and other popular idols.

Stueve fought the fight of a constitutional lawyer throughout his life; he was an enemy to violence; he believed in organic development; he believed confidently that the ills which afflicted his country would pass away in proportion as the people became educated in the duties of citizenship. This is not the stuff from which to make a sensational biography—here is not a Bolivar or Cromwell—much less a Napoleon. But, on the other hand, here is a life that explains to us the slow development of Germany; the conflict between absolute monarchy and constitutional law; the gradual development amongst Germans of that respect for justice and liberty which is now almost universal, but which then existed but hazily in the minds of a few thinkers.

When Goethe died, in 1832, Stueve wrote that German literature commenced and ended with him. "We can have no more poets. The system of persecution ('*unser Gehetze*') has driven away, or seeks to drive away, out of our life all that is beautiful or poetic,—all love!"

Much that Stueve complained of in those years was reproduced under the Empire and Bismarck,—notably the personal persecution of political opponents and the ostracism of profes-

sors who opposed the Government. When men like the late George von Bunsen could be brought to trial for treason by Bismarck, it makes the historian feel that academic Germany did not, after all, make much of a step in advance when it exchanged one crown for another!

Stueve tells us that on May 25th, 1840, he was elected to the Hanover legislature under a constitution that was fairly liberal in appearance. The Hanover Government disliked him for his opposition, and therefore the crown had him arrested on a charge akin to the now fashionable "*lèse-majesté*." The legislature was to meet on June 2nd; but he was forbidden to take his seat on the ground that he could not leave Osnabrück until the case was disposed of.

As though this were not enough, the crown prosecutor brought another action against him in connection with language he was reported to have used two years before in the municipal council, and though the matter was dropped for want of evidence, the Government refused to allow him to take his seat in the legislature, on the technical ground that the constitution excluded from office such as had been in a lawsuit, and had not been declared innocent! Thus the Government got up a case against him, dropped it, and then made that the pretext of keeping him from his post as a representative of the popular cause.

Bismarck did many things of this nature,—but none that offers a greater outrage to our sense of fair play.

Stueve was no pessimist—on the contrary he was a reformer. His words written at the outbreak of the war with France (1870) read strangely, "I expect nothing good of this war." He looked for a new distribution of social forces and saw in the victory of Prussian arms merely a triumph of militarism and capitalism rather than a substantial gain for popular government. "According to my opinion, our Government will be the result of the two great forces which now have the upper hand,—militarism and the stock exchange!"

And had Stueve lived to see the development of Bismarck's administration, he would have found scant reason to alter his opinion.

He died in 1871. One of his last letters, written in May of that year, refers to the United States :—

“The more I dig into history, the more do I realize that we can do little more than solve the problems that present themselves from moment to moment, that we can never count upon results, in spite of what scholars study and teach. * * * From America we have imported the idea of unlimited liberty, thanks to the Revolution of 1789, by means of which it entered Europe. And whereas they, in America, are working at the means of controlling this unlimited liberty in order to make it harmonize with their political necessities, we here are working as though we could establish complete liberty without reference to inherited conditions.

“I have long felt that American civilization was in danger of taking a step backwards, and this view is confirmed the more I notice that the local legislatures prove unequal to dealing with manifestations of disorder such as Rowdies and Ku Klux.”

“There are signs that we are going the same way in Germany. The mob of the great cities furnishes material for this sort of feeling, and the only remedy suggested by our wiseacres is to give them more liberty, to remove wholesome control, and, on the other side, to legislate in favor of the capitalist (*‘das Geldwesen ebenso unbedingt zu fördern’*). Both of these tendencies, though springing from the same roots, are in opposition to each other. We see the result of such legislation in France. This state of things has existed long in England and America, because in those countries liberty has been long a matter of course, not, as with us, handed to mankind by violence.”

These words seem almost as though they had been written as the groundwork of “Progress and Poverty.”

But here we must leave this interesting book,—the work of a loyal, courageous scholar, statesman, and patriot. It is by the careful study of men who have gone before that the statesman of today can measure the effect of laws which he meditates. We may reasonably venture the assertion that Bismarck would have been spared many a humiliation in his old age, had he taken to heart the political maxims so forcibly illustrated by the life of Stueve.

(1) This was in the administration of General Grant.

AN AMERICAN DICTIONARY OF ARCHITECTURE¹

MONTGOMERY SCHUYLER, *New York City.*

Perhaps the original appearance in English literature of a saying much quoted and variously ascribed, is to be found in Bolingbroke's "Letters on the Study and Use of History," and in this form: "I approve, therefore, very much, the devotion of a studious man of Christ Church, who was overheard in his oratory entering into a detail with God, as devout persons are apt to do, and, amongst other particular thanksgivings, acknowledging the divine goodness in furnishing the world with makers of dictionaries!" His lordship goes on, however, more disputably, in his superior way: "These men court fame, as well as their betters, by such means as God has given them to acquire it; and Littleton exerted all the genius he had, when he made a dictionary, though Stephens did not. They deserve encouragement, however, while they continue to compile, and neither affect wit, nor presume to reason."

That is one view of the province of lexicography. It is that which was playfully adopted by the ablest Englishman who has devoted himself to making dictionaries, when he defined himself

(1) *A Dictionary of Architecture and Building, Biographical, Historical, and Descriptive.* By Russell Sturgis, A. M., Ph. D., Fellow of the American Institute of Architects, and many architects, painters, engineers, and other expert writers, American and foreign. In three volumes. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1901.

as "a harmless drudge." But Johnson must have been confident that he would find no student of his "Dictionary" to agree with him in the low estimate he pretended to put upon his occupation. And, in fact, no man who plans and executes a serviceable scheme of a dictionary can complain that he has not found full employment for his intelligence. In the matter of definition alone, there are not many more severe taxes upon intelligence than to frame a series of inclusive and exclusive and unmistakable boundaries and limitations of the sense of words. It is in this that the first of English lexicographers is so superior to his successors that he who looks for a refined exactness in his definitions can still scarcely afford to be without Johnson. Carlyle's praise, in "Heroes," is not too high: "Looking to its clearness of definition, its general solidity, honesty, insight, and successful method, it may be called the best of all dictionaries. There is in it a kind of architectural nobleness."

This is not the way in which one discusses the labors of "a harmless drudge." It is the scheme of a dictionary which gives it this "architectural" quality. And it is the scheme of "A Dictionary of Architecture and Building," in particular, upon which its success must depend. Mr. Sturgis's enterprise is almost unprecedented in the English language. There is an English work, the "Dictionary" of the Architectural Publication Society, in eight folio volumes, the publication of which was begun forty years ago, and dragged on until 1890, or thereabouts. It was so unsatisfactory, that, even while it was in course of publication, it found a rival in the "Dictionary of Architecture and the Allied Arts" of the Messrs. Audsley, of which the publication was begun in 1881. This would have been a useful book of reference, but the publication was abandoned after it had extended to three tall octavos and the title "Buttery." Mr. Sturgis then had a clear field. For the old handbooks, Gwilt's and the like, are not only obsolete, but they were set forth almost exclusively for the use of mechanics who desired to call themselves architects, or "artchitects," on the cheapest terms. A work for the use of the architect who desired to investigate

special points in the history or practice of the profession, and not less of the layman who desired to acquire that knowledge of architectural history and practice which belongs to general culture, there has not been, until now, in the English language.

In one respect, it is fortunate that no serious and promising attempt has been made, until now, to fill this "long felt want." It is only of late that the modern progress of the arts of reproduction has advanced so far that it has become feasible to illustrate such a dictionary, with the profusion the subject really demands, excepting at a cost that would be prohibitive for a popular book. Compare, for example, the costliness of Parker's "Glossary," with its limited range of illustrations by wood engraving (nearly all of them seem to be reproduced here), with that of the present work, with its hundred or so full-page plates in half-tone, and its thousands of cuts in the text. An architectural treatise without illustration is unthinkable, except, indeed, to the late Professor Freeman, who had the temerity to publish a "History of Architecture" with no other illustration than a frontispiece of one end of an English parish church. The book has been long out of print, and is quite safe from being reprinted. It is true that it was written in the historian's hot High Church youth, and, as he said of it in his old age, "colored by a way of looking at things of which I have long since taken leave." But it is by no means a bad book, and the neglect into which it has fallen is most readily explained by the absence of illustrations, with the result that the text was nearly unintelligible by itself to the majority of those who might have been expected to become its readers.

The plan of the present work, which the editor imposed upon his contributors as well as upon himself, and to which it owes whatever it has of what Carlyle calls "architectural" quality, proceeds from the fact that it is called a "Dictionary" and not a "Cyclopædia" of architecture and building. The primary requisite of a dictionary, as Mr. Sturgis explains in the preface to his first volume,—and he repeats and reinforces the explanation in the prefaces to the other two,—is its "fitness for ready consulta-

tion." In other words, the convenience of the reader who is looking for a particular fact, in a hurry, is the first thing to be considered. And this means that the convenience of the reader is, in general, to be preferred to the convenience, or to the vanity, of the writer. The other method, whereby "the first living authority" is invoked to tell the reader all he knows about his specialty, and left at liberty to tell it, as he would naturally prefer to do, in an "exhaustive monograph," may be called the encyclopædical method. Its advantages to the writer are overbalanced by the disadvantage that it leaves the reader, in so far as his most frequent and most urgent needs are concerned, completely out of view. The poor man has a very legitimate grievance when, desiring only a definition, he is set down to burrow through the whole subject to which the thing to be defined belongs, in some uncertainty whether, even so, he will find the object of his humble and specific quest.

But, without doubt, an architectural dictionary which should consist of a mere series of definitions would be unsatisfactory, and would, moreover, belie the promise of this title of a dictionary, "biographical, historical, and descriptive." How to combine the ready availableness of a dictionary with an encyclopædical completeness is the problem to be considered by the undertaker of a work like this. How Mr. Sturgis has attempted to solve it, let himself tell, in the preface to his first volume:—

"In order to meet this requirement (fitness for ready consultation) two separate features must be combined, alphabetical arrangement carried to minute subdivision, and cross references in abundance. In a glossary, that is, a list of words with their apparent meanings briefly stated, no cross references are needed, other than the occasional definition of one term as "the same as" that of another. As soon, however, as the definitions grow into explanation, and these explanatory definitions into essays or descriptions which exceed in length three or four score words each, it becomes evident that much matter given under one caption may be very useful indeed if found in connection with another caption in another part of the work. Therefore, to avoid the obviously impracticable repetition of the substance of whole paragraphs, there suggests itself an elaborate system of references, backward and forward. By the use of these references, the student may, at

his pleasure, enlarge the description or the discussion before him by consulting two or three or perhaps a dozen articles."

There is, of course, no final test of the fitness of a work of reference for its primary purpose except that of use. The present reviewer has had occasion to put the present dictionary, or at least the first two volumes of it, habitually to that test, which it has very successfully withstood. No doubt the reader who desires to "go into a subject" could do so more readily and more pleasantly, if the information were conveyed to him in a strictly consecutive and monographical form. But he would then require, also, a work which was more strictly a dictionary, and of which the "fitness for ready consultation" was the primary purpose, as owners of the *Britannica* find that they need in addition to it a handier manual. And evidently the writer would prefer a work which enabled him to exhibit his monograph in full, and at once. To admit the superior claims of the reader involves a self-denial on the part of the contributor. In the present case his editor, who is also, to an unusual degree, the author, has set him an excellent example, which has been, in the main, very loyally followed.

Doubtless Mr. Dillenbaugh, whom we name because he has so nearly the knowledge of his subject all to himself, would have preferred to make one exhaustive paper on Aboriginal American Architecture. The subject, however, is broken up among a score or more of titles, so that the reader who desires his particular fact or definition may easily find it, without being compelled to go through what he does not want; while the reader who desires to inform himself on the general subject is enabled to do so by means of the abundant cross references, with no other trouble than that of turning from one page, or sometimes from one volume, to another. It is doubtless the most complete reconciliation feasible between the needs of two classes of students. In the preface to the second volume, Mr. Sturgis has given a striking instance of the manner in which a great subject can be pursued through the dictionary,—we refer to the treatment of the Imperial Roman

Architecture, in which he points out that the perusal of some seventeen different articles "may seem to complete fairly well the presentation of what is known on the general subject."

We have said that the editor has set an excellent example of abnegation to his contributors. Mr. Sturgis's own knowledge of historical architecture, in general, has often impressed his fellow students as encyclopædical, and, as we have also said, he has done a remarkably large part of the work himself. But, of the more "important" and pretentious articles, which may aspire to be described as monographs, we note but one from his pen, that upon "France,"—a paper of twenty pages, dividing French architecture topographically, and treating each division chronologically, in which he has reserved to himself nine of the ten divisions, delegating the tenth (Languedoc and Provence) to Professor Langford Warren. The result is a singularly clear and interesting account of French architecture from the beginnings of Romanesque building to our own time. But it is in what many editors would despise as the "drudgery" of lexicography that the bulk of Mr. Sturgis's personal work appears. As a matter of fact, it is in just this inconspicuous and unpretentious work that the usefulness, or want of it, of a dictionary, and especially of a dictionary of terms of art unfamiliar to the general reader, makes itself most felt. The task requires a care and discrimination for which, when they are exercised, the ordinary reader, or consulter, forgets to be grateful, although he is apt enough to be voluble in complaint when he misses them. In regard to this branch of lexicography, Johnson's saying is quite true that, while "every other author may aspire to praise, the lexicographer can only hope to escape reproach."

It is doubtless the editor's example, quite as much as his precept, which has induced his contributors to submit willingly to limitations that most of them must have found irksome, but upon which the usefulness, and consequently the popularity, of their labors must depend. Something, at any rate, has enabled the editor, in the preface to his third volume, to report that he

has found them very amenable to the conditions he felt bound to impose :—

“The scheme of the Dictionary has never been disturbed or made difficult by any unwillingness on the part of the contributors to conform to it. To one who thinks, with the present writer, that there is no evidence of thorough mastery of a subject more complete than a perfect willingness to present that subject in the form required by a special occasion,—than the absence of intellectual rigidity, and a flexibility of spirit such as comes only from long continued mental exercise,—the evidence thus afforded of the unique merit of the Dictionary’s staff of contributors is most complete and convincing.”

The evidence the work affords of the qualifications of its contributors is otherwise not less “complete and convincing.” Students of architecture have not now to learn, for the first time, of Mr. Longfellow’s architectural scholarship and equity of mind, here exemplified in the articles on Greco-Roman, neo-classic, and Romanesque art, of the minuteness and accuracy of Professor Frothingham’s archæological learning, of Mr. Dillenbaugh’s unique knowledge of American antiquities, of the clearness with which Professor Babcock expounds mediæval construction, of the wide and various knowledge of the editor himself. In view of these names and others that might be cited, it seems that the phrase “expert writers” of the title page might, without inaccuracy or too great immodesty, have been heightened to “authorities.” And it is equally remarkable and gratifying, as attesting the increasing interest in this country in the studies of which this work is the result, how infrequent have been the occasions in which the editor has invoked the aid of writers from across the Atlantic, although his search has everywhere and evidently been solely for the fittest person to do a particular piece of work. It would not have been possible so to cover the whole field of architecture twenty, or even ten years ago, without having a much larger share of the work done across the water.

There are doubtless some abatements to be made. We have praised the copiousness of the illustrations. Their appositeness is as remarkable as their abundance. The whole range of previous architectural illustration seems to have been before the

editor where to choose, and he has chosen well. The famous and familiar monuments are all here, in well-printed half-tone, and with them many that equally deserve to be famous and familiar. It was a happy thought, for example, to give, as the frontispiece of the work, a view of the grand swinging apse of the Abbaye aux Hommes, at Caen, instead of the comparatively crude and awkward front by which alone the edifice is known to most stay-at-home students. And with all the full-page illustrations one sees that the purpose which has presided over the selection is that of giving a notion of "the best that has been built in the world." But, with respect to the illustrations in the text, it is sometimes too plain that the selector has had all the world before him where to choose. They often suggest the idea of having been conveyed from all manner of sources rather than that they have been devised for the particular purpose they are here made to fulfil, or even adapted to it. This does not lessen in the least their value as illustrations. The choice has been from so wide a field that it has almost always been practicable to choose precisely the fittest examples. But the differences of scale, of handling, and the like do much impair the homogeneousness of the impression they make, and take away much of the pleasure the reader would otherwise have in looking at them for their own sakes, and apart from their function of illustration. If they had been gone over, and as many of them as needed this treatment had been re-drawn to bring them into proper relations with the others, and to give them the air of having been designed or adapted for their places in the dictionary, the result would have been cheaply attained at some sacrifice of quantity. A mixture of the illustrations of Parker's "Glossary," and of Viollet-le-Duc's "Dictionary," for instance, should be effected with great care, with more than has always been given to it in these pages.

It is almost axiomatic that a dictionary should contain nothing disputable, and that controversial or controvertible matters should find no place in its pages. The exceptions to this rule are not very numerous in these pages, but some of them are rather striking.

For example, the editor himself writes the article "Engineering," and assigns the conventional and traditional and "rule of thumb" constructions to the architect, and those which must be determined by "careful scientific examination based upon mathematics," to the engineer. Here he is doubtless on safe ground. But the ground becomes shaky when he compares the relation between the engineer and the architect, in a modern steel-framed structure, to that between the relation of the Roman engineer and the decorator of a Roman monument. This comparison has been made before by engineers, who have found in it an argument why the engineer of the steel-framed structure should employ the architect rather than the reverse, which is the accepted arrangement. The answer is that the Roman engineer must have been a very different person from the modern scientific constructor. He was, in fact, the designer of the building, the artistic designer in so far as to be the author of the plan, which was largely laid out upon architectural lines, and which made the final artistic success of the building, insomuch that Viollet-le-Duc plausibly lays it down that a Roman monument is more impressive in its ruins, when only the work of the designer can be seen, than it could have been when it was concealed under the envelope of more or less factitious decoration. The art of planning in such a way as to secure a liberal, dignified, and impressive result is no more included in the training of the modern engineer than is the art of elaborate decoration. There are many and conspicuous instances to prove that his ineptitude for the one architectural function is as complete as for the other. While it continues, the architect will remain the author of the buildings which they erect in association. But Mr. Sturgis goes on to say that "engineering methods, or the multiplication of buildings requiring engineering methods" can lead only to "a perfected quasi-Roman system of building first and decorating afterwards." "Decorative construction is probably to be had only in cases where engineering methods are deliberately rejected and traditional ways of building are followed exclusively." This must be a depressing statement to anybody who accepts it, since it is quite evident that a two thousand foot bridge, for example,

cannot possibly be "built first and decorated afterwards." If it cannot be made an object of "decorative construction," it must remain as ugly as it has, thus far, in so many instances, been found to be. If an architectural critic at the end of the twelfth century had entertained Mr. Sturgis's present views, and been able to enforce them upon the building world, the result would have been very discouraging to the architects, or engineers, whichever they were, who were considering the departure from "whatever was traditional in form and structure" involved in vaulting their churches; and the history of architecture would have been without one of its most inspiring and fruitful chapters. To deny the possibility, or even the "probability," of the issue of a new decorative construction from a new scientific construction in new material is to doom to irredeemable ugliness a class of buildings that seem destined, inevitably, to increase in numbers, magnitude, and importance. It is at least disputable matter, and hence inappropriate for a dictionary. And apparently the same thing is to be said of Mr. Marshall's ingenious article upon "Truth of Design in Architecture," which assigns a rank to that particular source of beauty and impressiveness much lower than has been assigned to it by other writers of authority. We have no intention of engaging in a controversy with the author; but the very fact that the paper tends to provoke controversy seems to indicate that the place for it is elsewhere than in a dictionary of architecture.

But these, if they be defects, are very minor and casual defects. They do not really affect the value of an admirable and monumental piece of work. While the claims of the hasty reader have been primarily considered in the plan of the dictionary, they have not prevented articles presented in fragmentary form from preserving the interest and the value of authoritative monographs, when the fragments are reassembled. Nor, indeed, have they prevented the employment of actual and avowed monographs, such as the articles upon the national architectures of Europe, given under the titles of the several countries. The plan of the work is so sound, the execution so adequate, and the

popular interest in the subject so extensive and so growing that the success of the book, from the bookseller's point of view, seems assured. Indeed, both plan and execution so commend themselves that it seems almost safe to say that, although the "American Dictionary of Architecture" may and should be supplemented from time to time, it does not seem at all likely that it will be superseded.

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